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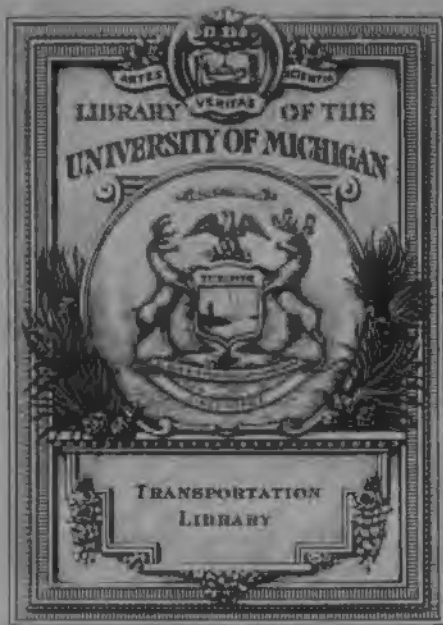
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ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY.
PUBLISHED BY THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.
VOLUME XX.



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At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 31, 1782.

RESOLVED

THAT any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir he may have presented to the Society, may be allowed, upon application to the Council, to have a certain number, not exceeding Twenty, printed off at his own expense.

At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 23, 1792.

RESOLVED

THAT the Order made the 31st of May 1782, with respect to Gentlemen who may be desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir they may have presented to the Society, be printed in the volumes of the Archaeologia, in some proper and conspicuous part, for the better communication of the same to the Members at large.

At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 2, 1815.

ORDERED

THAT in future, any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Paper he may have presented to the Society, which shall be printed in the Archaeologia or Vetusta Monumenta, shall be allowed, on application in writing to the Secretary, to receive a number not exceeding Twenty Copies (free of all expense) of such Paper, as soon as it is printed. ^{1w}

ARCHAEOLOGIA;
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,
&c.

- I. *Translation of a French Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second, written by a Contemporary, and comprising the Period from his last Expedition into Ireland to his Death; from a MS. formerly belonging to Charles of Anjou, Earl of Maine and Mortain; but now preserved in the British Museum; accompanied by Prefatory Observations, Notes, and an Appendix; with a Copy of the Original. By the Rev. JOHN WEBB, M. A. F. A. S. Rector of Tretire in Herefordshire, and Minor-Canon of the Cathedral of Gloucester.*

Read 14th January, 1819.

PREFATORY OBSERVATIONS.

THE metrical Tract which it is the design of the following remarks to introduce is peculiarly valuable to the English antiquary and historian. It refers to a series of events, the chief of which, though involving the fate of the kingdom, took place in a remote part of it; but the whole of them, from the various manner in which they have been recorded by different writers, seem to have been little understood, or much misrepresented at the period in which they occurred. It is also highly interesting to the general reader; for it offers an original circumstan-

tial account of the fall of Richard the Second, who, whatever may have been his errors, is rendered by his misfortunes an object of commiseration. It bears sufficient internal evidence of its authenticity, is the production of an eye-witness; and, so far as we have hitherto ascertained, is the best document of that kind, relative to the above fact, which has been transmitted to posterity.

Its value has, indeed, been so well appreciated, that it has been the source from which several of our historians have drawn the most curious part of their materials for this era of our annals. Holinshed has been largely indebted to it; Stow has inserted a verbal translation of considerable extent from it; and Tyrrel has closely followed it. Others have consulted it with advantage; among whom may be enumerated Guthrie, Rapin, and the author of the *Life of Richard the Second*, in Mr. Daniel's method.^a This last anonymous writer has adhered to it with more fidelity than the two former; for it is singular to observe, notwithstanding the manner in which they quote, and the importance which they seem to attach to it, what contradictory statements they have admitted from inferior authorities. The circumstance is, perhaps, owing to their having paid too little attention to this original writer, or having merely had recourse to that part of his work which describes the capture of the king. It may be added, that Turner and Lingard have availed themselves of it in their histories of England.

The principal facts in this narrative having been thus selected and employed, it might have seemed superfluous to bring forward what had already been in possession of the public, had not the present age happily known how to estimate the worth of original documents, and had not the tract in question contained many things, independent of the historical matter, singularly characteristic of the feelings of the author, and of the time in which he wrote. These have been wholly passed over by the historians who consulted him, as inconsistent with the cast of their subject, or foreign to their general design.

^a *Complete History of England*. Folio. London, 1706, vol. I.

Still, however, it might in this instance, by some have been thought sufficient to have interwoven, in an account of the work, a selection of those peculiar passages which stamp the character of it; but, under a conviction of the injustice of such a practice in cases like the present, it is here given entire. Such a method, elegantly as it has been executed by a late writer^b to whom the public owe much information on the literature of our ancestors, may well accord with the reasonable wishes of those who would acquire an idea of the fable or beauties of a romance, without wading through the whole of it to obtain them. But in early and authentic memoirs bearing any relation to the history of a country, it ought never to be allowed: such pieces should be published with scrupulous exactness. Much in this respect is probably yet to be done for the historical literature of England. The suggestions of Gibbon still remain unrealised. After all the efforts of those, who by editing collections of ancient and contemporary writers have placed the most curious materials beyond the reach of time, the libraries of this kingdom are not, it is presumed, without inedited remains of this description, little known and rarely examined, the publication of which, especially in a collective form, would prove in no small degree beneficial to the cause of genuine and useful information, as connected with the events, the state of religion, the laws, the arts, the feelings and manners of former times.

Of two^c MSS. of this tract, one in the British Museum, and the other in the Library of Lambeth Palace, the former is apparently the earliest,

^b Ellis's "Specimens of Early English Poets," and "Romances."

^c Warton, in his History of English Poetry, vol. I. p. 121, says, "In the royal library at Paris there is 'Histoire de Richard Roi d'Angleterre et de Maquemore d'Irlande en rime. No. 7532;' but he has erroneously attributed it to Richard *the first*. It should seem that it was another copy of this MS.; but I have no means of ascertaining whether it is still to be found in that collection. He adds, in a note, 'Du Cange recites an old French manuscript prose romance, entitled, Histoire de la mort de Richard Roy d'Angleterre. Gloss. Lat. Ind. Auct. I. p. cxci. There was one, perhaps the same, among the manuscripts of the late Mr. Martin, of Palgrave, in Suffolk.'" This of Du Cange might be one of those which will be described hereafter.

and is enriched with beautiful illuminations, representing some of the most remarkable transactions; in these the dress and the resemblance of the portraits is observed throughout; and the whole, if not proceeding from the pen and pencil of the author, was probably executed under his direction. An entry and autograph at the close states this MS. to have been the property of Charles of Anjou, Count of Maine and of Mortain, and governor of Languedoc. It formed part of the Harleian collection. The late Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore, has given, in a manuscript sheet inserted in the volume, a hasty illustration of the drawings; his account, however, is in some instances erroneous; and he confesses that it was formed from only a cursory perusal of the poem. Strutt has also described it, and engraved some of the illuminations in his "*Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*." The other MS. preserved at Lambeth, was probably written at a later period, and is plain, without decoration or illumination, excepting in the capital letters, though spaces have been left for the representation of the principal scenes, exactly as they occur in the other. This copy was sometime in the possession of the celebrated Dr. John Dee, as appears from his signature, with the date 1575 on the last leaf. It was presented to the library of the Archbishop by Sir George Carew, the Irish antiquary, who for his services under Elizabeth, James the First, and Charles the First, was successively constituted Lord President of Munster, created Baron Carew of Clopton, and afterwards Earl of Totness in Devonshire, and appointed Master of the Ordnance in England.^d He made a loose translation of that part of the narrative, which describes the expedition against Mac Morogh; the original of this is to be found in Bibl. Cotton. Titus, B. xi: and it has been published in a volume, entitled, "*Hibernica; or Tracts relating to Ireland: Dublin, 1757.*"—The Lambeth MS. is that which has been consulted and quoted by the earlier historians above-mentioned, of whom Hollinshed expressly calls it, "a French pamphlet that belongeth to Master John Dee."

^d Camden's *Britannia*, 606, 1340. Edition of 1722.

We come now to speak of the author of this performance, whose name and quality are never mentioned throughout the whole. The title only informs us that he was a French gentleman of distinction,* attendant upon Richard the Second, with permission of the king of France, in whose immediate service he may from this circumstance be supposed to have been originally engaged. When he and his companion are introduced to Bolingbroke, they allege, in excuse for being found in the retinue of Richard, that they were sent by the French king to amuse themselves and see the country. Of this companion, at whose solicitation, he says in the outset, he undertook this journey, he merely mentions that he was a knight; but there is nothing from which it may positively be concluded that they were of the same rank in arms.^f The spirit of chivalrous feeling, the loyalty of his principles, and the elevated notions of propriety and honour which he every where displays, convey a very favourable impression of his character. Though he possesses strong national prejudices, and is by no means sparing in the expression of them, a tone of impartiality, and a nice sense of rectitude accompany his opinions of men and measures, which win the confidence of his readers. Personally attached to the king, charmed by the taste of his court, and grateful for his condescension and promises of future favour, he evidently did not allow these matters to interfere in the estimate he formed from actual observation of the passing scene. On either side he neither palliates defects, nor conceals errors:

* Un gentilhomme François de marque; which Strutt has most inaccurately rendered, *Francis de la marque*, a French gentleman. *Manners and Customs*, vol. II. p. 119.

^f It is not improbable that he was attached to this knight as his squire. The first illumination represents him as a youth in a posture of submission, while the knight with an air of gravity, is proposing the journey to Ireland. The latter, indeed, addresses him by the appellation of brother. When he speaks of both in conjunction he repeatedly uses the expression "*mon compagnon et moy*," in every instance courteously giving him the preference. Had he been a knight it would probably have been expressed in the title of the work.

his candour even compels him to make confessions to his own disadvantage ; and the traits which he has furnished of the principal personages of the drama are not only to be depended upon, as carrying their own consistent evidence of authenticity, but are in many respects corroborated by the statements of other historians. The unsteady temper of Richard, his inclination to favouritism, his passion and his weakness, the high and accomplished qualities of Salisbury, and the daring and deep dissimulation of Northumberland, are forcibly drawn. The sight of the monarch's suffering seems to have made a strong impression upon his loyal heart, and though he honestly condemns him on those points in which he was wrong, he manifests a laudable abhorrence of the treason by which he was betrayed.

The desire of this writer to adhere to the truth has rendered him careful to distinguish what happened under his own eye from that which he received by report of others. In a service of seven months he appears to have been for the most part immediately about the person of the king, and especially in his latter days of distress and danger. The speeches and soliloquies * that he has put into the mouth of Richard in particular are, therefore, not to be looked upon as ornamentally introduced to fill up the story, but as actual occurrences. This conviction communicates an additional life and interest to what he has recorded. Here we visit the prince in his affliction at Caernarvon, walk with him on the walls of Conway, are present at his seizure under the rock, and at his last sad meal with his faithful friends in the hall of Flint castle ; we become close observers of his injudicious conduct and ill-fated career, from his embarkation at Milford to his confinement in the Tower of London, with almost as strong an impression as if ourselves had witnessed the progress of the melancholy affair. When he comes to that part which treats of the interview between the rivals, he lays aside his metre, and has recourse to prose, solely from a wish of preserving the

* At Flint, for instance, where it appears the whole party passed a sleepless night in the same room.

identical words spoken upon the occasion.^b His personal narrative ends with the imprisonment of the king; he had accompanied him from his departure for Ireland to the hour of his capture, and marching with the army of the victor to London he took the earliest opportunity of soliciting permission to embark for France. The latter portion of his work, which is, indeed, the least valuable, and in which he resumes his metrical stile, but in a different measure, was composed from the report of a priest attached to Bolingbroke, who remained some time in England with the latter, and afterwards, meeting with the author in Paris, related to him what took place, down to the conspiracy of the nobles, and the restoration of queen Isabel to her native country.

There is no doubt that a talent for poetical composition was in high estimation among the gentlemen of the age. This is particularly enumerated among the accomplishments of the squire in the *Canterbury Tales*, whose love of adventure and cheerful manners and attainments greatly resemble those of the writer.ⁱ He appears to have been one whose passion for pleasantry and song would render him acceptable at such a court as that of Richard the Second. The gay monarch surrounded by minstrels, was not insensible to the charms of poesy;^k he was a patron of Chaucer, though his politics were displeasing to him; and

^b Froissart, who has so frequently given interesting details of the transactions of the age, is notoriously defective as to those which relate to the fall of this king.

ⁱ —He had been sometime in chyvauchye
In Flanders, in Artoys, and in Pycardye,
And borne him well.

—Syngynge he was, or floytynge all the day.
He coude songes make and well endyte,
Juste and eke daunce, portray, and well wryte.

Prologue to Canterbury Tales.

^k Froissart, when he visited him at Leeds castle, presented him with a volume of poems, with which he was much pleased; and when he took leave of him at Windsor, the king gave him a silver goblet filled with one hundred nobles. *Chronicles* translated by Johnes, 8vo. XI. c. 24. XII. c. 32.

it was at his request, "to boke some new thing," that Gower¹ wrote his "*Confessio Amantis*."—During our author's stay in Ireland, congeniality of taste united him in close friendship with the Earl of Salisbury, himself one of the poets of the day; and the present work was undertaken at the express solicitation of that unfortunate nobleman. His stile is not exempt from those faults which are common to most of the rhyming chroniclers who confine themselves to facts as they arise. Historical matter is not always capable of receiving a poetical expression. In such attempts something will be flat and feeble. It is not fair to consider such a performance exclusively in the light of a poem; but it will be observed, that having occasionally to contend with materials of a very untractable nature, and being fettered by his subject, and his honest adherence to the course of events, he has upon the whole acquitted himself of his task with respectability, and has sometimes introduced touches of genuine poetry. The opening of the book, in the manner of the writers of romance, containing a description of spring, would not have disgraced those greater names with which Britain was at that period adorned. Such is the general character of his poetry; his prose, for interesting observation and variety of detail, is little, if at all, inferior to that of Froissart. One principal merit of the piece, however, is its unaffected simplicity; honourable sentiment combined with generous avowal of it, and an air of naïveté and truth pervade the whole; the notices of places and manners are curious; and the characters are touched with a masterly hand.

But, whatever may be the opinion of the reader upon the abstract excellencies or defects of this production, its comparative consequence will be easily recognised: and when he considers the silence or partiality of our domestic and contemporary writers of that age, he will, perhaps, rejoice that it has fallen to the lot of an unknown foreigner to

¹ Gower, after addressing his book in the first instance to Richard, and speaking highly in his praise, lived long enough to alter his dedication, and transfer his encomium to his successor.

• have produced so interesting a memoir relative to an obscure portion of British history, in which little is to be regretted but the brevity of the period upon which he has exercised his lively and judicious pen, and the modest or political concealment of his name.


THE connexion of Richard the Second with France, which was one cause of his unpopularity in this country, excited the sympathy of that nation in his fate; and gave rise to other historical tracts upon the subject. There are several existing in manuscript in the royal library at Paris; and, since the foregoing observations were written, I have been enabled to give an account of these MSS. and occasionally to quote them in illustration, through the liberal and obliging communications of John Allen, Esq. Master of Dulwich College, who has accurately examined and collated all those which will be here described.

I. The first MS. which is the most important, as being that from which a large portion of the others is derived, is numbered in the Bibliothèque du Roi, ⁸⁴⁴⁸₂ *Ambassades*. It is also marked ¹³⁵²₁, and *Baluze* No. 22. It belonged to Baluze, and was probably copied from older MSS.^m for his use, and by his orders. It is unnecessary to enter into farther particulars respecting it, as an account of it has been published by Mons. Gaillard:ⁿ but, though his abstract upon the whole is faithful, he has here and there introduced facts from other authorities, which are not in the original, without sufficiently warning his readers of these

^m Carte, in his History of England, has referred to this MS. He also cites another, the contents of which seem to be exactly similar; and it might be the earlier copy. He gives the title with the author's name. *Relation de la prise de Richard II. par Berry roy d'Armes*, vol. II. p. 642. This is, perhaps, the same writer who is mentioned by Du Cange, in his list of authorities. *Berry Heraud d'Armes*, *Hist. de Charles VII. Roi de France*. Gloss. Lat. Ind. Auct. I. p. cxc.

ⁿ Account and Extracts of the Manuscripts in the Library of the King of France. London, 1789, vol. II. p. 197.

deviations. One passage in the narrative,^o where the anonymous writer describes the parting of Richard and his queen, has given rise to a supposition that he was an eye-witness; and from another part^p it may be presumed that he was at Chester before the seizure of the king.^q Gail- lard thinks that he was in the suite of the Duke of Exeter. This MS. may, in point of consequence, be ranked next to that of the British Museum, though they cannot fairly be brought into competition. However, it takes up the matter earlier, and gives some incidents which the other does not contain. The references to it will be numerous, and will be chiefly taken from the unpublished parts.

II. *Bibliothèque du Roi*, No. 635, octavo, on vellum, calf, stamped with an escutcheon bearing three fleurs de lys, surmounted by a crown with fleurs de lys in the centre. Many small crowns are besides stamped on the binding; and below each of them is a double C reversed; thus, ; intended, perhaps, for Charles. It has no title, but is marked, "*Histoire du Roy Richard d'Angleterre.*" It consists of thirty-eight folios and one blank leaf: the hand-writing is of the fifteenth century. The contents of this MS. closely resemble the former, with some slight variations and omissions.

III. *Bibliothèque du Roi*, No. 1188, a small quarto, on vellum, bound in green calf. On the outside are the arms of Saint Victor, and at the end of the book, "*Iste liber est Sancti Victoris Parisiensis.*" It contains one hundred and sixteen folios, ninety-seven of which are occupied with the history; the other part of the volume is a translation of some of the works of Seneca, by "*Maistre Jehan Courtecuisse, Maistre en Theologie;*" and it is dedicated to John son of the King of France, Duke of Berry and Count of Auvergne, who died in 1416.^r This MS also varies little from that of *Ambassades*. The hand-writing

^o *Id.* vol. II. p. 214.

^p *Id.* p. 218.

^q Perhaps a stronger inference, that he was with the king when he was taken, may be drawn from his account of Richard's soliloquy at Flint, in which some very curious particulars are detailed. *Id.*

^r *Art de verifier les Dates.*

is of the age; but the author's name is no where given. It opens thus, "Ici sensuit la trahison et mort du Roy Richard d'Angleterre."

IV. *Bibliothèque du Roi*, No. $\frac{10212}{3}$; also marked *Codex Colb.* 5541; a quarto, on vellum, not paged. This is a copy of the MS. immediately preceding; but it varies rather more from MS. *Ambassades*. It begins in this manner; "Memoire du temps que Richard de Bordeaux regna, et de la merveilleuse fortune que depuis lui advint comme vous orrez en l'histoire cy après déclarée." The history is brought down to the restoration of Queen Isabel to France, and a proclamation of Henry the Fourth is given at the close. An autograph in it states it to have belonged to "Jehan Lebaud, licencié en loix et conseiller du Roy." This signature is dated 1449.

V. *Bibliothèque du Roi*, No. $\frac{10212}{3}$ B, a small folio, on paper, marked *Codex Colb.* 1961, is substantially the same as the former; but there are frequent variations in the expressions, and every separate paragraph has a short summary prefixed to it. It bears no date. The introduction speaks of the marriage of Richard and Isabel, and then passes on to the surrender of Brest. In the first page is an illumination representing the king attacked at table by three ruffians, one of whom seizes him by the throat with one hand, and with the other is in the act of stabbing him in the back; while a bystander looks on with his hands clasped, and uplifted. This illumination is executed with little correctness of drawing; but the countenances are not without expression. Richard appears to be taken by surprise, and to make no resistance to his murderers.

VI. *Bibliothèque du Roi*, No. 413; a large folio, on paper. The contents of it are the same as the former; but it wants the end. It belonged originally to the library of the Dukes of Burgundy at Brussels.

VII. *Bibliothèque du Roi*, No. 10506; a small quarto, on paper, is exactly similar to the foregoing. It wants the beginning.

VIII. *Bibliothèque du Roi*, No. $\frac{9745}{3}$; folio, marked *Cod. Colb.* 1051; part of this is a brief abridgment of the MS. *Ambassades*, particularly where it treats of the capture of the king. The author's name

is Jehan Lebeau or Lebaud, alluded to in No. IV, and that volume was probably the groundwork of this performance ; but he has intermingled throughout many reflections of his own ; and shews himself on every occasion a warm friend of Richard and his adherents ; he censures Aumarle and York severely for their treachery. Upon the whole, this MS. differs more from the others than any of them vary from each other, omitting altogether many transactions, and relating others in different words ; but the writer is such a copyist, or wishes to affix such an air of originality to his work, that he has even inserted that passage from the MS. Ambassades in the description of the final parting between the king and queen, which has been adverted to in No. I. The design of the tract is thus expressed in the opening : “ A fin que le grand fait d’armes et les grans trahisons qui par les guerres de France et d’Angleterre soient notablement mies en memoire perpetuelle, par quoy les bons puissent prendre exemple, Jay Messire Jehan Lebeau, chanoine de Saint Lambert de Liege, ay mis en prose ce petit livre, à finque seroit memoire au temps ad venir de la grant desloyaulté et grans trahisons advenus au royaume d’Angleterre ; et par especial encontre le roy Richard d’Angleterre, fils au vaillant prince de Galles, qui fut filz au preux et vaillant roy Edouard en son vivant roy d’Angleterre.”

It appears from this account, that the MS. Ambassades is the text from which the rest of them were chiefly derived : they are all full of anachronisms and blunders. The value and interest of that MS. is indeed very great ; but whoever will take the trouble to compare the printed account of it by Gaillard, and the parts hereafter to be cited from it, with the Harleian and Lambeth MSS. will be convinced of the superiority of this which is now submitted to the reader’s attention.

ILLUMINATION 1.



HISTORY OF RICHARD KING OF ENGLAND ;

Treating in particular of the Rebellion of his Subjects, and the taking of his Person ; composed by a French Gentleman of distinction, who was in the suite of the said King, with permission of the King of France. 1399.

AT the departure of winter, when spring hath restored verdure, when many a bush may be observed to blossom in the fields, and the birds sweetly to rejoice, the song of the nightingale is to be heard, that maketh many a lover joyous and gay ; (*just in that season*) five days before the first day of May, when every one ought to lay aside mourning and sorrow, a knight, whom I heartily loved with a most tender regard, said unto me, " Friend, I lovingly beseech you that you will cheerfully accompany me into England. It is my wish to go thither without delay." " Sir," I replied, " you may command me, nor doubt that I am ready to bend my will to your good pleasure." An hundred times did the knight thank me, saying, " Brother, we must very soon set out, for, be assured, it will be needful for us to make haste." It was in the year one thousand and four hundred, save one, that we quitted Paris, each full of joy, travelling late and early without stopping till we reached London. It came to pass that we took up our lodging there on a Wednesday, at the hour of dinner. There might you behold many a knight taking his departure from the city ; for good king Richard had set out with his steward ;^a he was most anxious to journey day and night ;

^a Sir Thomas Percy, second son of Henry Percy, by Mary daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster,¹ and younger brother to Henry first Earl of Northumberland ; a statesman and soldier of distinguished ability and reputation, who had spent a very active life in the service of his country. He was at this time upwards of fifty years of age.

He had been with the Black Prince in Aquitaine ; was his high steward in 1369, and served under him with Chandos, Knolles, Trivet, and others of that school of chivalry. He

¹ Dugdale's Baronage, v. I. p. 276.

because it was his desire to cross the sea, on account of the injuries

He was at the skirmish in which Chandos was slain, on the morning of Dec. 31, 1370; assisted at various military operations in that country, and was at the barbarous sacking of Limoges, the last transaction in which the prince was engaged.² When Sir Baldwin Freville, seneschal of Poitou, went into England, he succeeded him; and a contemporary thus speaks of him in this situation:

Monsr. Thomas Percy li vaillant

Yfuiſt ove honour moult grant.³

But, during his absence on an expedition, he had the misfortune to lose the town of Poitiers, where he officially resided, to Bertrand du Guesclin; and he was himself soon after taken prisoner by Evan of Wales, in an affair near the castle of Soubise.⁴ His captivity, however, was not of long duration, the castle of Limosin being given up⁵ for his ransom in the next year, 47 Ed. III. The prince of Wales and his father, in consideration of his services, granted him, 50 Ed. III. an annuity of an hundred marks out of the exchequer at Caernarvon, and the same sum out of the king's exchequer during his life.

He officiated at the Coronation of Richard the Second;⁶ and next appears, 2 R. II. as admiral of the northern seas, where he made several prizes.⁷ As he was passing over into France to the aid of the duke of Brittany, he narrowly escaped suffering shipwreck in the dreadful tempest in which Sir John Arundel and upwards of a thousand others were drowned. Scarcely had the storm ceased, when a Spanish vessel assailed him: he captured it by boarding, after an obstinate resistance, and returned with it into port; then proceeding upon his voyage, carried over his men and horses safely to Brest. He was joint governor of that place with Sir Hugh Calverley.⁸ About this time he was named one of the commissioners to settle the infractions of a treaty made with the Scots in the former reign. In 3 R. II. he attended the Earl of Buckingham in his expedition into France; and in the next year was employed with the same nobleman and the Earl of Warwick in suppressing the insurrection:⁹ he was in the retinue of the king when he met the rebels at Mile-end.¹⁰ Returning to France,¹¹ he was at the siege of Nantes, and, 5 R. II. was made captain of the castle of Brest, and afterwards of the town, 6 R. II.

He is spoken of, 7 R. II. as being of the king's council; commissioned to act in treaties with Flanders and France, and to guard the East Marches. In 8 and 10 R. II. he
was

² Froissart, vol. III. c. 259. IV. c. 9. 21, 28, 31, 39, 41.

³ MS. Life of the Black Prince, by Chandos Herald. Froissart represents him as immediate successor of Sir John Chandos; but this was not the fact.

⁴ Froiss. IV. c. 41, 42.

⁵ Walsingham. Ypodigma Neustrie in Anglica Scripta, Camden, p. 529. Dugdale has rendered Lysiniacum by Lymosin: according to Baudraud, Geogr. p. 581, it is Saint Germain Leuroux.

⁶ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 197.

⁷ Stow, Annales by Howes, p. 280.

⁸ Walsing. ut supra, p. 232, 235.

⁹ Id. p. 260, et alibi.

¹⁰ Stow, p. 287.

¹¹ Froiss. V. c. 42, 45, 46.

and grievances that his mortal enemies had committed against

was again made admiral; in which capacity he escorted the Duke of Lancaster into Castile, was at the storming of Ribadavia, and other conflicts in Spain: particularly at the barriers of Noya in Galicia he signalized himself by fighting hand to hand with Barrois des Barres, one of the ablest captains of France. Having been afflicted with the distemper that proved fatal to so many of the soldiers, he came home with the army.¹³ He was, 13 R. II. appointed vice-chamberlain of the royal household,¹⁴ and justice of South Wales; and successively obtained grants of two castles in the Principality.

We find him in 16 R. II. at the head of the embassy which brought about the peace with France, where he was much caressed and honoured by the French king:¹⁵ he was then steward of the household. He was retained to serve in the first campaign in Ireland, 18 R. II. The disputes between Richard and the Duke of Gloucester so disgusted him, that he prudently solicited permission to retire to his own estate,¹⁶ and obtained it with some reluctance on the part of the king.

At length, in 21 R. II. he was rewarded with the dignity of Earl of Worcester; though it is singular that the author of the narrative never mentions him by this title. He was also made captain of the town and castle and marches of Calais. His appointment to be admiral of Ireland is dated Jan. 16, 22 R. II.¹⁷ It was preparatory to this second Irish expedition, in which he was to take with him thirty-five men at arms, knights and esquires, and one hundred archers; to every twenty archers one carpenter and one mason.

The text sufficiently describes the part that he took at the close of the reign of Richard, and the beginning of that of his successor. His disaffection to his old master might arise from the banishment of the Earl of Northumberland and his son, at which he was much exasperated.¹⁸ When Henry ascended the throne, it was one of his first objects to conciliate and attach so valuable a servant. Accordingly he bestowed many high appointments upon him; made him ambassador to France, governor of Aquitaine,¹⁹ admiral of the fleet,²⁰ lieutenant in North and South Wales; and retained him as governor to his eldest son. Polidore Vergil is quite at a loss to account for his defection from Bolingbroke, which, he says, no author of any credit has explained; and he ridiculously attributes it to envy.²¹ Carte affirms, that he detested Henry as the author of the murder of Richard, and as an usurper of the crown, to the prejudice of the right heir, Edmund Mortimer Earl of March.²² Whatever might be the real cause of the dispute between Henry IV. and the Percies, each party laid the blame upon the other. When the affair came to an open rupture, Sir Thomas joined his nephew Hotspur, was taken at the battle of Shrewsbury, and

¹³ Froiss. VIII. c. 3, 45. IX. c. 1, 4.

¹⁴ Rymer, VII. p. 677.

¹⁵ Froiss. IX. c. 23. X. 24.

¹⁶ Id. XI. c. 48.

¹⁷ Rymer, Donation MS. Brit. Mus. vol. V. 91.

¹⁸ Froiss. XII. c. 16.

¹⁹ Froiss. c. 28.

²⁰ Rymer, Donat. MS. B. M. 1. 44.

²¹ Ang. Hist. 1. XXI.

²² Hist. of England, 11. p. 656.

him in Ireland,^b where they had put to death many of his faithful

and beheaded there, July, 1403. He died without issue. He was knight of the Garter, and his barony was that of Haverfordwest;²² he possessed the castle of Emelin in South Wales, and the castle and commot of Huckirk in the county of Caernarvon; and had purchased the manor of Wresil in Yorkshire, where he built a castle. Had he survived the Earl and Countess of Northumberland, and Henry Percy, dying without heirs, he would have inherited a large proportion of the great estates of the Countess, his sister-in-law, the heiress of the Lucy family.²³

Most contemporary writers have borne testimony to the talents and accomplishments of this nobleman; even our author touches his abandonment of Richard with a degree of tenderness. Walsingham alone, a strong partisan of Henry, lays to his charge the bloodshed of the fatal day of Shrewsbury. He informs us that the king was willing to have treated with his adversaries before the engagement; and that in a conference with Sir Thomas had even humbled himself to submit to unfavourable terms; but that the latter wilfully misrepresented his expressions when he returned to Hotspur,²⁴ and hastened the fight. It does not however actually appear that when he drew the sword he at once threw away the scabbard; for that he was not averse to treat is plain from his accepting the dangerous office of a personal parley.²⁵ But Henry survived to make a statement in favour of his own conduct, and Percy perished. His head and one of his quarters²⁶ were set up on London Bridge; and the order addressed to the Mayor and Sheriffs is worded, perhaps in the usual official style, but certainly with apparent severity. The head is "*ibidem quamdiu poterit moraturam.*"²⁷

That he excelled in the qualities of the chivalrous character cannot be doubted; his gravity and dignity as a statesman may be inferred from his being chosen procurator for the clergy upon a very solemn occasion during the parliament of 1397.²⁸ Froissart, who became personally acquainted with him in 1395, commends his gracious and agreeable manners.²⁹

^b The condition of Ireland at this juncture was truly deplorable. That island was the resort of outlaws, and exiles and adventurers of different nations; it was peopled by savage tribes and by settlers equally ferocious; and the affairs of its government seemed to

²² Anstis, MS. Collections, with notes by Bp. Percy, quoted by Johnes. Froiss. IV. c. 28.

²³ Dugdale, I. p. 377. See the Article, Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, pp. 285, 286. *passim*.

²⁴ Walsing. p. 368.

²⁵ Walsingham himself is cautious in the terms he employs. *Ferunt*, &c. and only says of him that he was, "*inventor (ut dicitur) totius mali.*" p. 369.

²⁶ MSS. Bodl. 2067. f. 79. b. ²⁷ Dated Lichfield, July 25, 1403. Rymer, VIII. p. 320. ²⁸ Stow, p. 316.

²⁹ XII. c. 22. He introduced himself to him at the archbishop's palace, in Canterbury, where Sir Thomas was in attendance upon the king.

friends.^c Wherefore he would take no rest until he had fully avenged

to be in desperate and inextricable confusion. In original documents respecting the state of the country the inhabitants are described and arranged under three classes, "Wild Irish, rebellious Irish, and obedient English."¹ The "Wild Irish" or Irishry, were the unsubdued natives who had retired to the interior fastnesses, the mountains, bogs, and forests: they were governed by their own rude chiefs and laws, and looked upon by all the rest as their natural enemies. These were out of the protection of the English law, and it was often adjudged no felony to kill a mere Irishman in time of peace. "Our law," says Sir John Davies,² "did neither protect his life nor avenge his death." The "rebellious Irish" were those who were also called English by blood; and were in part descended from the original conquerors, who had intermarried with the natives, and adopted their dress and manners, their language and their customs; possessing a tract of country between the natives and the sea, and subject to little controul. Their territory was called the English pale. The "obedient English" were a confused medley of soldiers, merchants, men of needy or desperate fortunes, and those whom the English government had invested with authority: they occupied the principal towns and cities and small tracts around them, chiefly in Leinster, and on the eastern and southern coasts. These were distinguished by the title of English by birth.

Such a population, in such an age, rendered Ireland, as the remonstrants at Kilkenny had forcibly expressed it, "a land full of wars."³ Sometimes the septs were destroying each other; at other times they were making inroads upon the English pale, or joining with the great settlers in their mutual ravages. Richard II. in the beginning of his reign had addressed a rebuke to his liege subjects respecting their dissensions,⁴ which he followed up by sending Edmund Mortimer as his lieutenant into the country.⁵ His government, however, lasted only three years; and after his death things gradually fell into such disorder that the king found it necessary, in 1394, to interfere by his presence. His enemies submitted; but at his departure they scorned the weak forces that he had left behind him, and relapsed into their former anarchy. In 1397, Ormond and Obrien had wasted each other's lands; and the Earl of March, son of the above-mentioned Edmund, the king's lieutenant, who was co-operating with Ormond, was slain by the Obriens in the year ensuing.⁶ Thomas Holand, Duke of Surrey, was appointed to succeed him; he arrived in the island in 1398; but neither he nor his predecessor were of sufficient

¹ Bibl. Cotton. MS. Titus, B. XI. f. 3. in APPENDIX, No. 1. Also in a letter from Richard II. to the Duke of York in 1394, from Ireland, *ibid.* f. 23. a. and 151.

² Discoverie of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued, ed. 1747, pp. 102, 109, 111.

³ Camden, *Annals of Ireland*, a. 1341.

⁴ Rymer, *Donat. MS. Brit. Mus.* V. 121. Dated Aug. 18, 2 R. II. but catalogued as 23 R. II.

⁵ Dugdale, *Baron.* I. p. 149.

⁶ Camden and Holinshed, a. 1397, 1398.

himself upon Macmore,^d who called himself excellent king^e and lord of

sufficient age and experience for so arduous a station. Of the native reguli, or canfinies, who had affected to submit to Richard II. during his former visit, a great part were now in arms. Mac Morogh, the savage and powerful chieftain so often mentioned in this history, who was foremost in the rising, was united with the Earl of Desmond to waste the south: Obrien, whose territory lay nearer to Dublin, and Oneil in Ulster, were also in motion. They were to begin by attacking an adherent of the government. "Mac Morogh," in the words of a despatch written about this time,^f "is now gone to Desmond to aid the Earl of Desmond to destroy the Earl of Ormond, if possible; and afterwards is to return with all the power he can get from the parts of Munster to destroy the country. Oneil has assembled a very great host of people to war and destroy the whole country." The government was too weak to interpose in quelling these disturbers of the public peace, or even to protect it's own friends from the evils that were likely to ensue. Mal-administration and oppression prevailed. Sir Stephen Scroope, the deputy-lieutenant, had rendered himself odious to the English by blood and by birth, through his injustice and extortion.^g The disaffected Irishry pleaded unredressed wrongs, and pledges unfulfilled. Attempts had been made to bribe them into tranquillity; and they were again provoked to outrage by failure of payment. The finances were in a disordered state. Walsingham^h tells us, that the annual revenue in the reign of Edward the Third amounted to thirty thousand pounds; which is confirmed by Carew's extracts from the archives of the castle of Dublin;ⁱ but this was wholly spent upon the public service, and proved at times far too little to meet the demands and allowances. At all events there was no residue for the king. An entry constantly occurs in the Pipe Rolls from the time of Henry the Third downwards, "*in thesauro nihil*."^j And the assertion of Fines Moryson^k that "the country always supported its own government" is so far from being true, that Richard the Second had been obliged to contribute to it's assistance the yearly sum of thirty thousand marks.^l This was, however, before his first campaign. We have authentic evidence to prove that, about the time of which the text treats, the exchequer, exhausted by grants and annuities to the English and Irish, had been farther drained by the king himself of the money that should have been appropriated to the protection of the land; that there were no funds to pay the soldiers; that the army had consequently disbanded; and that the settlers in the Marches were neither able nor willing to afford any military aid.

These were the existing grievances and distractions of Ireland which called for remedy: the lieutenant and his council had made the most urgent representations upon this
emer-

^f Bibl. Cotton. MS. Titus, B. XI. f. 3.

^g Holinshed, p. 66.

^h Hist. Angl. p. 350. Davies, p. 39, mistakes Walsingham, when he opposes him upon this point. He does not mean to assert, that such a sum was transmitted to England, or remained to the king.

ⁱ Bibl. Cotton. MS. Titus, B. XI. f. 279.

^j Davies, p. 30.

^k Itinerary, p. 3.

^l Walsing. ut supra.

great Ireland, where he hath but little territory of any kind. Upon

emergency; and the king, indignant at the death of Mortimer, had determined to correct the evils by his personal authority, as he had done five years before.

Some curious inedited details upon this subject will be found in the APPENDIX, No. I. See also Lingard, *Hist. of England*, vol. III. c. 20, and Campbell's Sketch in Gough's *Camden*, IV. p. 247.

^c 1498. Forty English, among whom were John Fitz-Williams, Thomas Talbot, and Thomas Comyn, were unfortunately cut off on Ascension-day by the Lords Lez Tothils. .

On S. Margaret's day this year, Roger Earl of March, the king's lieutenant, was slain, with many others, by O Bryen and the Irish of Leinster, at Kenlys in that province. Camden in anno.

^d A name celebrated in the annals of Ireland, and variously spelt Mac Morgh and Mac Mqrogh. One of this race, a brutal and sanguinary character, Dermot Mac Morogh, son of Murchard, was the principal cause of the conquest in the reign of Henry the Second.¹ The Mac Moroghs were the most considerable sept in Leinster, the chief of which styled himself king of that province. The individual here introduced was Arthur Mac Morogh,² "chief captain of his nation, at whose might and power all Leinster trembled."³ Henry Cristall, who furnished Froissart with an account of Richard's first expedition into Ireland,⁴ apparently represents him as having been concerned in an insurrection during the government of Lionel Duke of Clarence, which must have been forty years before; but as this will not accord with the accounts of his activity given hereafter, it may be considered that the historian has confounded him with his predecessor of that name. This is certain, that the Arthur Mac Morogh in question was in the war of 1394, and was one of the four kings who made submission to Richard in Dublin, and were knighted by him on the feast of our Lady in the same year, in the cathedral of that city.⁵ Cristall, who had been long resident as a prisoner among the Irishry, and was well acquainted with their manners and language, was selected to drill them into something like respectable appearance and behaviour at the court and at the ceremony. He accomplished the task with some difficulty, and his account of their habits and conduct is altogether curious.⁶ They entered into indentures, not only to continue loyal subjects, but that they and all their adherents should,

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis. *Expugnatio Hiberniæ*, l. 1.

² Davies styles him chief of the Kavanaghs, p. 49.

³ Holinshed, pp. 70, 71.

⁴ Chronicles, XI. c. 24.

⁵ In Bibl. Cotton. MS. Titus, B. XI. f. 153, is a letter from the Council in England to Richard II. then in Ireland, congratulating him upon the submission of "*vos rebeaux Mac Mourgh et le grand Onel, et autres grands Capitains illoques le plus forts de la terre.*"

⁶ Froissart, ut supra.

this account the king gives frequent orders^f to set forward, and

should, by a day appointed, surrender to the king and his successors, all the lands and possessions which they held in Leinster;⁷ and, taking with them only their moveable goods, should serve him in his wars against his other rebels. In consideration of this, the king was to give them pay and pensions during their lives, and the inheritance of all such lands as they might recover from the rebels in any other part of the realm. Mac Morogh, in particular, was to have an annuity of eighty marks. Davies saw the enrolment of these indentures, and of the annuity, in the office of the king's remembrancer and the white book of the exchequer in Ireland.⁸ But Arthur and his wild companions seem to have submitted with an ill grace, and not long after the departure of Richard he again began to levy war. In this state of insubordination he continued under the lieutenancy of Roger Mortimer, and of his successor the Duke of Surrey; till at length he was brought to a parley of treaty.⁹ His barony of Norragh had been granted to the Duke of Surrey: he demanded restitution of it. His promised annuity had never been paid; and he insisted upon the whole arrears, adding that unless these terms were complied with, he would not keep the peace. The warden and council, alarmed at his threats, consented to pay him a certain sum of money for the barony and pension, until the king's pleasure could be ascertained; but he refused to enter into any composition, or to be pacified without speedy restitution of the barony. His language, according to their report, was, that "if his conditions are not complied with by Michaelmas, he is at open war." In the mean time he began his incursions, as related in a former note. Richard appeared in Ireland; led in person his troops against him; set a price upon his head, and left him unsubdued. During the twenty ensuing years, he continued at intervals a thorn in the side of the government. Sir Stephen Scroope, deputy-lieutenant to Thomas Duke of Lancaster, son of Henry the Fourth, marched into his territory in 1417, and defeated the Irish after an obstinate encounter. But his final reduction took place on the 4th of May, 1419. On that day he was made prisoner, and is spoken of no more. Henry Marleburgh attributes this feat to John Talbot Earl of Furnivale; but Campion, out of James Young, asserts, that it occurred in the next year, under the great tamer of the septs, James Butler Earl of Ormond.¹⁰

* In Carew's translation¹ of a portion of this story there is a note upon this passage; "This must be a mistake of the French author; for the Mac Moroughs never pretended to more than the kingdom of Leinster, though Dermond Mac Morough had ambition enough

⁷ This is what the text alludes to in the expression, "he hath little territory of any kind."

⁸ Discoverie, &c. pp. 49, 50, 51.

⁹ Bibl. Cotton. MS. Titus, B. XI. f. 3.

¹⁰ Camden, Annals, a. 1417, 1419. Holinshed.

¹ Hibernica, p. 23.

speedily to send word that he is coming to Milford haven. This place hath a good market, and there we passed ten whole days pleasantly, waiting for the North wind that we might depart. Trumpets and the sound of minstrels^ε might be heard day and night. Men at

enough to seek to dethrone O'Connor, king of Ireland." In opposition to this it may be observed, that it is not likely that he should be deceived in what he must so often have heard; and he dwells upon it as if he felt offended with the chieftain for his presumption. The pretensions of Mac Morogh in this instance might only be assumed to vex the king of England; but among the heads of the septs who called themselves kings, "there always existed an *ardriagh*, or monarch, who, if he did not exercise, at least claimed, the sovereignty over the whole island;"⁸ and that Mac Morogh did so, is a proof of the power and consequence of the sept over which he presided.

From the time of John, the kings of England were styled "Lords of Ireland." Henry the Eighth rejected the title because it had been originally confirmed by the Pope.⁹

[†] Preparations had been making for some time: they were going on during the whole of Lent.⁴ There is an article in Rymer,⁵ dated March 2, 1399, "*De equis pro curribus regiis providendis.*" The measures that were taken, or rather the manner in which they were enforced, tended to increase the unpopularity of the king. The grievances of purveyance heavily felt and remedied under Edward III.⁶ appear to have been revived in all their intolerable rigour. The clergy complained of having been compelled to furnish horses, and waggons, and sums of money,⁷ and the people in general were sorely afflicted by extortion:⁸ nothing that was taken for the king's use was paid for. "*Equos et quadrigas exigens, et alia necessaria profectioe sua rapiens, nihilque resolvens.*"⁹

The naval part of the armament was upon a large scale. An order had been issued, Feb. 7, for all vessels of twenty-five tons and upwards from the ports of Colchester, Orwell, and all ports and places on the sea coast northward as far as Newcastle upon Tyne, to assemble at Milford or Bristol, by the octaves of Easter, ready for shipment, and appointed with sufficient masters and mariners for the voyage of Ireland. Pressing was also resorted to upon the occasion.¹⁰ John Elys, master of a certain barge, called "the Nicholas de le Tour," is to arrest twenty-five able mariners wherever they may be found, "*tam infra libertates quam extra,*" to serve in the said barge.¹¹

^ε Minstrelsy was now in high repute;¹² and besides the harpers, who may be supposed to

⁸ Lingard, Hist. of Engl. II. c. 12.

⁹ Campbell, in Gough's Camden, IV. p. 248.

⁴ Th. Otterbourne, a Hearne, p. 197.

⁵ Tom. VIII. p. 67. See also another article, p. 70.

⁶ Lingard, III. c. 19.

⁷ Articles of Accusation. Decem Scriptores, art. XXII.

⁸ Walsing. p. 356.

⁹ Otterbourne, ut supra.

¹⁰ Rymer, Donat. MS. V. 107.

¹¹ Ibid. 108.

¹² Burney, Hist. of Music, II. pp. 273, 360.

arms arrived from all quarters. Vessels took in their lading of bread, wine, cows, and calves, salt meat, and plenty of water. Excellent and beautiful horses were put on board. Every one made ready his baggage, and on the eleventh day the king, having taken leave of the ladies,^a set out gallantly accompanied. Then the mariners hoisted sail without delay, and in less than two days we came in sight of the tower of Waterford, in Ireland; where the wretched and filthy people, some in rags, others girt with a rope, had the one a hole, the other a hut for their dwelling. These were forced to carry great burdens, and to go into the water up to their waists, for the speedy unloading of the barges from the sea. For

to have resorted from that part of Wales to the head-quarters at Milford, many professed minstrels were, as usual, attendant upon the army. Among the names of those to whom letters of protection were granted for going into Ireland, occur

William Bynglay, ministrallus.

Willielmus York, ministrallus.

Walterus de Lynne, ministrallus.¹

The popular notion of a minstrel is attached, perhaps, too exclusively to the harp and the banquet. A minstrel was a performer upon any instrument then in use of wind or string.² It seems that upon some occasions they formed part of the military band. They are often spoken of as above, in connexion with the trumpets.³ Edward the Third took them to sea with him when he went to fight the Spaniards.⁴ Like the Welsh bards⁵ their talents might be equally serviceable in the field and in the hall. The herald minstrel, *menestrel huchier*, was of this description.⁶ Such was Taillefer, who led the Normans to the assault at the battle of Hastings.

^a He had already taken leave of the Queen, as it appears, at Windsor; where the writer of MS. Ambassades says, that he "never saw so great a lord make so much of a lady, or show so much love for her as King Richard did for the queen." From this passage Gaillard concludes the author of that narrative to have been an eye-witness. Narrative of the Death of Richard II. in Accounts and Extracts of the MSS. in the Library of the King of France, vol. II. pp. 213, 214.

¹ Rymer, VIII. pp. 78, 79.

² Du Cange, Gloss. v. Ministrallus.

³ Froissart, II. c. 161, at the battle of Poitiers, IV. c. 12.

⁴ Id. II. Additions to c. 50.

⁵ Leges Wallie, l. i. c. 19. 7.

⁶ Burney, II. pp. 275, 289.

the king and his men¹ were now in the city, where he was kindly received by the common people and merchants. He took the field six days after with the English, who rode boldly in close order to Kilkenny,² eighty miles up the country, in the neighbourhood of the enemy. There the king and his friends waited fourteen days for the succours of the 'Earl

¹ Richard landed on a Sunday, being the morrow after the festival of Saint Petronilla, the Virgin. June 1st. His armament, according to Froissart, consisted of full two thousand lances, knights and squires, and ten thousand archers.² The MS. *Ambassades* states the amount of the whole at thirty-two thousand, when they returned into Wales.³

² Kilkenny was on the borders of the English pale, and close upon the Irishry. Richard Talbot fortified the greater part of the town in the following year, 1400.⁴

³ Edward Plantagenet, eldest son of Edmund Duke of York, by Isabella of Castile, youngest daughter of Peter the cruel. He was cousin both to Richard II. and Henry IV. and was at this period about twenty-five years old.⁵

By the female side he was descended of an unworthy line; and his conduct in early life did not tend to redeem the reputation of that branch of his family. Though he had been one of the chief favourites of Richard, he ill requited his attachment; for by evil counsels he paved the way to his downfall; and, if credit may be given to the scene in the Tower, hereafter to be quoted, he had the meanness to insult him in his captivity. In short his treachery rendered him at last odious to either party, and in the unfortunate monarch's own words, he was "unworthy of the appellation of duke, earl, or knight."⁶ Even foreigners held him in contempt. The Count de Saint Pol, when he challenged Henry IV. exhibited his effigy one night before the gates of Calais, significantly represented, "ayant la teste en bas."⁷ The Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V. formed an attachment to him, and contrived to restore him to a certain degree of usefulness and respectability.

His titular honours had kept pace with those of Henry of Lancaster; and on the same days⁸ in which the latter had been created Earl of Derby and Duke of Hereford, Edward Plantagenet was made Earl of Rutland and Duke of Albemarle. He is the first Earl of Rutland upon record.⁹ To this title, which he was to retain only during his father's life, was annexed a grant of the castle, town, and lordship of Okeham and the sherivalty of the county.

¹ Holinshed, *Hist. of Ireland*, f. 65.

² Froiss. XII. c. 16.

³ *Accounts and Extracts*, II. p. 216.

⁴ Holinsh. ut supra, f. 14. d.

⁵ Compare Dugdale, *Baronage*, II. p. 155.

⁶ MS. *Ambassades*, p. 145. Mr. Allen's *Extracts*, MS.

⁷ Mezeray, in a. 1400.

⁸ Nov. 3, 1386, and Sept. 28, 1397.

⁹ Camden, I. f. 548. This writer says, that he was previously made Earl of Cambridge, I. f. 495. II. f. 915. This is not correct; for his father retained that title to his death. Dugdale, II. 155.

of Rutland, who behaved in an evil and strange manner throughout the

county. Other appointments rapidly followed. From the 17th to the 21st of Richard II. inclusive, he was made Admiral of the fleet to the northward, Commissioner of peace in France, Justice of the forests south of Trent, Constable of the Tower of London, Commissioner to treat of the marriage with Isabel, Governor of Guernsey, Jersey, the Isle of Wight with Carisbrook castle, Warden of the New-Forest, and all the forests south of Trent, Constable of Dover castle, and Warden of the Cinque-ports. To these succeeded the Dukedom of Albemarle above-mentioned, with a large portion of the estates of the Earls of Arundel and Warwick and the Duke of Gloucester, who had been attainted of treason. He had been one of the appellants of Gloucester, and was deeply implicated in the murder¹⁰ of that prince, his uncle, whose son, being by inheritance constable of England, was by the king deprived of this office in his favour;¹¹ the title of Albemarle seems to have been part of his reward for the share he took in that iniquitous transaction: within five days ensuing his elevation to that dignity he was again made Constable of the Tower.

As in the instance of Sir Thomas Percy, his recent appellation does not appear to have been generally adopted; for it will be seen that our author rarely speaks of him but as Earl of Rutland, though he notices his advancement to the title of Albemarle. He must have been deprived of the latter by the time the metrical History was composed.

Richard, according to his habitual weakness, was immoderately partial to him, and greatly influenced by his opinion; and Rutland seems to have been devoted to him in his turn, till the quarrel arose between the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, in which his own personal safety was called in question. Hereford affirmed that Norfolk had said, "that the king, notwithstanding his fair countenance and great oaths, did yet intend to oppress the duke of Lancaster, and the two Dukes of Albemarle and Exeter"¹² A suspicion that this assertion was founded in truth might have alienated his mind from the king: his conduct from that time exhibited a coolness towards him. Having officiated as high constable in the lists at Coventry, he withdrew from court,¹³ though he was one of the council, and retired with his father to Langley.¹⁴ Bolingbroke had probably then begun to tamper with him.

The expedition into Ireland brought him from his retreat. The king had constituted him in this year, 22 Ric. II. General Warden of the West Marches toward Scotland, and joined him with others, in commission to treat of peace with the Scots. He was now retained by indenture to serve in Ireland, for one whole year, with one hundred and forty
men

¹⁰ He sent two of his servants to assist in it. MS. Bodl. 2376.

¹¹ Froiss. XII. c. 3.

¹² Cotton's Abridgment, p. 372. Placita Coron. in Parl. 21 Ric. II. quoted by Rapin, 8vo. ed. VIII. p. 75, note.

¹³ Froiss. XI. c. 20.

¹⁴ Life of King Rich. II. by a person of quality, 8vo, 1681, p. 174.

whole of his course. Every man at the outset had made the best pro-

men at arms, knights and esquires, and two hundred archers on horse-back; every twenty of the archers having one carpenter and one mason.

So high was the estimation in which Richard continued to hold him, that in the will which he made before his departure from England he nominated him one of his executors, distinguishing him by the expression "*dilectum consanguineum nostrum*."¹⁵ He had been in the former Irish campaign;¹⁶ and Froissart¹⁷ tells us, that he was in the present case "induced to join the king for two reasons; one in return for the great affection King Richard had shown him; the other because he was constable of England. It was therefore necessary he should attend his king." What real sense he had of his obligations, and how far he discharged his office will be seen in the text. He might well be ashamed, as he was at the castle of Flint, to come into the presence of one whom he had so basely injured. Having been thus actively instrumental in the ruin of his benefactor, his known disposition renders it most probable that he designedly betrayed his friends,¹⁸ the Earls of Salisbury, Exeter, and Surrey. This was the opinion of Camden;¹⁹ and it is confirmed by the narrative, in opposition to other accounts which make his discovery of their conspiracy against Henry IV. to have arisen from an accidental cause. But he not only betrayed them, but joined in the pursuit after them. "Who," says Gaillard, from the MS. Ambassades,²⁰ "but must have felt indignation at seeing this traitor carrying on the end of a lance the head of his brother-in-law and accomplice, Lord Spencer, and shamefully presenting it to Henry, whom he would have treated in the same manner, if the tournament at Oxford (it should be Windsor) had taken place?"

Previous to the insurrection, in the stormy debates that had arisen in the first parliament of Henry IV. he was accused of the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, and appealed of treason. Lord Fitzwater,²¹ and twenty other nobles threw down their gages of quarrel upon the floor against him. But the proceedings were stayed, and the dispute passed over by the policy and forbearance of the new king. Yet Henry had not spared him for any favour that he bore towards him; he knew him too well to repose much confidence in him: he

¹⁵ Rymer, VIII. p. 77.

¹⁶ Walsing. p. 351.

¹⁷ XII. c. 22.

¹⁸ Ritson has the hardihood to assert, that he is not charged by any contemporary writer, unless it be the writer of a romance, as having the least concern in the conspiracy. Note on Shakspeare. Rich. II. Act V. Sc. 2.

¹⁹ Vol. I. f. 548.

²⁰ Account and Extracts, II p. 329.

²¹ "Le Sr de Fitzwater soy leva et dit al roy la ou le Duyk d'Aumarle luy excusa del mort de Gloucester, ieo dye quel fust cause de sa mort, et auxi il luy appella de trayson, issuit fust il cause; et cela ce p'vera ove mon corps, et veici mon gage et getta avant son chaperon. El xx autres s' et barouns getteront auxi lo' gages pur mesme la querelle devers Aumarle." *Deposicio Regis Richardi s'cdi*, in MSS. Bodl. 2376. Sir John Bagot, then prisoner in the Tower, accused him of having spoken against the Duke of Lancaster. Baker's Chronicle, p. 161.

vision that he could of bread, wine, and corn; and early on a summer's

he deprived him of his post of constable, and his title of duke, and reduced him to the rank of Earl of Rutland, 1 H. IV. though he pardoned him for the share he had taken in the conspiracy against his life, and restored his estate. On the death of his father in 1402, he became Duke of York; in the same year he was made lieutenant of Aquitaine, as Dugdale thinks, owing to his obsequiousness; but, it was perhaps, with a view of removing him from England.²² His restless spirit prompted him in 1405 to attempt the rescue of the Earl of March from confinement in Windsor; the plot however failed, and he was arrested,²³ and shut up in Pevensey castle²⁴ till the next parliament. It was generally reported that he had died in prison; but the power of Henry IV. was too firmly established to render his existence matter of alarm, and in the next year he was released, and re-appointed Constable of the Tower.²⁵ Besides, he found a firm friend in the Prince of Wales; the duke served in his company in the war against Owen Glendower, and was much indebted to his protection, under a charge of cowardice from which the prince strenuously vindicated him in the parliament of 1407. In 13 H. IV. he attended Thomas Duke of Clarence, when he went to the aid of the Duke of Burgundy;²⁶ and in the year ensuing was in the war in France.

Henry the Fifth extended his patronage towards him, and in the second year of his reign reversed the attainder that had been passed upon him,²⁷ constituted him Justice of South-Wales, and Warden of the East marches towards Scotland; he also restored him to the post of high constable; in which capacity he was with the host that besieged and captured Harfleur.²⁸ The only merit of his character, as Luders justly observes, was in military service; nor can we in any other sense, agree to his friend's eulogium of him, pronounced while he was pleading his cause, "that in all his actions he is a true and valiant knight."²⁹

As he advanced in age a review of the past might excite in him some feeling of contrition, and this probably induced him, in 1412, to found the college of Fotheringay in Northamptonshire.³⁰ A tendency towards it may be traced in his will which he made at the same time, wherein he directs, that in all masses and prayers directed to be offered up for him, mention should be made of *Richard the Second, for whom he was in conscience obliged to pray.*³¹

If

²² The conjecture in the Catalogue of Cottonian MSS. Vespasian, F. XII. 14, 15. as to *Richard d'Everwyk* (Duke of York) who was to accompany Philippa, daughter of Henry IV. into Denmark, in 1406, cannot be correct.

²³ Rymer, VIII, pp. 386, 388.

²⁴ Stow, p. 332.

²⁵ Rymer, ut supra, p. 457.

²⁶ Stow, p. 340.

²⁷ Rot. Parl. IV. p. 17.

²⁸ Stow, p. 348.

²⁹ Essay on the Character of Henry V. p. 59, quoting Rot. Parl. III. p. 611.

³⁰ Dugdale, Monast. Anglic. old edit. III. 162. b. and Tanner, Notitia Monast. Northamptonshire, XVI.

³¹ Dugdale, Baronage, II. 157. See the article, Edward, Earl of Rutland, passim.

morning, the very vigil of Saint John,^m the king marched directly towards Macmore, who would neither submit, nor obey him in any way, but affirmed that he was the rightful king of Ireland, and that he would never cease from war and the defence of his country till his death; he said that the wish to deprive him of it by conquest was unlawful. Then the king prepared to go into the depth of the deserts in search of him. For his abode is in the woods,ⁿ where he is accustomed to dwell at all

If too many of his deeds exclude him from being classed with the honourable, the concluding act of his life, at least, ranks him indisputably among the brave. He died on the field at Azincourt, Oct. 25, 1415, and was buried in the church of the college he had founded.²² By his wife Philippa, daughter of John Lord Mohun, he left no issue.

On the day of that great battle he earnestly solicited the command of the vanguard; and, as he had grown very corpulent, is said to have been over-borne in the throng and pressure of the combatants, and to have been suffocated and trampled to death rather than slain with the sword.²³ His suggestion of planting sharp stakes in front of the lines greatly contributed to the victory. The sight of his body, united to other circumstances, occasioned Henry V. to issue the disastrous order for the slaughter of the prisoners.²⁴ Henry caused his funeral obsequies to be celebrated with great pomp after his triumphal entry into London.²⁵

^m June 23d. He seems to have timed the commencement of his operations so as to enter upon them under the auspices and protection of Saint John the Baptist, who was his patron saint.¹ Frequent allusions are found to this fact. Indeed he had two other patrons in the calendar, King Edmund, and Edward the Confessor. In an old picture painted in 1377, and engraved by Hollar in 1639, he is represented kneeling by these three saints, and addressing his devotions to the Virgin.² His will is prefaced in the name of the Trinity, the Virgin, Saint John the Baptist, and Saint Edward the Confessor.³

ⁿ "As the woods and mountains were proper places for out-lawes and theeves, so were they their naturall castells and fortifications; thither they drave their preyes and stealthes; there

²² His magnificent monument had been ruined in the civil wars, and another was erected to his memory in a very inferior style by order of Queen Elizabeth. Camden, *l. f.* 521.

²³ Dugdale, *ut supra*, from Leland, *Itin.* *l. f.* 5.

²⁴ Baker, p. 375.

²⁵ Walsing. p. 393.

¹ Accounts and Extracts, *II.* p. 221.

² Granger's Biogr. Hist. of Engl. 1779. *I.* p. 15.

³ Rymer, *VIII.* 75.

seasons ; and he had with him, according to report, three thousand hardy men. Wilder people I never saw ; they did not appear to me to be much dismayed at the English. The whole host were assembled at the entrance of the deep woods, and every one put himself right well in array, for it was thought, for the time, that we should have battle ; but I know that the Irish did not shew themselves on this occasion. Orders were then given by the king, that every thing around should be set fire to : this resolve of burning was to weaken the power of the Irish : many a village and house were there consumed. While this was going on, the king, who bears^o leopards in his arms, caused a space

there they lurkt, and lay in waite to doe mischief. These fast-places they kept unknowne, by making the wayes and entries thereunto impassable ; there they kept their creaghts or heardees of cattle, living by the milk of the cowe without husbandry or tillage."⁴ " Sylvis pro castris ; paludibus utitur pro fossatis," says Giraldus.⁵

^o In his first expedition he had adopted the arms of Edward the Confessor. The reason assigned for this by Cristal was, that " the Irish loved and feared him more than any King of England before or since ;" but it is more likely to have been founded in Richard's devotion to his patron saint.⁶ " When our king went thither last year," said the knight to Froissart, " he laid aside the leopards and flower de luces, and bore the arms of Saint Edward emblazoned on all his banners. This we heard was very pleasing to the Irish."⁷ We now find the leopards restored ; for in 1397 the king added the above arms to his own, and bare them together party per pale.⁸ The assumption of these arms of Edward proved fatal to the Earl of Surrey in the reign of Henry VIII. though they had been formally granted to the family by Richard II. in 1394.⁹

Selden¹⁰ has asserted and proved that the leopards were anciently the coat of England. They were borne by Geoffrey, Earl of Anjou, son-in-law of Henry I. upon his shield and slippers, when the King of England made him a knight at Rouen, by the ceremony of the Bath.¹¹

Richard

⁴ Sir John Davies, *Discoverie*, &c. p. 162.

⁵ *Topogr. Hibern. Sylv. Girald. in Anglica*, &c. a Camden, p. 748.

⁶ Nisbet. *Essay on Armouries*, p. 146, in Dallaway's *Enquiries*, p. 377.

⁷ Froiss. XI. c. 24.

⁸ Stow, p. 318.

⁹ Lord Herbert's *Hist. of Hen. VIII.* p. 626. in Dallaway, p. 185, note.

¹⁰ Note on the eleventh Song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*.

¹¹ Menestrier. *De l'origine des Armoires*, I. pp. 61, 62, 63, from a MS. History of Geoffrey by a monk of Marmoustier : but the latter expressly calls them, *Leunculi*, *lioncels*. The French heralds frequently styled them lion-leopards.

to be cleared on all sides, and pennons and standards to be quickly hoisted: afterwards out of true and entire affection, he sent for the son ^p

Richard I. grandson of this earl, bare upon his shield in his great seal, three leopards passant in pale. When the Black Prince summoned his council at Bourdeaux to deliberate upon proceeding to the aid of Peter, his biographer makes him say,

——— ie oy contier
Que li leopards et leur compaignie
Se displayerent en Espagne.¹³

Nicholas Serby was Leopard Herald in the reign of Henry V. ¹³

It was an old opinion, pretended to have originated in a prophecy of Merlin, that the lilies and leopards should be united in the same field. The ambassadors sent by Edward III. in 1329 to claim the regency of France, upon the death of Charles the Fair, opened their harangue with this declaration.¹⁴ Richard had challenged Charles VI. upon the best title to the fleur de lis.¹⁵ The passage of Ariosto quoted by Menestrier and others, by a strong anachronism, assigns the leopards and fleurs de lis to a Duke of Lancaster in the time of Charlemagne.

“ Tu vedi ben quella bandiera grande
Ch’ insieme pon la Fiordilegi, e i pardi.”—Orl. Fur. C. X. st 77.

Gower describes Richard by an attribute similar to that of the text.
Sit laus Richardi, quem sceptrā colunt leopardi.¹⁶

^p Henry, afterwards Henry V. eldest son of Henry Duke of Lancaster, by Mary youngest daughter of Humphrey de Bohun,¹ was but in his eleventh year when this transaction took place. He was brought up in the king’s palace,² and received the early part of his education at Queen’s College, in Oxford; and from comparison of dates it may be concluded that he quitted his academical studies for a while to join the army. Because Henry Beaufort, his uncle, under whose superintendence he is understood to have been placed at the University, and who had been Chancellor in the preceding year, 1398,³ was himself attached to the expedition. Whether he continued at Oxford after he became Prince of Wales does not so clearly appear; though from the little mention made of him till the year 1402, it has been conjectured that this was the case.⁴ The commons, at the beginning

¹³ MS. Life of Edward the Black Prince, by Chandos Herald.

¹⁵ Dallaway, p. 126.

¹⁴ Mezeray, Hist. de France, I. p. 384.

¹⁵ Rot. Parl. 8 Ric. II. n. 3. in Selden de Duello. Opera, III. f. 60.

¹⁶ Selden, ut supra, from a MS. of “ Confessio Amantis.”

¹ Dugdale, Baronage, I. p. 187.

² T. Livii Vita Hen. V. p. 3. Ant. à Wood. Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ed. 1674, I. p. 209.

³ Id. II. p. 401.

⁴ Luders, Essay, p. 149, note.

of the Duke of Lancaster, a fair, young, and handsome⁴ bachelor, and knighted him, saying, "My fair cousin, henceforth be preux and valiant, for you have some valiant blood to conquer."⁵

ning of his father's reign, requested that, in consideration of his tender age, he might not go out of the kingdom;⁶ and it has been said, that he was sent for to court from Oxford, when he was placed under the military tuition of the veteran Sir Thomas Percy.⁶ After the death of his governor, against whom he fought at Shrewsbury, he acquired much experience in arms under the Duke of York in Wales;⁷ but this was the first campaign in which the future conqueror of France unsheathed his sword. The remarkable event of Henry's life, alluded to in the text, is not mentioned by any other writers of the time; though they speak of the king's having taken him to Ireland⁸ to learn the art of war, "ut rem militarem et disceret et primum exerceret."⁹

⁴ The term "bachelor" is used in a military sense. He was one who was not yet knighted, but was a candidate for the dignity of knighthood, and for that purpose exercised the profession of arms.¹⁰

⁵ There is an obscurity about this passage, at least to the translator, who has rendered it according to the best consideration he could give it. The difficulty lies chiefly in the word *sans*, which is capable of two interpretations. When any such points occur, he must refer them to the candour of the reader, who shall take the pains to compare them, hoping that he may be permitted to adopt the plea of Chaucer, made at the very period in which this now antiquated language, though lost among the commonalty, and banished from the pleadings of the courts, was spoken and written by scholars and polished persons, and formed part of a liberal education. "The understandynge of Englyshmen woll not stretch to the privy termes of Frenche, what so ever we bosten of straunge langage."¹¹

The words may signify that he had, as yet, little experience (*sens*) in conquest, and that, therefore, his chief concern would be to give proof of his valour. Or they might be intended to convey an allusion to the idea that Richard is said to have formed of Henry's future ability. Titus Livius¹² tells us, that "he often used to say publicly of him at court, that he had always heard it reported from his ancestors, that one Henry should be born among his kindred, who should be renowned all over the world for his praiseworthy and glorious deeds; and that he verily believed the prince to be that person."

⁴ MS. Bodl. 2376. Depos. Reg. Ric.

⁶ Baker, p. 167.

⁷ Rot. Parl. III. 611.

⁸ Th. Elmham, c. 2. Otterbourne, p. 197.

⁹ Tit. Livii Vita Hen. V. p. 3.

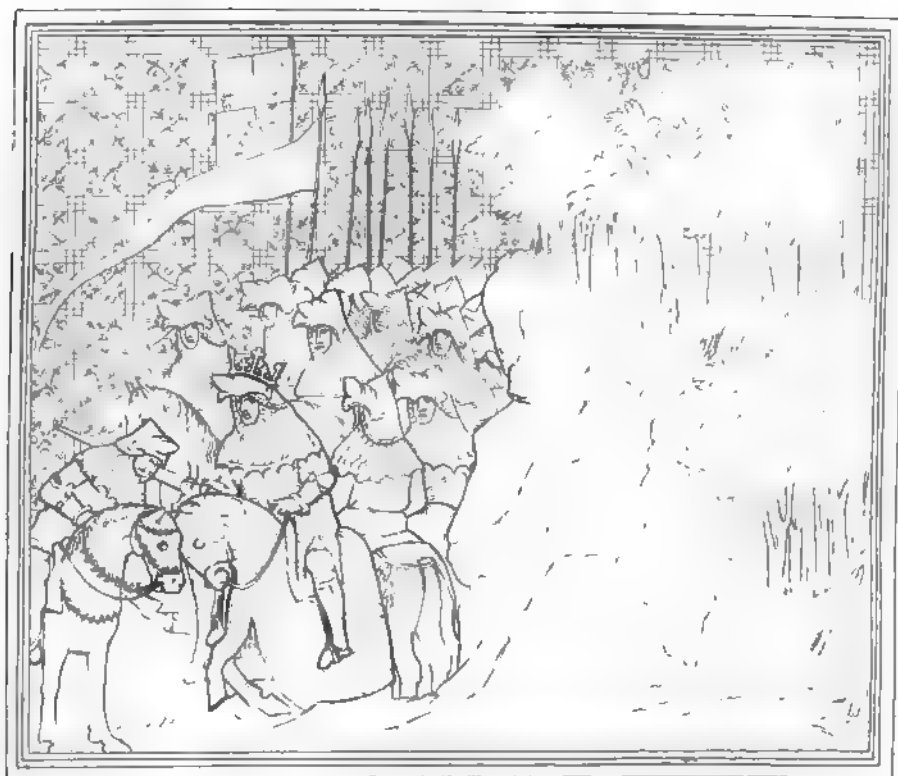
¹⁰ Selden, Opera, t. III. Titles of Honour, part ii. c. 3. s. 24. Du Cange, v. Baccalarus.

¹¹ Statutes of the Realm, I. p. 375.—36 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 15.

¹² Prologue to the Testament of Love.

¹³ Vita Hen. V. p. 3.

ILLUMINATION II.



(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE II.)

And for his greater honour and satisfaction,^s to the end that it might be the better imprinted in his memory, he made eight or ten other knights; but, indeed, I know not what their names were,^t for I took little heed about the matter, seeing that melancholy, uneasiness, and care, had

^s Richard gave many proofs of his affection for young Henry,⁴ who seems ever to have retained a grateful sense of his kindness; for one of the first acts after his coronation was to pay due funeral honours to his remains, and to shew as much respect to his memory as circumstances would allow. Soon after the ceremony described in the text, the youth was placed in an embarrassing situation; when news arrived of his father having landed in England, and marched through the country in arms. Upon that occasion Richard sent for him into his presence, and tried to sooth and relieve his feelings. The dialogue that took place between them, as it is given by Otterbourne,⁵ is equally creditable to both parties. "Ecce, ait, Hen. fili; quid pater tuus fecit mihi, revera terram meam ingressus hostiliter, guerrarum more captivans et perimens sine misericordia et pietate. Certe, fili, pro persona tua doleo, quia pro patris tui hoc infortunio, privandus eris tuo fortassis patrimonio!" Cui ille, licet puer, non tamen respondit pueriliter sub his verbis; "Vere, gratiose rex et domine, de his rumoribus multum doleo, et constat vestræ dominationi, prout æstimo, quod ego sum innocens de patris facto." Cui rex, "novi," ait, "quod nihil ad te pertinet per patrem perpetratum negotium, et ideo te de facto habeo excusatum." But, before he left Ireland, he thought proper to place him, and Humphrey, son of the late Duke of Gloucester, as hostages, in Trim Castle.⁶ When the Duke of Lancaster reached Chester he sent for them;⁷ and they joined him either in that city, or on the march to London. Humphrey then had the king in custody in his turn.

^t One of these was a son of the Countess of Salisbury; another might be the son of the Duke of Gloucester, mentioned in the former note. It was always honourable to receive knighthood in the field, in sight of an army, before a battle or assault, where banners of princes were displayed;⁸ but to receive it under the banner of the king was a very high honour for one not of royal birth.⁹ Great numbers were occasionally made in this way. Three hundred were knighted at Vittoria by the Black Prince, the Duke of Lancaster, and other lords, when they expected an engagement with the Spaniards.¹⁰

⁴ Th. Elmham, c. 2.

⁵ Otterbourne, pp. 205, 206.

⁶ Idem ut supra. Walsing. Ypod. Neustr. p. 554.

⁷ Life of Ric. II. p. 188.

⁸ The Sallade in Selden, ut supra.

⁹ St. Palaye, quoted by Laders, p. 35.

¹⁰ Froiss. III. c. 236.

formed, and altogether chosen my heart for their abode, and anxiety had dispossessed me of joy. Wherefore it was, I never could tell. In this condition I rode with them, and well observed all their doings; till at last the time came that I was able to give account of it, and of the mortal and most cruel treason that soon after ensued, as you shall hear. But I must first tell you of the conquest that the king made, who continued encamped before the woods with his men. Every one made haste to shift his quarters, when two thousand five hundred of the well affected people resident in the country came to fell the woods great and small; for there were then no roads,^u neither could any person, however he might be furnished with bold and valiant men, find a passage, the woods are so dangerous. You must know that it is so^v deep in many places that, unless you are very careful to observe where you go, you will plunge in up to the middle, or sink in altogether. This is their retreat, and therefore no one can catch them.

Thus we passed straight through the woods, for the Irish^w were much

^u Davies, who was well acquainted with the country and the septs that inhabited it, has thus described the king's line of march through it. "He landed at Waterford, and passed from thence to Dublin, through the wast countries of the Murroghes, Kinshe-laghes, Cavanaghes, Birnes, and Toolles.—In the Cavanaghes countrey he cut and cleared the paces."¹ He speaks of his knighting the Lord Henry, which he not improbably derived from this history.

^v Compare this with the relation of another eye-witness of the condition of the country. Froissart, vol XI. c. 24.

^w Rapin, in his account of the first invasion by Henry II. in 1171, remarks, "It is almost incredible, that the Irish, who were exceedingly numerous, should suffer themselves to be thus over-run by a handful of Englishmen; this is imputed to their great dread of the English crossbows, the use of which, till then, was unknown to them."² Cristal concludes, reasonably enough, "that they could not withstand the arrows, for they are not
armed

¹ Discoverie, &c. p. 52.

² Hist. of England, folio, I. p. 235. "Gens," says Giraldus, "subita sagittarum vulnera exhorrens." Yet he hints that they made some attempts at archery. Hib. Expugn. I. ii. c. 23.

afraid of our arrows. There they raised such a shouting ^x and noise that, in my opinion, they might easily have been heard at the distance of a long league. They did not all escape, owing to the archers, who were often up with them.^y Very frequently they assailed the vanguard, and threw their darts with such force that they pierced haubergeon and

armed against them ;"³ and it is besides obvious, that, so long as this impression of alarm was kept up, the bowmen would prevent them from closing upon an adversary, and at all times outmatch their ruder missiles. The Irish weapons were the sparthe or steel hatchet, the lance, and two darts.⁴ Froissart⁵ mentions also pointed knives with broad blades, sharp on both sides like a dart-head. They used stones too with great effect. But the bright and keen hatchet was most formidable; this, wielded with only one hand, the thumb being extended upon the handle to direct it, had been known to sever a horseman's thigh at a single stroke. No helmet or armour was proof against it.⁶ In daily intercourse every man carried one of these about him; and the evils resulting from this practice to a people, quick to receive and resent offence, may readily be imagined; neither is it wonderful that so many maimed and mutilated persons were to be seen among them.⁷ But their best means of attack and defence in battle were neutralised by the arrow. Hence Giraldus recommends the employment of archers; while he suggests the advantage of light troops, and judiciously comments upon the ineffectiveness of heavy armed cavalry against the activity of the Irishry.⁸

^x This shouting they made rather from an old superstitious notion than from fear, or expectation of terrifying the enemy. "Perhaps some will impute it to want of gravity and prudence in me, if I give an account of an old opinion of the wild Irish, and still current among them; that he, who in the great clamour and outcry which the soldiers usually make with much straining before an onset, does not huzza as the rest do, is suddenly snatched from the ground, and carried flying into these desert vallies, from any part of Ireland whatsoever; that there he eats grass, laps water, has some remains of his reason, but none of his speech; and that at long run he shall be caught by the hunters and brought back to his own home." Camden's Ireland. Description of Kerry.

^y There is, again, an ambiguity in this passage, though both MSS. agree in it. It may, on the other hand, be taken to mean that such of them as were opposed to the archers ran away from them. Many involutions of expression occur in the poem. There were archers on horseback as well as on foot.⁹

³ Froiss. XI. c. 24.

⁴ Gir. Cambr. Top. Hib. dist. III. c. 10.

⁵ Ibid. ut supra.

⁶ Top. Hib. ut supra.

⁷ Hib. Expugn. l. III. c. 35.

⁸ Ibid. l. II. c. 36.

⁹ Dugd. Bar. f. p. 150.

plates through and through. Many English stragglers they put to death, when parties went out to forage without waiting for the (*proper*) hour, or the hoisting of the standard.^z For the horses of the country scour the hills and vallies fleeter than a bounding deer; wherefore they did much mischief to the army of the king, whose courage^a was extraordinary, seeing he resolved to subdue and reduce to entire obedience a people who are almost savage. And indeed Macmore's own uncle, afraid of his life, came one day with a halter about his neck,^b and a drawn sword in his hand, to throw himself at the feet of the king and sue for mercy; I beheld a great many others

^z Irregularly; without waiting for their captain.

^a Richard's enemies have not given him credit for this quality; though two of the last great exigencies of his life, if they be not falsely reported, shew him to have been capable of it, both in suffering and in action, to an extraordinary degree.¹ A later historian has enlarged too much upon this part of his behaviour in Ireland, without producing any authority for what he has advanced. "He (the king), made at first some progress against the rebels, and *in several encounters gave marks of valour*, which caused a belief, that if hitherto he had shown no great inclination for war, it was not to be ascribed so much to a want of courage as to a bad education."² The mutability of his character renders any decision with respect to this point very difficult. The fact seems to have been, that, whatever lessons he might have received from Sir Guiscard D'Angle, his military tutor, one of the bravest and most experienced knights in the train of his valiant father, they were early obliterated by the society into which he was thrown. He had hardly ever exposed his person in tourney, or in fight; and his whole career shews that he was more attached to the pomp and parade, than to the serviceable exercise of arms.

^b Stow renders it a *wyth*.³ It is well known that this was the customary submission of a rebel.

Si sont assentis a rendre au derrein jour,
A venir a mercy bellement par loy seur,
Chascun la hart au col, a loy de boiseur.⁴

With this appendage the brave Oliphant and his comrades issued from the castle of Stirling, when they yielded to Edward I. in the year 1304.⁵

¹ See *Reflections upon the Reigns of Ed. II. and Ric. II.* by Sir Rob. Howard, 8vo. 1690, p. 172.

² Rapin, I. p. 470.

³ *Annales*, p. 319.

⁴ Chron. MS. Bertrandi de Guesclin in Ducange, v. Bausiare.

⁵ Lingard, II. c. 16.

of his retinue naked and barefoot, like criminals ready to be put to death. Now when the king saw them he was moved with compassion, and said, 'Friends, as to the evils and the wrong that you have committed against me, I pardon you, upon condition that each of you will swear to be faithful to me for the time to come.' Then every one readily complied with his demand. When this was done, he sent word to Macmore, who called himself lord and king of Ireland, (*that country*) where he has many a wood but little cultivated land, that if he would come straightways to him, with a rope about his neck, as his uncle had done, he would admit him to mercy, and elsewhere give him castles and lands in abundance. Macmore told the king's people that he would do no such thing for all the treasure of the sea,^c or on this side (*the sea*), but would continue to fight and harass him. Full well he knew that the English had little to eat^d; nothing was to be got; not even a pennyworth was to be bought by any one who had not brought it with him. In this condition was the army obliged to remain eleven days, unable to find any thing, save only a few green oats for the horses, which being frequently lodged in the open air, (*exposed*) to rain and wind, were quite faint; and many of them perished of hunger. No one would believe the distress of the men, high and low; nor the evil that the English endured. They could not take Macmore, but on the other hand he made them suffer much pain and grief with hunger. I really witnessed that on some days five or six of them had but a single loaf; some there were, even gentlemen, knights, and squires, who did not eat a morsel for five days together.

^c He seems to allude to an equivalent for the barony of Norragh, as well as to the annuity that had been promised to him: probably some additional gratuity, on condition of surrender, had been tendered on the part of the king.

^d It was far otherwise during the hostilities of 1394, if we may believe Froissart. "I was told that during the whole campaign, they were well supplied with all sorts of provisions: for the English are expert in war, and know well how to forage, and take proper care of themselves and horses."

For my own part I should have been heartily glad to have been penniless at Poitiers or Paris; for amusement or mirth there was none; but in their stead, toil, trouble, and danger; mourning was served and honoured in the place of rejoicing. The army could on no account have remained there any longer; but in the mean time three ships arrived by sea^e from Dublin where was plenty of stores and provisions.

(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE III.)

There was much contention to get a share of them; they rushed into the sea, as they would into (*their bed of*) straw; every one spent his halfpenny or penny for himself, some in eating, others in drinking: the whole was rifled without delay: I believe there were more than a thousand men drunk^f on that day, seeing that the wine was of

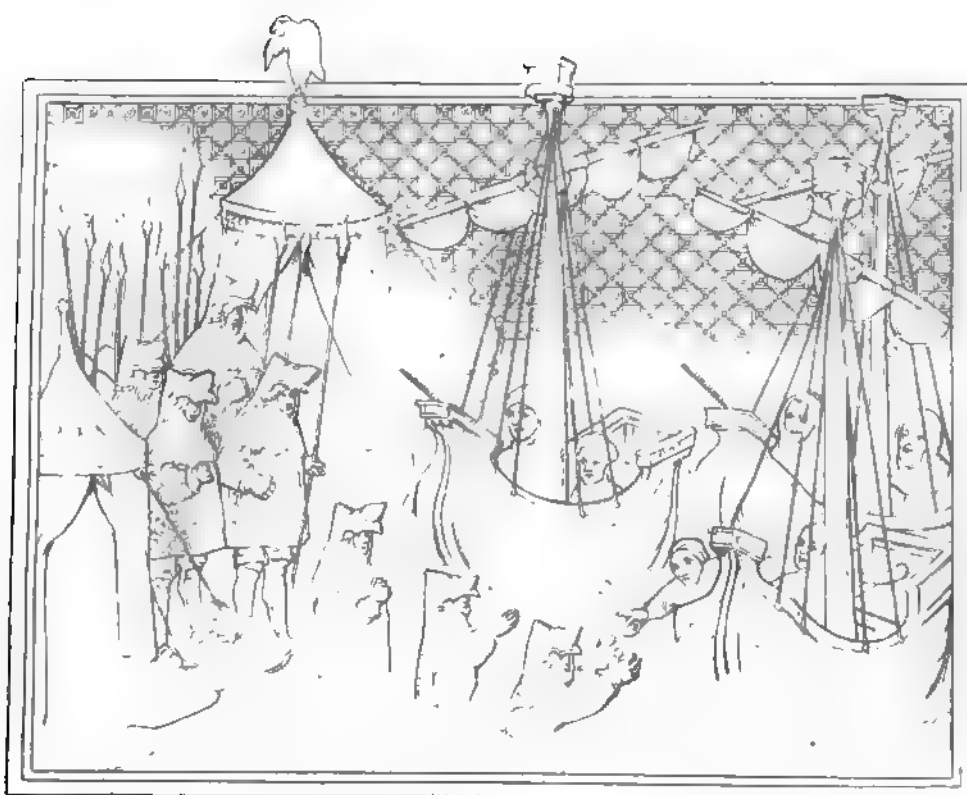
^e From Richard's marching first upon Kilkenny, and then drawing down towards the sea, it might seem, at first sight, as though he designed to have cut off Macmorogh from the interior, and have driven him up in the direction of Dublin; but the result shews, not only that he failed in this, if such were his object, but that, after he had opened a passage through the woods, and destroyed their fastnesses, when he was forced to retire for want of provisions, the Irishry, besides wasting the country before him, probably, hung upon his flanks and rear, and distressed his army the whole of the way across Wicklow. Something like a co-operation appears to have been attempted by Janico Dartois to the northward; but he began before the king left Kilkenny.¹ The scene of the campaign must have been chiefly in Carlow and Wicklow.

^f The strength of the grape of Burgundy had been often injuriously experienced by the English in their wars in France. In this instance the wine was comparatively cheap, and they had been exhausted by severe privations. The price of the wines of 'Oseye and Spain' had been regulated by statute during this reign. They were not to be charged at more than 100 shillings the Tun wholesale; and were to be retailed at not more than sixpence per gallon. If they had undergone land carriage into the interior, an additional halfpenny was to be laid on every gallon.² But in the present case they, perhaps, paid no duty; and, if so, the men could have purchased a quart for three halfpence; this comes near to the very expressions of the text, if, indeed, they are not employed in a general sense. The effect of this upon a famished and ill-organised soldiery may easily be understood, and is but too characteristically represented.

¹ Camden, *Annals of Ireland*, a. 1399.

² *Statutes of the Realm*, 5 Ric. II. stat. 1. c. 4.

ILLUMINATION III.



Ossey^ε and Spain which is a good country (*for it*). Many a cuff and blow passed between them. On the morrow morning, however, the king set out on his march directly for Dublin, in spite of all the shouting of his enemies; when Macmore sent a begging friar to the king, saying that he wished to be friends with him, and with clasped hands to sue for mercy; (*requesting*) that at least he would send to him some lord who might be relied upon to treat of peace, so that their anger, which had long been cruel, might be all extinguished. This news made many joyful in the host of the king, for every one was desirous of repose. He asked his council their opinion, and who would be a proper person to employ. They agreed in few words that the honourable Earl of Gloucester,^h for the

^ε Osoye, in Lambeth MS. Osore, according to the British Museum MS. is Auxerre; Osoye is Alsace. Both expressions are here presented in a single line;

Mes vin i a de fi le scai,

Ne scai ou d'Auçoire ou d'Aussai.¹

In the "Squyr of low Degree," the king of Hungary, after enumerating a variety of wines, tells his daughter that she shall be presented with "pots of Osey." But the conjecture of Ellis upon that passage, (q: *oseille*? *sorrel*,) is quite erroneous.²

^h Thomas Despencer, son of Edward Lord Despencer, by Elizabeth daughter of Bartholomew de Burghersh, and great grandson of Hugh Despencer, executed in the reign of Edward II.

His father dying in 49 Edw. III. when he was two years old, his wardship was granted to Edmund Earl of Cambridge, uncle of Richard II. to the end that he should marry his daughter, a circumstance which afterwards took place. At the time of this expedition he could not be more than twenty-six years old; but he had served in Ireland in the first campaign against Macmorogh and the other chieftains; and had been one of the negotiators of Richard's second marriage.³ Dugdale⁴ has erred, when he informs us, from Walsingham, that this nobleman, in 20 Ric. II. was arrested with others, at Nottingham, upon a charge of high treason. The passage of the historian,⁵ which he has mistaken, refers to the

appoint-

¹ Fabliau du sot Chevalier. Barbazan, III. p. 212.

² Specimens of Early English Poets, I. p. 341.

³ Froiss. XI. c. 31.

⁴ Baronage, I. p. 396.

⁵ It runs thus: (He had already spoken of the arrest of Gloucester, and the two others.) "Et paulo post apud Notyngham fecit (*rex sc.*) indictari dictos dominos de proditiōe, subornavitque appellantes, qui eos appellarent in parlamento futuro, sc. Edwardum comitem Ruthlandiæ, Thomam Mounbray comitem Mareschallum, Thomam Holand comitem Cantii, Johannem Holand comitem Huntingdoniæ, Tho. Beuford

good name and reputation that he bore, should be sent, with a provision

appointment of Despencer, with associates, to be appellants of the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick. After the death of the two former, and the banishment of the latter, Thomas Despencer was made Earl of Gloucester, and had a portion of the estates of the Earl of Warwick assigned to him. Being always in favour with the king, and connected with him by marriage with his cousin, he petitioned,¹ in the parliament of 1398, for the revocation of the judgment that had been pronounced against his great grandfather, and obtained it.

When Richard's army was broken up at Milford, no mention is made of his having gone over to the Duke of Lancaster; but he sat in the first parliament of Henry IV. excused himself as to the share he had taken in the death of Gloucester, upon the plea of compulsion,² and became one of the commissioners for the deposition of the king.³ Yet he experienced no favour at the hand of Henry; for he was reduced to the rank of Lord Despencer, stripped of his newly acquired castles, lordships, and lands, and sentenced to hold all his hereditary possessions at the king's mercy: he was to give no liveries or cognisances, nor to have any retainers except domestics; and, if ever he should attempt to assist the deposed king, he was to be prosecuted as a traitor. This attempt, however, he made in conjunction with the conspirators in 1 Hen. IV. During the confusion of the affair at Cirencester he escaped from the inn, in which he was lodged, over the roofs of some houses,⁴ and fled for refuge to his strong castle at Cardiff. But even this afforded him no security. He had, indeed, eluded a party despatched by the king to apprehend him; and had embarked on board a vessel in the hope of escaping with his servants and treasure. But a severer fate awaited him; and the circumstances of his arrest were peculiarly tantalising. Having gained the Bristol Channel in fancied security, the captain inquired to what port he wished

Beuford comitem de Somerset, Johannem de Monte acuto comitem Sarum, Thomam dominum de Spencer, et Wilhelmum Scrop regis Camberlanum." Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 354. But, considering the nature of Dugdale's task, and the value of it, no severe censure should be passed upon the execution.

¹ According to the setting forth of this petition, the estate and stock of Hugh le Despenser at the time of his decease was immense. He had fifty-nine lordships in sundry counties; twenty-eight thousand sheep; one thousand oxen and steers; one thousand and two hundred kine, with their calves; forty mares, with their colts of two years; one hundred and sixty draught-horses; two thousand hogs; three thousand bullocks; forty tuns of wine; six hundred bacons; fourscore carcasses of Martinmass beef; six hundred muttons in his larder; ten tuns of cider; armour; plate; jewels; and ready money, better than ten thousand pounds; thirty-six sacks of wool; and a library of books. Rot. Parl. 21 Ric. II, quoted by Dugdale, Baronage, I. pp. 396, 397.

² MS. Bodl. 2376, p. 213.

³ Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV.

⁴ Rapin, I. p. 489. Froissart says, he separated from Salisbury on Severn side, as they were riding towards Berkeley. XII. c. 30.

that he should fully recount to him the great outrage, and the amount of that which he had done. He set out in the presence of the king, and took with him the whole of the rear-guard, of which he was made captain; they were two hundred lancers, and a thousand archers; better, I assure you, I never saw. I went with them, as one desirous of seeing the honour, condition, force, and power of Macmore, and in what way he would do his duty to obtain a good and confirmed peace.

Between two woods, at some distance from the sea, I beheld Macmore and a body of the Irish, more than I can number, descend the

wished to proceed: and when he told him he intended to go beyond sea, refused to carry him any where but to Bristol. Despencer threatened the mariner with death; and in the course of their altercation, twenty armed men, concealed in the hold, rushed upon deck and over-powered him and his attendants. He was then taken into Bristol, and delivered into the custody of the Mayor of that city. Henry wished to have had an interview with him before he was put to death; but, on the second day after his arrival, a multitude assembled, and called aloud for the traitor to the king and realm, that he might be brought out to execution. The Mayor in vain endeavoured to oppose them; they dragged their victim forth, and beheaded him in the market place.¹ His head² was set upon London Bridge; his body was buried in the midst of the choir at Tewksbury, under a lamp that burned before the host.

In Rymer's Additional MSS.³ is an order to give to William Flaxman the cloak of motley velvet and furred damask, which Thomas Lord le Despencer wore when he was brought to Bristol.

Froissart⁴ calls him one of the most powerful barons in England. He was Lord of Glamorgan and Morganok; and his influence in South Wales must have rendered him dangerous. In the proclamation against the insurgents he is simply styled Thomas Despencer, *Chivaler*; ⁵ a term which shews the feeling of indignation or contempt entertained by the government towards him, reducing his rank as low as possible. Knighthood itself was indelible, except by a formal act of degradation.

He left one son and two daughters by his wife Constance, daughter of Edmund Duke of York. She survived her husband nine years.⁶

¹ Vita Ric. II. per Mon. Evesh. à Hearne. p. 167.

² His brother-in-law, the Earl of Rutland, himself brought it to Henry. Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 229.

³ MS. Brit. Mus. Donat. 4596, p. 112, dated, Feb. 13, 1 Hen. IV.

⁴ XII. c. 30.

⁵ Fœdera, VIII. p. 124, dated, Feb. 8, 1400.

⁶ Dugdale, Baronage, I. p. 396. See the article, Thomas Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, *passim*.

mountain. He had a horse without housing or saddle,ⁱ which was so fine and good, that it had cost him, they said, four hundred cows; for there is little money in the country, wherefore their usual traffic is only with cattle.^k In coming down it galloped so hard, that, in my opinion, I never, in all my life, saw hare, deer, sheep, or any other animal, I declare to you for a certainty, run with such speed, as it did. In his right hand he bore a great long dart, which he cast with much skill. Here see the appearance that he made exactly pourtrayed.

(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE IV.)

But his people drew up in front of the wood. These two, like an out-post, met near a little brook. There Macmore stopped. He was a fine large man, wondrously active. To look at him, he seemed very stern and savage, and an able man. He and the Earl spake of their doing, recounting the evil and injury that Macmore had done towards the king at sundry times; and how they all forswore their fidelity,^l when wrong-

ⁱ "Sellis equitando non utuntur," is the testimony of Giraldus. The native Irish excelled in horsemanship.¹

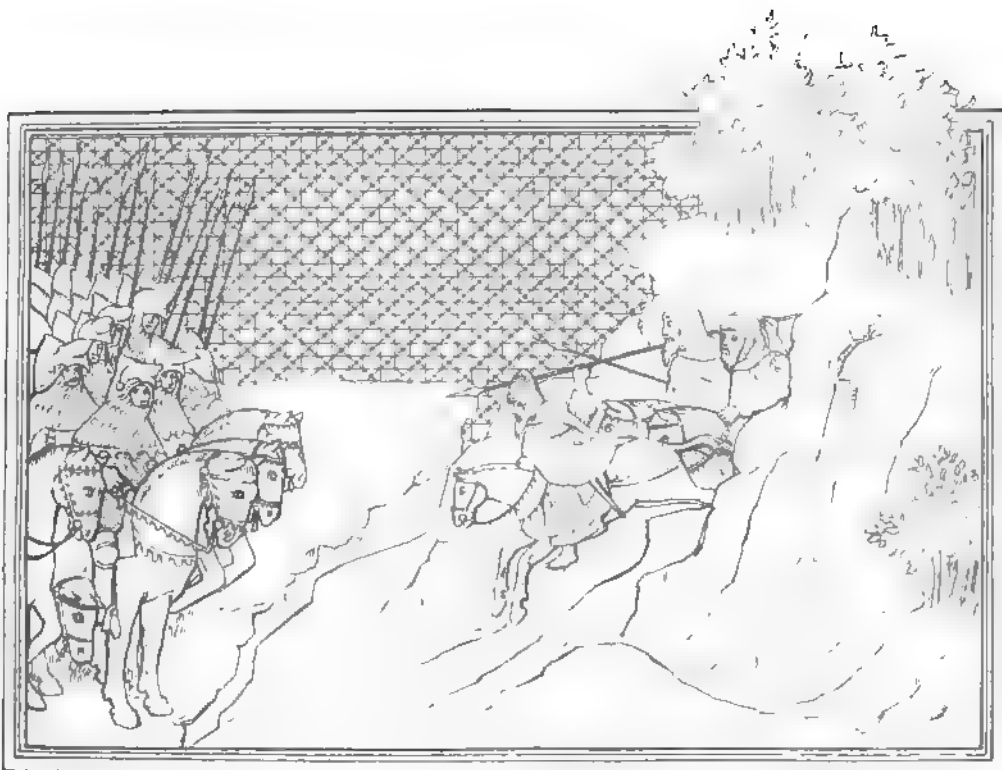
^k This ancient mode of traffic, common to savage nations, is strongly indicative of the existing state of the Irishry. Cows were a favourite barter for horses in Wales, and, indeed, were generally applied for purposes of exchange. Under Trychan, the fifteenth Bishop of Llandaff, in the eighth century, Convur, the son of Jacoi, bought of King Fernuail the church of Guthbertine and some lands belonging to it, giving for the same an excellent horse which cost him ten kine, a spaniel prized at the worth of three kine, and another horse worth likewise three kine. This land, so bought, he gave to Trychan and his successors. Other instances of land so purchased, and presented to the church, occur under the same bishop.²

^l That is, they violated the indentures into which they entered with the king, when he was last in Ireland. See pp. 19, 20. note ^d.

¹ Top. Hib. dist. III. c. 10. Holinshed, *Descr. of Ireland*, f. 28. a.

² Godwin, in the article LANDAFF, from a very ancient MS. called Teliau's book, belonging to the church of Landaff.

ILLUMINATION IV.



fully, without judgment or law, they most mischievously put to death the courteous Earl of March.^m Then they exchanged much discourse,

^m Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, and second Earl of Ulster, in Ireland, was the eldest son of Edmund Earl of March, by Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. An historian¹ attached to the family has furnished us with some minute particulars concerning him. He was born at Usk, April 11, 1374, and baptised on the following Sunday by William Courtney, Bishop of Hereford; his sponsors being Roger Cradock, Bishop of Llandaff, Thomas Horton, Abbot of Gloucester, and the Prioress of Usk. His father dying at Cork, during his government of Ireland, in 1382, left him a minor under the legal guardianship of Richard II. The minions of the court immediately applied to be admitted into the profits of his estates during his minority; and the king too readily consented to their request, and angrily dismissed his honest chancellor, Sir Richard Scroope, who had opposed them.² The trust was afterwards for a pecuniary consideration vested in more responsible persons;³ and those into whose hands it fell do not appear to have abused it. When Roger Mortimer came of age he found that his rights had been duly respected according to the provisions of the great charter of the land: his castles and mansions were in good repair: his manors and farms were well stocked with cattle, and all the requisites of husbandry; and he had twenty thousand marks in his treasury. Such was his hereditary rank and consequence, that in case Richard should die without issue, he was nearest to the throne; and in provision for an occurrence of that nature the parliament of 1385 nominated him heir presumptive to the crown.⁴ Six months after his father's decease, 5 Ric. II. he was appointed lieutenant of Ireland. He had been originally betrothed to the daughter of the Earl of Arundel; but the king, at the interposition of his own mother, the princess Joan, set aside the match in favour of her grand-daughter Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Holand, Earl of Kent. The character of Roger Mortimer, as given by the aforesaid historian, forms an ample comment upon the epithet "*courtois*" applied to him by the poet. "He was distinguished for the qualities held in estimation at that time, a stout tourneyer, a famous speaker, a costly feaster, a bounteous giver, in conversation affable and jocose, in beauty and form surpassing his fellows." His splendid mode of living, his liberal and cheerful disposition, were sure passports to the regard of his sovereign, and had

¹ Prioratus de Wygmore Foundationis et Fundatorum Historia MS. in Dugdale, Monast. Ang. I. pp. 228, 229.

² Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 290.

³ The joint farmers who held his estates were the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Northumberland. Bibl. Cotton. MS. Titus. B. XI. f. 7.

⁴ Froissart, who by mistake calls him John, introduces the Duke of Gloucester endeavouring at Pleshy to draw him into a plot against the king. XI. c. 48. XII. c. 14.

but did not come at last to agreement; they took short leave, and hastily parted. Each took his way apart (*from the other*), and the Earl

had been probably modelled from his own example. In 17 Ric. II. Mortimer, then in his twentieth year, accompanied the first expedition into Ireland,⁵ having in his retinue an hundred men at arms, of which two were bannerets, and eight knights, two hundred archers on horseback, and four hundred archers on foot. Richard hastily returning to England, left the inexperienced youth to govern that turbulent island. He had, however, competent advisers under him, if he would have listened to their counsels.⁶ In 19 Ric. II. he had an especial commission and lieutenancy for the provinces of Ulster, Connaught, and Meath; and in 20 Ric. II. he was instituted once more lieutenant of that whole realm. He was summoned⁷ to attend the parliament at Shrewsbury, at which he appeared at the head of a crowd of retainers, clad chiefly at his own expence in white and crimson, with great pomp and pageantry. He had a cause at that time pending with the Earl of Salisbury, respecting the right to the town and castle of Denbigh; and when he had succeeded in his suit, he returned to his government. It was a post of as much trouble as dignity, and demanded a steadier hand. For, adds the same chronicler, "Roger, war-like and renowned as he was, and fortunate in his undertakings and fair, was yet most dissolute, and remiss in matters of religion." Like his master, he neglected the prudential representations of older persons; and his rash and resolute spirit brought him to an untimely end. In a conflict at Kinles with the sept of Obrien, his ungovernable impetuosity hurried him foremost upon the enemy; and as he had advanced⁸ beyond the succour of his own soldiers, and was disguised in the habit and accoutrements of an Irish horseman, he was slain and⁹ torn in pieces by the savage natives. This happened upon the festival of Saint Margaret the virgin in the year 1398.

By his wife Eleanor he left four children,¹⁰ and his posterity on the female side involved England in civil discord. His bones repose beneath the site of the Abbey of Wigmore in Herefordshire, the foundation and favourite burial-place of his fathers.

⁵ Particulars as to his establishment and allowance during his nonage in the government of Ireland may be seen in APPENDIX, No. II. from original documents of the negotiation entered into with those who had the wardship of his estates. Bibl. Cotton. MS. Titus. B. XI. f. 19 b.

⁶ Lord Lovel, Sir John Stanley, Sir John Sandes, Sir Ralph Cheyney, and others. MS. Titus. ut supra.

⁷ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 13.

⁸ Otterbourne, p. 197, says, he was riding unarmed and unattended; but this does not agree with the other accounts. In MS. Bibl. Soc. Antiq. 87. 21. it is affirmed, that he went to the rescue of some lands that had been left to him by his mother. His father had been obliged to reconquer them before. Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. p. 149. Bibl. Cotton. MS. Titus. XI. f. 5. b. At any rate the transaction occurred in war.

⁹ Nequiter occisus et membratim dilaceratus. *Vita regis Ric. II.* p. 127. The behaviour of the Irishry towards a fallen enemy was excessively ferocious. Froissart, XI. c. 24.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Baronage*. See the article, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, I. 150.

returned towards King Richard, for he was very loth (*or late*) to rehearse to him the whole of his doing, and his crafty intention, and how that he could find nothing in him, save only that he would ask for pardon, truly, upon condition of having peace without reserve, free from any molestation or imprisonment. Otherwise he will never come to agreement as long as he lives; and (*he said*) "nothing venture nothing have." This speech was not agreeable to the king; it appeared to me that his face grew pale with anger:ⁿ he sware^o in great wrath by Saint Edward, that, no, never

ⁿ This little incident, trifling as it may appear, is a proof of the accuracy of the Frenchman's ocular observation. Richard's growing pale with anger is more than once adverted to. Shakspeare has taken advantage of this peculiarity in the reproof which he makes him give to Gaunt.

Dar'st, with thy frozen admonition,
Make pale our cheek; chasing the royal blood,
With fury, from his native residence?¹

The king is known to have been of a ruddy complexion.

^o A singular notion prevailed in this age with respect to common colloquial and affirmative oaths. In most cases they were reputed harmless, and even meritorious, especially if they were employed to assert the truth. And thus they were used and understood both by clergy and laity. This may in part account for their frequent occurrence in the pages of Chaucer and Froissart. The opinion was something like that of the Mahometans, explained by Ockley, in his History of the Saracens. The Lollards, who stuck closer to the injunctions of the Gospel, opposed this unchristian practice; and were, in the other extreme, as scrupulous about judicial oaths as the Quakers have been since.² At the examination of William Thorp in the castle of Saltwood, before Archbishop Arundel, in 1407, of which we have an account, "penned by himself," a portion of the debate hinges upon this point. Thorp, addressing the archbishop, expresses himself thus: "Sir, I know well that many men and women, have now swearing so in custom, that they neither know, nor will know that they do evil

¹ Richard II. Act. 2. Sc. 1.

² Yet it must be mentioned, in justice to Wycliff, that his own words deny the imputation of his adversaries, that he was an enemy to all oaths. "God," says he, "teaches us to swear by himself, when necessity calls for it, and not by his creatures." Dr. James's Apology for Wycliff in Milner. History of the Church, IV. p. 137.

would he depart from Ireland, till, alive or dead, he had him in his power. Alas! little did he know of the great misfortune, or the mortal strife which was rising against him from those of whom he expected to be supported all his days. And fortune, who crosseth every thing, would not permit his course to continue; but in a very short time changed his joy into mourning.

The army dislodged without making any more stay, for the smallest quantity of provision was not at that time to be found. Wherefore we went on straight to Dublin, a good city, standing upon the sea, and containing such great abundance of merchandise and provisions, that it was said that neither flesh nor fish, bread-corn nor wine, nor other store, was any dearer for all the army of the king. I know full well that they were more than thirty thousand^p that sojourned therein and around. The whole of their ills were soon forgotten, and their sorrow

evil to swear as they do; but think and say that they do well to swear as they do, though they know well that they swear untruly. For they say, they may by their swearing (though it be false) void all blame or temporal harm, which they should have if they swear not thus. And, sir, many men and women maintain strongly, that they swear well, when that thing is sooth which they swear for. Also, full many men and women say now, that it is well done to swear by creatures, when they may not (as they say) otherwise be believed. And also, full many men and women say now, that it is well done to swear by God, and by our Lady, and by other saints, to have them in mind."¹ The archbishop could not induce Thorp to make oath upon the Gospels; but, before the examination was over, he convinced the Lollard, that he himself had little scruple at oaths of any kind.

^p Having already stated from Froissart the account of the king's armament, that it consisted of two thousand lances and ten thousand archers; it may be proper to observe, in addition, that this could be only that portion of the forces which he marched to Bristol. Great numbers, according to our author's representation, joined at Milford; and the Duke of Rutland with his complement did not come in till the rest of the army had reached Dublin. This may serve to reconcile Froissart with others; but it is a curious circumstance that he did not know that the king had gone farther than Bristol, or that he had been at all in Ireland.²

¹ William Thorp's Examination, in Fox. Acts and Monuments. Edit 1684, p. 613.

² See XI. c. 16, 21, and the intermediate chapters.

removed. There were we more than a fortnight, as much at our ease as fish in water (easy of body as fish in Seine). It is the principal trading city in Ireland. The king could not forget Macmore. He caused three companies of his men to be well appointed to go in quest of him, and exhorted them to behave well, saying, that he would readily give that man who should bring him in, a hundred marks in pure gold. Every one took care to remember these words, for it was a good hearing. And if they could not seize his person, should God give him good health, till the season of autumn be gone by, when trees are stripped and bare of their leaves, he would burn all the woods great and small. So that I believe this will be the only way to take him. On the very same day arrived the false Earl of Rutland and his men in an hundred barges, all completely equipped for war. He was at that time Constable of England, and Duke of Aumarle, where he has a fine territory. Any thing that he pleased he might have asked of the king, for I solemnly declare, there was no man alive, brother nor uncle, cousin, young nor old, whom he loved better.¹ He was most heartily rejoiced and assured at his coming. Many a time did he ask him, "Constable, where tarried you so long that you came no sooner to us?" He excused himself humbly before all, wherewith the king was contented; for he (*the earl*) was humble and gentle towards him; yet had his doings been contrary to what he said, for which he was much blamed. Thus were we in joy and delight at Dublin, where full six weeks very pleasantly passed away, without hearing any certain tidings from England; for no peril or pain that could be undergone could bring vessels of any size² over in safety;

¹ The king loved the Earl of Rutland beyond measure. Froiss. XII. c. 3.

² In the original it is *barges ne nefis*. Vessels in use during this period are thus enumerated in an ordinance of Parliament:¹ "Nefs, barges, ballingers." Walsingham² also speaks of galleys and lines (*lin, linter*), coggos and carricks. Some of these might be foreign. Barges were employed for the transport of troops and stores, and were in remoter times considered of a large class.³

¹ Rot. Parl. 2 Ric. II. p. 2. art. 39. ² Hist. Angl. pp. 296, 299, 318, 322. ³ Du Cange, Gloss. v. Barga.

so contrary was the wind in all quarters, and so outrageous a tempest on the sea, that, to my thinking, our Lord was wroth with the king, for in the mean time the duke seized the greater part of England, by the strangest and foulest treachery I ever knew, as you shall hear. However, to proceed; the sea soon after became calm, when it pleased the Sovereign Ruler of all below. A barge arrived^a which was the occasion of much sorrow. Those who came in her related to the king, how the duke had caused his treasurer[†] to be beheaded; and

^a This might be the vessel in which Sir William Bagot passed over; for, while the duke was wreaking his vengeance upon the other lieutenants of the king, Bagot made his escape to Chester, and thence to Ireland.¹ He was afterwards apprehended, sent to Newgate,² and brought for examination before the parliament; but acquitted in the next session.³ The MS. *Ambassades*⁴ affirms that Scroope, chancellor of the Exchequer, carried the news to Ireland; which is unquestionably wrong.

[†] William Scroope, second son of Henry Lord Scroope of Masham. He had been seneschal of Aquitaine in 6 Ric. II. and was highly esteemed by the king, who poured his favours upon him with an unsparing hand, especially towards the close of his reign. In 7 Ric. II. he obtained certain grants of money for his support, payable out of the customs, and in 9 Ric. II. was made governor of the castle of Cherbourg. He was vice-chamberlain of the household 16 Ric. II. presented with the town and castle of Marlborough 17 Ric. II. and appointed governor of Queenborough, Beaumaris, and Bamborough castles, chamberlain of Ireland, Justice of Chester, North Wales, and Flint, created Earl of Wiltshire, and enriched with large portions of the confiscated estates of the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, from the 20 to the 22 Ric. II. inclusive. He had been of the commission for the marriage of Richard with Isabel. It is said that he purchased the lordship of the Isle of Man of the Earl of Salisbury; yet, owing to some unexplained circumstance, Salisbury continued to use the title as long as he lived. Scroope had recently been appointed captain of the castle of Calais, and constable of the castles of Guisnes and Knaresborough, and was retained to serve with the king in Ireland, with forty men at arms, and one hundred archers on horseback, to be shipped to and fro at the king's charge; and he had received a quarter's pay in advance for himself and his retinue; but, being one of the chief counsellors, he remained at home, with the very few who were well affected to the

¹ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 359.

² Chronic. Petri de Ickham. MSS. Harl. 4393, p. 67. Carte, II. p. 644.

³ Deposicio Regis Richardi sc'di. MSS. Bodl. 2376.

⁴ Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 216.

how, when he first arrived in his country, he made the proud ^u Arch-

the king, for the security of the realm. Henry took him at Bristol, with Sir John Bussy and Sir Henry Green, and beheaded him in compliance, as he professed, with the wishes of the people. The very act was treason, by the statute, 25 Edw. III. st. 5, c. 12. "If a man slea the treasurer of the king, it ought to be judged treason."¹ This shews how strongly he committed himself in the outset; for, though he might pretend that it was done as a concession to the popular fury,² he must have known that the responsibility of it, if it should be enquired into, would fall upon himself. Probably he owed Scroope no good will for his connexion with the castle of Knaresborough.

Walsingham gives a most unfavourable account of the Earl of Wiltshire. "Vir, in quo (*sic*) in humano genere de facili non inveniatur nequior aut crudelior."³ About ten years before, he had been guilty of some gross outrage against the Bishop of Durham, for which he made amends, according to the fashion of the day, by offering a jewel at the shrine of Saint Cuthbert, of the value of five hundred pounds.⁴

The king was unfortunate in the personal character of too many of those whom he injudiciously selected for his advisers and friends; and his weakness was only equalled by his obstinacy respecting them. One of his admirers has confessed, that "King Richard of England was of a temper, that when he took a liking to any one, he instantly raised him to high honours, and had such confidence in him that no one dared to say any thing to his prejudice."⁵

^u Thomas Fitz Alan, third son of Richard Earl of Arundel and Warren, by Eleanor his second wife, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster. At the period of King Richard's deposition he was only forty-six years old. He obtained the archdeaconry of Taunton when he was very young; and it provokes a smile from the gravity of Godwin,⁶ that in 1374 he was made Bishop of Ely, while yet a sub-deacon, and at the age of twenty-two. His father died in 1375, and left him a portion of 2000 marks.⁷ He continued at Ely till 1388, when he was advanced to the see of York. During the king's dispute with the Londoners in 1393, when he was chancellor, he removed the courts for six months from London to York, to the great advantage of that city, and the proportionate distress of the capital.⁸ From York, in 1396, he was elevated to the see of Canterbury; and it is especially noted, that this was the first instance of such a translation. In the same year the pope made him his legate and executor of the faculty for dispensing with the king's marriage.

¹ Statutes of the Realm, I. p. 320.

² Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 358.

³ Ibid. p. 350.

⁴ Dugdale, Baronage, I. p. 661. See the article Scroope, Earl of Wiltshire, *passim*.

⁵ Froiss. XII. c. 5.

⁶ Hist. of the Bishops, in the article Arundel, under Ely, York, and Canterbury.

⁷ Dugdale, Baronage, I. p. 318.

⁸ Ypod. Neustr. p. 546.

bishop of Canterbury preach " to the people to this effect : " My good

riage.¹ Richard had long looked upon him with a suspicious eye, from his attachment to the party of the Duke of Gloucester. Soon after he appears as a principal actor in the plot then said to have been framed against the king. On July 8, 1397, he is said to have attended at a meeting held by the conspirators in the castle of Arundel, his brother's residence; where he performed mass, and administered the sacrament to the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Arundel, and others. It was agreed by common consent to seize the king, and keep him in perpetual imprisonment; the Dukes of Lancaster and York were to be treated in like manner, and death was denounced against the rest of the king's council.² If this may be depended upon,³ we cannot be surprised that he should have been impeached of high treason; or that, while some of his associates suffered death, he should have been sent into banishment. But the chief article in the public charge brought against him places his offence much earlier; " That being Bishop of Ely, and chancellor, he was traiterously aiding, procuring, and advising, in making a commission directed to Thomas Earl of Gloucester, Richard Earl of Arundel, and others, in the tenth year of the king's reign, and procuring himself, as one of the chief ministers of state, to be put into the said commission, which commission was apparently prejudicial to the king's prerogative and dignity; and that the said Thomas put the said commission in execution." The whole of this affair is involved in much obscurity, through which, however, the king appears to great disadvantage. On the first day of his impeachment, September 20, 1397, Arundel was present in parliament, and offered to make his defence; but the king, under promise of his friendship, and an assurance that nothing should be done to his prejudice, commanded him not to make his appearance on the next day, and in his absence sentence was pronounced against him. He was allowed six weeks to prepare for quitting the kingdom under pain of death. One of the articles of accusation against Richard, which, on the other hand, must be received with some degree of caution, as savouring strongly of Arundel's own manufacture, exhibits the king as behaving towards him with shameless duplicity. Before his departure, the archbishop told the Duke of Norfolk, that he would share the same fate, and surprised the king by a warning, to which he in part reluctantly assented, that the consequences would fall upon his own head at last.³

Thus

¹ Carte, II. p. 613.

² Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 206.

³ That private meetings for a purpose of this kind had been held by the party is confirmed by the Duke of Gloucester's own confession. " I was in place, where it was communed, and spoken in manner of deposal of my liege lord; truly I knowlech well, that we were assentid thereto for two days or three, and then were to have done our homage and our othes, and put him as highly in his estate as ever he was." But all their sentences turn upon their overt acts in the tenth and eleventh years of Richard's reign; and he denies any recent attempt. Parliamentary Hist. of Engl. I. p. 464, et seq.

³ See article XXXIII.

people, hearken all of you here : you well know how the king most wrong-

Thus driven into exile, ¹ Arundel went first to France, and afterwards to Rome, where he was well received by Boniface IX, who interested himself much in his favour, and wrote to the king to obtain his restitution to the archbishopric. Not succeeding in this, he intended to have made him Archbishop of St. Andrews, ² and to have given him several preferments in England by way of provision. Richard, aware of his designs, despatched a letter to the pope, couched in haughty and offensive terms. He expressed great surprise that he should countenance his treason, take him under his protection, and lead him to expect he would be restored. ³ The language of part of his remonstrance runs thus : " We are resolved never to endure such usage, though the whole world were of a different opinion. We desire your holiness would not shock our interest and inclination by such favours. If you have a mind to provide for him otherwise, we have nothing to object ; only we cannot allow him to dip in our dish. We heartily desire you would take this matter into serious consideration, as you tender our royal regards, and expect a compliance with any future request your holiness may make us." ⁴

The time had been, when expressions like these might have raised the greater part of Europe in arms against the offender : but the papal authority was itself divided by contending parties. Two popes aspired to the chair of Saint Peter ; and Boniface IX. ⁵ who had established himself at Rome, and whose cause had been espoused by England, was desirous of gaining a point in the repeal of the statutes of provisors and præmunire, which limited his power in this country. Richard was well aware of this, and it is what he alludes to in his letter. The pope therefore withdrew his protection from Arundel, and at the king's request made Roger Walden, who was Dean of York and Treasurer of England, Archbishop of Canterbury : but neither this concession, nor the granting of a bull confirming all the proceedings of the late parliament of Shrewsbury, nor the legate which he sent over in the year 1398, ⁶ could obtain a repeal of the offensive statutes.

In

¹ This is the second example, Thomas a Becket being the first, of any archbishop banished the realm by sentence of parliament. *Parl. Hist.* I. p. 465. Gower seems to consider this as the greatest of the king's offences. *Cronica Tripartita, Pars secunda.* *Bibl. Cotton. MS. Tiberius. A. IV. 2.*

² Rymer, VIII. p. 31, dated Jan. 21, 1398.

³ William Courteney, Archbishop of Canterbury, had, in 1393, made public protestation in parliament, that the Pope ought not to make translations without the king's leave. Which protestation he prayed might be entered on the rolls. *Parl. Hist.* I. p. 451. Arundel at this time attempted to interfere in behalf of the pope.

⁴ This is Collier's translation. *Eccles. Hist.* I. p. 602. The original is not quite so caustic ; yet it is positive and highly dictatorial. *Concilia Mag. Brit. et Hibern. a Wilkins,* III. p. 232.

⁵ He kept Benedict XIII. the rival pope of Avignon, confined to his palace for five years. Bower, *Hist. of the Popes*, VII. p. 84. Many fruitless attempts had been made to reconcile them. Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, I. p. 580. *Art de vérifier les Dates*, XI. part I. under Philip le Hardi.

⁶ *Walsing. Hist. Angl.* p. 356.

fully and without reason banished your lord Henry ; ^x I have, therefore,

In the mean time Arundel availed himself of the first opportunity to return. This, among a variety of circumstances, proves that Henry had an eye to extremities, when he took for his companion and counsellor one who was so odious to the king. The interview that passed between the ex-prelate and the duke at Paris, preparatory to their setting out, is given minutely by Froissart ; ¹ but it is, perhaps, rather what might be considered likely to have occurred between the parties on such an occasion, than the conversation which actually took place. That writer was but ill-informed in many parts of this whole affair. He makes Arundel quit England with great secrecy, at the instigation of the citizens of London, to confer with the Duke ; but there is no good reason to conclude that he had ever previously returned from banishment. The text fills up the interval between the landing and coronation of Henry IV. in which, having been restored to his see, ² he took an active part. He was afterwards very useful ³ to Henry during the rest of his reign, and lived to see his successor upon the throne. He died at the rectory of Hakyngham, on Monday, February 19, 1413-14. ⁴

During the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. he was four times chancellor of the realm. ⁵ In 1401 he visited and reformed the University of Cambridge ; ⁶ and in 1411 made an attempt of the same kind at Oxford, ⁷ which was more than suspected of Lollardism ; but in this he failed.

His character has been variously estimated according to the political and religious sentiments of subsequent writers : his catholic contemporaries are loud in his praise. Of his concern in the deposition of Richard II. every reader will judge for himself. The epithet *fier*, in the original, is not misapplied to him. He was a man of strong personal courage, fitted for bold and dangerous enterprise ; but appears to have wanted those milder qualities that appertain to a Christian bishop. He was a great favourite with the pope and the ecclesiastics ⁸ of his time ; for he resolutely combated the innovations that were then on foot against the established religion. Richard's, ⁹ and even Henry's ¹⁰ encroachments upon the rights

¹ XI. c. 18.

² See the Revocation of the Order passed in the reign of Ric. II. for seizing the estate of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the restitution of his revenues, pursuant to an order of parliament, dated October 31, 1399, Rymer, VIII. p. 96 ; also, the Bull of Boniface IX. declaring his translation to Saint Andrews null and void, and restoring him to Canterbury, dated Nov. 4, 1399. Concilia, III. p. 246.

³ Bibl. Cotton. MS. Vespasian, F. VII. 98.

⁴ Dies obituales Archiepisc. Cantuar. and Canonicus Lichfieldensis de success. archiep. Cantuar. in Anglia Sacra. Pars prima. pp. 62, 122.

⁵ Spelman, Glossary, v. Cancellarius.

⁶ Collier, Eccles. Hist. I. p. 622.

⁷ Ypod. Neustr. p. 572.

⁸ Walsingham delights in him. "Eminentissima turris Ecclesie Anglicane et pugil invictus." Hist. Angl. p. 386. Even the anti-pope flattered and caressed him. Concilia, III. p. 290. ⁹ Wals. ut supra, p. 321.

¹⁰ Ypod. Neustr. pp. 561, 563. On one occasion he declared, "Prius hoc caput exponam gladio quam ecclesia destituatur minimo jure suo."

obtained of the holy father, who is our patron, that those who shall

rights of the church, and Wycliff's¹ endeavours at reform, were objects of his strenuous resistance. He anathematised, and dealt harshly with the followers of the latter. The Lollards might be injudicious in some of their measures,² and, according to his notions, might give great provocation; but he let loose the spirit of persecution upon them.³ Sawtry and Badby, the first protestant martyrs of which we have any distinct account, suffered at the stake in his time.⁴ One of his actions may not be omitted. He had the good sense and generosity to intercede with Henry IV. in behalf of Walden, who had supplanted him at Canterbury, and obtained his promotion to the bishoprick of London. His devotion, learning,⁵ ability, and official diligence, are extolled by a monkish historian.⁶ He insisted upon payment of oblations to the clergy, long neglected in his diocese and province, especially in London; reformed his proctors; obliged the incumbents to residence; and enforced the repairs of churches and parsonage houses.⁷ Many writers bear testimony to his liberality and munificence. He was a benefactor to every see with which he was concerned. While he was at Ely, he almost rebuilt the episcopal palace in Holborn;⁸ and presented to the church, among other gifts, a curious tablet of great value, full of the reliques of the saints set in large pearls, rubies, and sapphires. Arundel had purchased it of Edward the black prince; it had once belonged to the King of Spain.⁹ He improved the manors of the see of York, and gave to the cathedral various articles of ornament and massy plate. To Canterbury he bequeathed many sumptuous habiliments and jewels, with several valuable books; and gave the peal of bells, known by the appellation of "the Arundel Ring."¹⁰

After

¹ Concilia, pp. 252, et seq. 314, 350, 353.

² Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation, I. p. 25. Ypod. Neustr. p. 574.

³ As if he intended to obviate the imputation of severity against Sir John Oldcastle, he repeatedly instances his lenient deportment towards him at the conferences held in the chapter-house of St. Paul's in London. "*Totam seriem facti, bonis et modestis terminis, ac modo multum suavi recitavimus.*"— "*Suaviter recitavimus acta prioris diei, ac ut prius sibi recitavimus, quomodo excommunicatus fuerat et est idem dom. Johannes.*" And again, after Oldcastle had refused absolution from him, "*nos modesto modo rogavimus et requisivimus eundem.*" Act. Conv. Prov. Cant. in Concilia, III. pp. 354, 356. But Thorp, in his interview at Saltwood, found him far otherwise. Fox, I. pp. 602, et seq.

⁴ Fox, I. pp. 587, et seq. 593.

⁵ Fox, I. p. 597, criticises his false derivation and perverted application of the word *Cephas*, as indicative of the supreme authority of the Pope. "*Petrus dictus est Cephas, id est, caput.*" See Constitutiones T. Arundel Cantuar. Archiep. in Concilia, III. p. 314.

⁶ Dies obituales Archiep. Cant. in Anglia Sacra, ut supra.

⁷ Concilia, III. pp. 230, 231, 267, 273, 276.

⁸ Bentham, Hist. of Ely, p. 166

⁹ Monachi Eliensis Hist. Eliens. in Anglia Sacra, Pars I. p. 665.

¹⁰ Dies obituales, &c. ut supra.

forthwith bring aid this day, shall, every one of them, have remission

After his return, he obtained a grant of Leeds Castle in Kent; where he frequently resided, and held his court.¹

Drake² ventures a groundless conjecture, from some circumstances in his arms, that he was a bastard of the family of Arundel; and the historian of Ely³ gives a very confused account of him. In one place he informs us that he was the second son of Richard Earl of Arundel; and in another, that his mother was Alice, daughter of William, and sister and heir of John Earl of Warren: whereas this Alice was the grandmother of Archbishop Arundel.⁴

^w Two other sermons of the archbishop are upon record; one at the funeral of Queen Anne in 1394,⁵ the other at the coronation of Henry IV. His exciting the people from the pulpit does not seem to have been noticed by any writer of the age. But the observation made upon this by Bishop Percy, in his MS. notes to the illuminations, is very just. "This fact the author only gives from hearsay, it does not, therefore, impeach his veracity as an historian, if it is not confirmed by other authentic writers." Stow has adopted it.

As to the procuring of the bull, Richard's opposition to the pope, and Boniface's partiality to Arundel, might render it a matter of no great difficulty. Similar interference on the part of the see of Rome had before occurred, in the case of William Duke of Normandy:⁷ but the text insinuates that the publication was a mere device of Arundel's. "*Larcevesque ce conseil cy trouva.*"

^x He introduces nothing respecting his own banishment, as not immediately relating to the affair. An opportunity was soon found of expatiating upon it in the articles of accusation: and shortly after, in a mandate⁸ addressed to the diocese and province of Canterbury, in which he directed that prayers should be offered to their protectress, the Virgin, at the ringing of the morning bell as well as of the curfew, he indignantly, but obliquely, alludes to his particular injuries, and reminds the clergy of their own and of their country's wrongs. "*Nostra felicitas præteritis aucta temporibus solummodo attribuitur suæ (sc. Dei genetricis) mediationis auxilio, cui novissimis temporibus istis merito etiam ascribere possumus felicem liberationem nostram, sub manu potenti christianissimi regis nostri*"

¹ Acta Conv. Prov. Cant. in Concilia, III. p. 354. Haisted, Hist. of Kent, II. p. 474. This writer says, his "mind was by no means inferior to his high birth." But Archbishop Parker was of a very different opinion, "*nulla in re magnificum se ostendit.*" Antiq. Britann. p. 413.

² Hist. of York, B. II. c. 1, p. 436.

³ Benthams, Hist. of Ely, p. 164. Appendix to ditto, p. 43.

⁴ Dugdale, Baronage, I. p. 316.

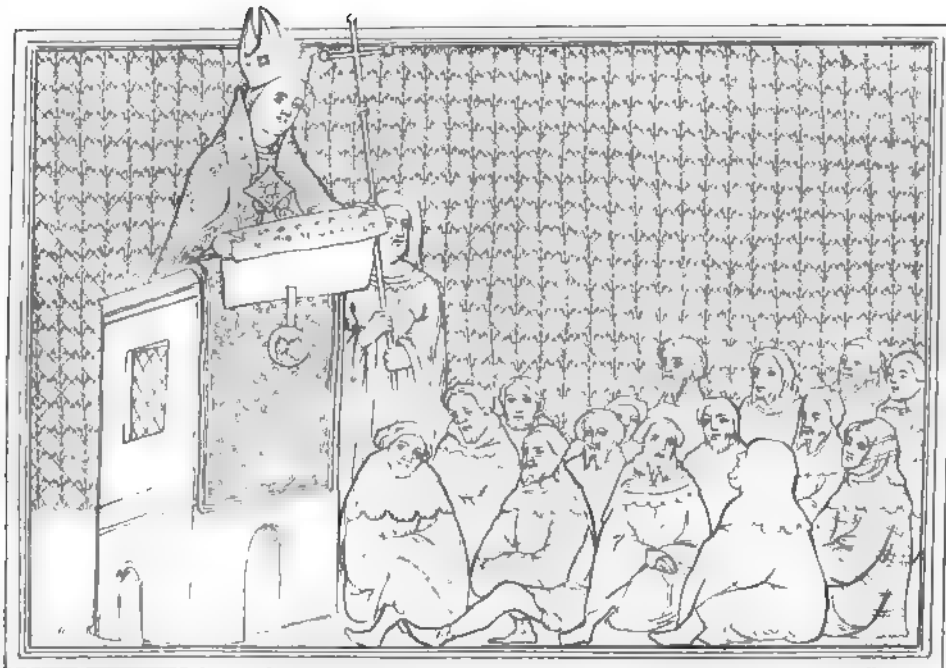
⁵ Fox, I. p. 578. Ex fragmentis libri cujusdam Wigorniensis Bibliothecæ.

⁶ Annales, p. 320.

⁷ Rapin, I. p. 140.

⁸ Dated Feb. 10, 1399-1400.

ILLUMINATION V.



of all sins, whereby from the hour of their baptism they have been defiled. Behold the sealed bull that the Pope of renowned Rome hath sent me, my good friends, in behalf of you all. Agree then to help him to subdue his enemies, and you shall for this be placed, after death, with those who are in Paradise." Then might you have beheld young and old, the feeble and the strong, make a clamour, and regarding neither right nor wrong, stir^y themselves up with one accord; thinking that what was told them was true; they all, indeed, believed it, for such as they have little sense or knowledge.

(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE V.)

The archbishop invented this device, because no one dared to stir through dread,^z dear sire, of your wrath. This sermon ended, they

*nostri a luporum morsibus et faucibus bestiarum, quæ super dorsum nostrum ferculum felle mixtum præparaverant, et odio iniquo nos oderant, nobis pro dilectione nostra statuentes insidias in obscuro."*¹

^y See, in Froissart, the eager manner in which the English received the bull of Urban against the Clementists, for the croisade undertaken by the military prelate, Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, in the year 1383. The canon of Chimay laughs at the credulity of the nation. In the collections made to defray the expense, a large Gascony tun full of money was gathered in the diocese of London alone.² One lady gave a hundred pounds.³ Chaucer, in the "Prologue to the Pardoner's Tale," satirises the method of publishing bulls, and the obedience expected from them.

^z They hesitated from dread rather than love of Richard. It were needless to attempt to shew that the king had rendered himself unpopular in the highest degree. (See note ^f. p. 21.) "*Amarum animum vulgus commune gerebat contra eum.—Factus est suis odibilis et invisus.*"⁴ But, among the variety of causes tending to this, there might have been one, which has hitherto, I believe, been unnoticed. In the stipulations made by the Duke of Surrey, in 1398, on his taking upon him the government of Ireland, is the following curious entry. The original is in French.—

Item. "That he (the lieutenant) may have at sundry times out of every parish, or every

two

¹ *Consilia*, III. p. 247.

² *Froiss.* VI. c. 51.

³ *Life and Reign of Ric.* II. p. 64.

⁴ *Walsing. Hist. Angl.* p. 356.

began to flee towards the duke, that they might confound and injure you, and waste your country by conquest.^a Taking towns and castles

two parishes in England, a man and his wife, at the cost of the king, in the land of Ireland, to inhabit the said land, where it is wasted upon the marches, to the profit of the king; and that he may give to the said men in fee competent lands on their estates.¹

Such a demand may, indeed, have been made by lieutenants of Ireland upon former occasions; but, if in this instance it had really been put into execution, it must have driven the people to desperation: and whether it had been acted upon or not, the possibility or necessity of exercising such a compulsory mode of colonisation evinces the miserable state of villainage in England, as well as the wretched condition of the marches of Ireland.

^a The first direction in which the duke's army marched from the rendezvous in Yorkshire, appears to have been through the counties of Derby or Nottingham, Leicester, Warwick, Worcester, and Gloucester, to Bristol; the various objects of which will be explained in a future note; but it is not improbable that he went in person to London, after the ineffectual attempt at a muster that had been made by the king's party at Saint Alban's. Froissart, who in this part of his chronicles is not much to be relied upon, expressly states him to have done so, and has described in his lively manner the enthusiasm with which he was received by the inhabitants. Five hundred citizens turned out on horseback to form a guard of honour: every shop was shut up: men, women, and children, and the clergy, all dressed in their best clothes, went forth to meet him with acclamations². But then he makes him land at Plymouth, and proceed immediately to London. It is to be feared that this is fabulous: in this particular, all other accounts are against him.

As the palpable inaccuracy of that portion of his work which relates to this period has been frequently adverted to,³ it may be necessary, once for all, to observe, that his errors may fairly admit of apology; and that he can never justly fall under the censure of wilful misrepresentation. Could he have procured good intelligence upon this important topic, he had certainly laid it before us; for he was much interested in the fate of Richard the Second. He had known him personally from his infancy, having been one of the attendants at his baptism in the church of Bourdeaux;⁴ he had also visited him in his prosperity and shared in his bounty; and always regarded him with affection. Besides, he is so impressed with the importance and atrocity of the occurrences, that he considers them more terrible than any which he has recorded, "excepting the fate of that noble prince, Lusignan, King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, whom his brother and the Cypriots villainously murdered."

¹ Bibl. Cotton. MS. Titus, B. XI. f. 5. a.

² Froissart. XII. c. 20.

³ See p. 7, note h, and p. 44, note P.

⁴ Froissart. XI. c. 32.

for his own, he brings young and old under subjection ; they leave nothing to the poor people that can be carried away. Resolve, sire, to make haste, that you may quickly set aside his enterprise, who doeth much to blame." It seemed to me that the king's face at this turned pale with anger, while he said, "Come hither, friends ; good Lord, this man designs to deprive me of my country." He caused the young and old of his counsel to assemble, that they might consider what had best be done in this affair. Now they agreed on a Saturday, to put to sea on the next Monday, without waiting longer than a day and a half. And when the Duke of Aumerle heard of the departure, he slyly resolved upon a trick, thinking, that if he could, he would make it otherwise. He went with great secrecy to the king, that he might defeat every thing that all of them could do, saying, "Sire, do not vex yourself, for never did I hear a matter so much belied. Be not in such haste now to set out ; it were much better to take good time and send first for the whole of the navy ; for we have

dered."¹ No one could be more anxious to fulfil the first duty of an historian. He was indefatigable in inquiry, eminently impartial, and desirous of ascertaining and communicating the truth : but, being obliged to collect great part of his materials, just as he could obtain them, from mere hearsay, and from men of various characters and qualifications, it would be difficult for him to acquire certain information upon this subject. Englishmen in general, as appears from our own annalists, themselves knew comparatively little of the particulars of Richard's disaster, and of the steps which led to it : much of the transaction was confined to a few actors ; the main points might be suppressed ; and what was officially made public was fabricated under Henry's eye. As to his own countrymen, though no pen but that of a Frenchman, has feelingly, minutely, and, it seems, correctly told the story of the monarch's fall ; yet, Froissart certainly did not meet with those who were well informed of the affair. To this may be added, that, when he was composing this part of his chronicles, intercourse between the two countries was much diminished ; and he had himself probably retired from public life when this catastrophe, which brings up the close of his work, took place. What he tells us of the disposition of the people towards Henry and Richard, and many traits which he has interspersed, may be received as genuine representations of the temper of the times ; and subject to certain reservations, wherever it may be safely done, in spite of his defects, he must be quoted with advantage and pleasure.

¹ Froiss. XII. c. 12.

not a hundred barges ;^b how shall we go, seeing that in this place there are many huge rocks in the sea, and the bottom is dangerous? But, look here ; it were much better to send over the Earl of Salisbury, ^c who shall hold the field against the duke, and sufficiently make

^b It may seem singular that the vessels which conveyed the army over should not be sufficient to take them back again. Richard himself had brought two hundred sail ;¹ but these were left behind at Waterford : and in conformity to a practice that then prevailed, the greater part of those which had originally been taken up might have been dismissed upon the landing. The right of purveyance must be necessarily put in force again ; and the commissioners would be some time in collecting and impressing ships from the different harbours.²

^c John de Montacute eldest son of Sir John de Montacute and Margaret de Monthermer his wife. He was nephew and heir also of William Earl of Salisbury ; and had recently inherited his title and estates.³ He had borne arms in France in the time of the Black Prince, and in 1369 was knighted by the Earl of Cambridge in the field, at the attack of Bourdeilles, where he behaved with great bravery.⁴ He was also at Belleperche, in Bourbonnois, with the Earls of Pembroke and Cambridge, when they carried off the mother of the Duke of Bourbon ;⁵ and, in the same campaign, he had a narrow escape in the company of the former at the village of Puirenon in Poitou.⁶ In 15 Ric. II. he travelled into Prussia with a retinue of ten servants, and with ten horses ; and in 18 Ric. II. was in the first expedition into Ireland. He had been one of the appellants of the Duke of Gloucester and the other nobles, who were attainted of treason ; and part of the confiscated estates of the Earl of Warwick fell to his share. This affair rendered him odious to the people.⁷ In 1398 he was constituted marshal of England in the absence of the Duke of Surrey in Ireland ; in the same year he was made one of the commissioners to treat of peace with the Scots ; and he had also licence previously to go into France. Richard sent him to Paris about Christmas, to interfere in obstructing the rumoured marriage of the Duke of Hereford with Mary of Berry. It is to his credit, that he accepted the office with reluctance ; but his execution of it drew upon him the duke's indignation.⁸

However, after the deposition of the king, he remained unmolested, and even protected by

¹ Camden, in *Annals of Ireland*, a. 1399.

² Lingard, III. p. 142.

³ It is singular that, in the list of those who had letters of protection for going into Ireland on the present expedition, he is only noticed as the heir of his father. "Johannes de Montagu, comes Sarum, filius et hæres Johanne de Montagu et Margaretæ uxoris suæ." Dated April 18, 1399. Rymer, VIII. p. 79.

⁴ Froiss. III. c. 262. Barnes, *Hist. of King Edward the Third*, p. 767.

⁵ Froiss. IV. c. 12.

⁶ Ibid. c. 3.

⁷ Rapin, I. p. 486.

⁸ Froiss. XI. 21.

war upon him: he will have all the Welsh to conquer him. And in the mean time, we will go by land to Waterford, where you shall send to every port for your navy, so that weak and strong, and all your host,

by the ruling power. To the charges brought against him in parliament, for his conduct in the late reign, he was admitted with others¹ to urge the plea of compulsion; and when Lord Morley challenged him as a traitor, for the part he had taken in the affair of the Duke of Gloucester, he replied, by giving him the lie, and throwing down his gloves: but here, as in the case of Albemarle, the matter ended.² Camden³ brands him with the appellation of "time-server," perhaps, because he assisted in the ceremonies which placed Henry upon the throne, and did homage to him: he was not more inconsistent in this respect than others who attended upon that occasion, and they had then no choice of resistance. But neither the names of the Earls of Salisbury nor Huntingdon are found⁴ among those who consented to the imprisonment of Richard the Second; and that his heart was with Henry can never be imagined: he waited, with the rest of the disaffected, for an opportunity of restoring his former master. They created one with hasty zeal, as will be seen in the course of the narrative. He conspired with them to seize Henry at Windsor, and put him to death, was taken prisoner at Cirencester, and beheaded by the townsmen, January 5, 1400. His body was buried in the abbey at Cirencester, and remained there till 8 Hen. V. when, at the petition of his widow, it was removed to the Priory of Bustlesham, in Berkshire,⁵ which his ancestors had founded.

He was summoned to parliament among the barons of the realm, from 16 to 30 Ric. II. when he became Earl of Salisbury.⁶ His character and accomplishments will be noted in another place.

By his wife, Maude, daughter of Sir Adam Francis, knight, who, before their marriage, had been twice a widow, he left five children. The family were reduced to poverty by his attainder; but were relieved from it by the generosity of Henry the Fourth. His eldest son, Thomas, was that renowned Earl of Salisbury, who was slain in the wars of France at the siege of Orleans.

There is an error in Dugdale respecting the age of this nobleman. At the death of his father, in 13 Ric. II. he is said to have been thirty-nine years old, and at the decease of the earl, his uncle, in 30 Ric. II. only forty. And again, in one place he is cousin, and in another nephew, of William Earl of Salisbury.

¹ The Dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter: the Marquis of Dorset, and the Earl of Gloucester.

² *Depositio Regis Richard s'e'di* in MSS. Bodl. 2376. f. 213.

³ Vol. I. f. 118.

⁴ Abstract of the Rolls, Bibl. Harl. MS. 21. f. 217. b.

⁵ Pat. 8 Hen. V. m. 4. quoted in Tanner, *Not. Monast. Berkshire*, V.

⁶ See the article, John Montacute Earl of Salisbury, *passim*, Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. pp. 650, 651.

may then pass over. You shall soon see your enemies captive, dead, or discomfited : of the whole of this be well assured." The king put more trust in him than all his friends : by his counsel was the whole of the other defeated and set aside.^d A certain aged person,^e who

^d His overweening confidence in Albemarle is mentioned before, and this had ever been the case between him and his favourites. Froissart sets his credulity in a strong light. "There had not been a king of England, in the memory of man, who so easily believed all that was told him." He was so blinded by the Duke of Ireland, that if he had declared black was white, the king would not have said to the contrary."^a

Richard will hereafter be found to enter upon a vindication of the general firmness of his conduct ; but neither in matters of great or minor importance could he ever be depended upon : this brought him into contempt with his people, and was one of the charges laid against him by his adversaries.² Hastiness, irresolution, and procrastination, were his bane.

Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, in his croisade against the anti-pope Clement, in 1383, involved himself in such difficulties at Gravelines, that he expected to have been taken with his whole army. In this extremity he wrote to the king for aid. Richard was at supper at Daventry, in Northamptonshire, when the intelligence reached him : he rose immediately in a rage, pushed the table from before him ; and, vowing to go in person to chastise the king of France, mounted his horse, and rode all night by relays,⁴ without stopping till he came to London. Finding himself fatigued on his arrival, he retired to rest, slept soundly upon his resolve, and changed his mind in the morning. The Duke of Lancaster was nominated to go to the assistance of Spencer ; but the preparations were tedious ; and in the mean time the bishop extricated himself as well as he was able.

One of his favourite chaplains receives an order, dated October 4, 1397, to proceed to Calais for the body of the Duke of Gloucester lately deceased in the Castle there. This is followed by an order, October 8, to give up the body to his widow Alionora, that it may be buried at Westminster : five days elapse, and it is reversed by another order, October 13, to take it for interment to Bermondsey Priory.⁵ Though we can only guess at the motives of this last instance, we can judge of the fact.

Respecting this fatal delay in Ireland, Otterbourne observes, "Dei voluntate contigit ut incideret regi diversum propositum eo tempore." But, according to him, all things were made ready, and even the horses were put on board. These he ordered to be disembarked, and taken to another port, by which seven days were lost.⁶ Otterbourne might have added

¹ Froiss. XII. c. 5.

² VIII. c. 49.

³ Article of Accusation XXV.

⁴ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 305. At midnight he borrowed the palfrey of the Abbot of St. Alban's, in exchange for one of his jaded horses, and the historian takes care to tell us it was never returned. The whole of the story is related in a most sarcastic manner.

⁵ Rymer, VIII. pp. 20, 21, 23.

⁶ Otterbourne, p. 206.

truly loved the king, was displeased at it, telling him, "Dear Sire, surely in such a case it is useless to delay." Nothing that could be said to him was of any avail. His good friends thereat checked their smiles, and were greatly grieved and wroth at heart. Without farther discourse he sent for the Earl of Salisbury, saying, "Cousin, you must go to England and resist this mad enterprise of the duke, and let his people be put to death, or taken prisoners; and learn, too, how and by what means he hath thus troubled my land, and set it against me." The Earl said, "Sir, upon mine honour I will perform it in such manner that in a short time you shall hear of this disturbance, or I will suffer the penalty of death." "Fair cousin, I know it well," said the king, "and will myself set forward to pass over as speedily as I may, for never shall I have comfort or repose so long as the false traitor, who now hath played me such a trick, shall be alive. If I can but get him in my power, I will cause him to be put to death in such a manner that it shall be spoken of long enough, even in Turkey."^e The earl caused his people and vessels to be made ready for immediate departure, gravely took leave of the king, and entreated him to proceed with all possible haste. The king, upon his advice,

added eleven more. The king in violation of his promise, stopped eighteen days after the departure of the Earl of Salisbury, and thus threw all his affairs into disorder.

^e It is doubtful whether he here intends to speak of any one person, or generally of the elder part of the council.

^f His allusion to Turkey is very natural; it had recently obtruded itself forcibly upon the attention of the princes of Europe. A subsidy had just been granted by England, for the relief of Manuel Emperor of Constantinople, sorely pressed by Bajazet,¹ who, in the autumn of 1396, had annihilated a French army at Nicopolis.² This event, and the threats of Bajazet, had been subjects of much anxiety and discussion throughout Christendom.

¹ Rymer, VIII. pp. 82, 83. He is styled with asperity, *Baysetus princeps Turcorum perfidus*. Dated June 22, 1399. Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 356.

² Froiss. XI. c. 41, 42.

promised him, happen what might, that he would put to sea within six days. At that time the earl, who had great desire to set out in defence of the right of King Richard, had earnestly prayed me to go over with him, for the sake of merriment and song,⁵ and thereto I

⁵ Singing was considered a great accomplishment in the youth of either sex. It is a matter not beneath the notice of grave historians.¹ The profligate and unfortunate Sir John Arundel excelled in it; ² and at the feast at which the king quarrelled with his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, the Countess of Exeter bore away the palm of being the best dancer and singer.³

In an age destitute of many resources which the moderns enjoy, ballads and carols relieved many an hour when minstrels were not at hand, or had withdrawn. They danced to their carols.⁴

Si commença
La danse adonc, et chacun se pensa
De sa chançon dire. Si s'avança
Celle qui au premier les empressa,
Et sa chançon
Dist haultement, et de gracieux son,
Ou il avoit en la prime leçon,
"Tres doulx ami' de b'n amer pe'nson."
Et puis apres
Un escuyer, qui d'elle fu empres,
Qui moult courtois, et bel et doulz tr'
Et volentiers de chanter est en gres;
Voix enrouee
Il n'avoit pas' mais doulce et esprouvee.
—Chacun chanta tant quil fu p's de nuit.⁵

Aprés mengié chascuns comence
De faire caroles et dances.⁶

Vos deffendeiz aus jones gens
Et les dances et les quaroles.⁷

The

¹ Froiss. III. c. 217.

² Id. X. c. 11.

³ Bibl. du Roy. MS. 635, p. 5.

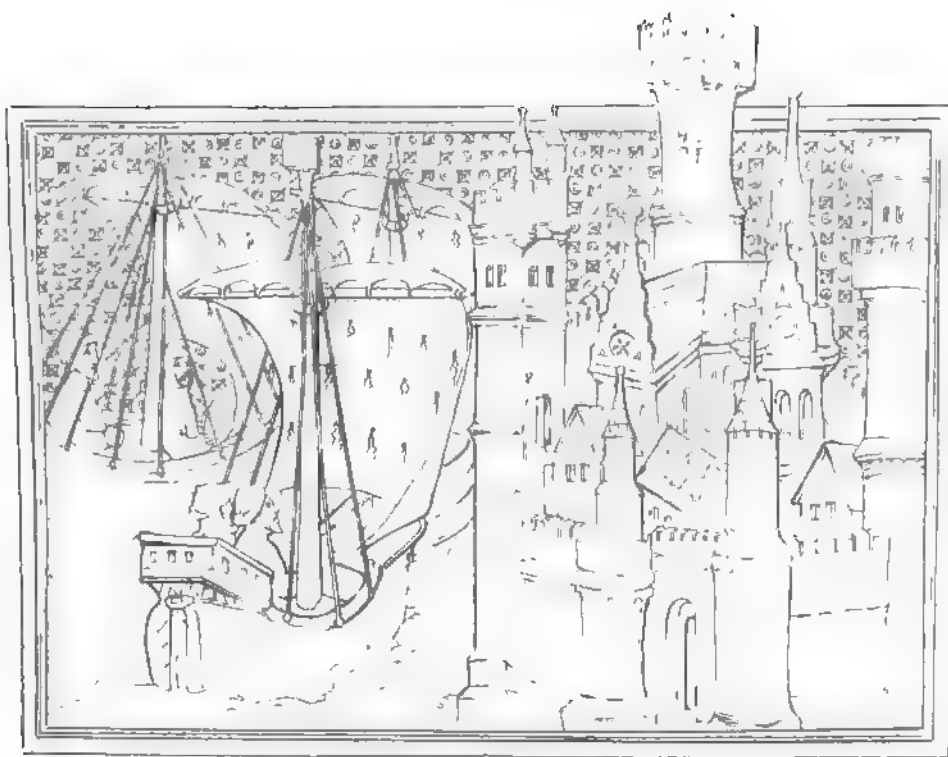
⁴ Burney, Hist. of Music, II. p. 343.

⁵ Christine de Pise. MSS. Harl. 4431, f. 87. b. in "Le livre de Poissy," a poem which contains a good picture of the manners of the time.

⁶ Fabliaux, III. p. 111.

Id. I. p. 135.

ILLUMINATION VI.



heartily agreed. My companion and myself went over the sea with him. Now it came to pass that the earl landed at Conway. I assure you, it was the strongest and fairest town in Wales.

(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE VI.)

There we were told of the enterprise of the duke; a more cruel one shall, I think, never be spoken of in any land. For they told us, that he had already conquered the greater part of England, and taken towns and castles;^h that he had displaced officers, and every where

The Count de Foix, a great patron and proficient in the science of music, made his secretaries sing songs, ballads, and roundelays;¹ and we find Edward III. calling upon Sir John Chandos to amuse him with his voice during a voyage.²

Music constituted a part of the quadrivium, a branch of their system of education; and it was more or less cultivated by persons of all conditions, as may be seen in the prologue to Chaucer's Canterbury tales. Churchmen studied it by profession,³ and the students at the inns of court learned singing and all kinds of music.⁴ Richard himself understood something of the practical part of it; for on the day of his departure for Ireland, he assisted at divine service with the canons of Saint George, and *chanted a collect*.⁵ An old annalist,⁶ enumerating the qualifications of Henry IV. describes him "in musica micans:" and Stow says of Henry Vth, "he delighted in songs, meeters, and musicall instruments, insomuch that in his chappell amongst his private prayers, he used our Lord's prayer, certain psalmes of David, with divers hymnes and canticles, all which I have seen translated into heroicall English meeter, by John Lydgate, monk of Bury."⁷

^h The seizure of castles was of course a great object with him, as he soon had no enemy to encounter in the field.

The Duke of Lancaster's first measures upon his landing are not very accurately recorded by historians; nor do the accounts impress us with an opinion that they had arisen out of any digested plan of operation. But a comparison of the desultory information which is furnished relative to them, with what may fairly be supposed to have been most advisable on his part, will, perhaps, shew that they were really the result of good calculation,

¹ Froiss. VIII. c. 31.

² Id. II. additions to c. 150. The knight had just introduced a German dance into England.

³ The reigning pontiff had been distinguished for his musical ability. Bower, Hist. of the Popes, VII. p. 69.

⁴ Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ, c. 49.

⁵ Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 213.

⁶ MS. Chronicle of Kenilworth in Henry IV.

⁷ Annales, p. 342.

set up a different establishment in his own name ;¹ that he had put to

calculation, well applied to existing circumstances and incidental occurrences. It may also help to confirm the sentiment expressed in the text as to the treacherous conduct of the Duke of Albemarle during the king's engagements in Ireland, respecting which some authors have hesitated.

The following is accordingly offered as the outline of the scheme, so far as may be inferred from the known situation of all the parties.

Richard, odious to his own subjects, had quitted England, and left it in confusion. Henry, aware of his own popularity, found, by secret intelligence, that all things were ripe for his project. To secure a chance of success, it was in the first instance necessary not only that the most powerful nobles remaining at home should join him ; but that means should be devised to hinder the king from returning till time had been gained. In the influence and authority of the Percys, who had refused to accompany Richard in his expedition, and in the artful management of Albemarle, who was to have joined the king some time before he even quitted England, he found a strong advantage. Henry's emissaries had been through the country. London is said to have invited him.

It would, however, be expedient that he should try the disposition of the people upon the eastern coast before he should land, and most important to him that he should select a spot for his descent, from which he could put himself into immediate communication with his friends. Yorkshire afforded the greatest facility. There he had large possessions and castles, and the injustice of the king in depriving him of these must be fresh in the minds of men.

These might so far be his calculations ; and he thus connectedly and without any confusion pursued his objects. The wind that took Albemarle over into Ireland must have been favourable to him ; the tempestuous weather that succeeded was equally in his favour. He hovered for some days about the coast till he had ascertained that his presence would be generally welcome. He landed at Ravenspur, and marched to Doncaster, where the Percys and others came down to him. Knaresborough and Pontefract, strong fortifications, his rightful inheritance, must have fallen to him ; and it will be farther seen that he made a point as much as possible of marching upon all places of this description as he moved along.¹

We

¹ Could an exact list be formed of the castles that descended by inheritance to the Duke of Lancaster, the number might excite surprise. Besides the castellated mansions of various sizes, with which, doubtless, most of his manors and towns were furnished, the following castles are distinctly specified as appertaining to the family at this time. Knaresborough, Pontefract, Pickering (*co. York*) ; Lydel, Dunstanborough (*Northumberland*) ; Cykhull (*Durham*) ; Bolingbroke (*Lincoln*) ; Lancaster ; Leicester ; Kenilworth (*Warwick*) ; Tutbury (*Stafford*) ; Hertford ; Pevensey (*Sussex*) ; Monmouth, Skenfrith, Blanch Castle, Grossmont, Oken, Oggermore, Caer Kennyn, Kidwelly (*South Wales, and on the Marches*). Dugdale, Baronage, l. p. 778, et seq. II. p. 114, et seq. Froiss. XII. c. 12.

death, without mercy, as a sovereign lord, all those whom he held in displeasure.^k

We may continue to compare his operations with reference to expediency. Having gained a footing, and tried the affection of the people, it would be necessary that he should immediately press towards the south. Whether he should first go to the capital, of the attachment of which he was assured, must depend upon the nature of events: the government was weak: it would be his object instantly to disperse and secure the members of which it was composed, wherever he could find them.

He marched southward, accordingly, without delay. His rapidity astonished the country; his proclamations excited universal approbation; and his opponents withdrew before him. The council, consisting of the regent, Scroop, Bussy, Green, and Bagot, those who attempted to gather a force, and among them the military bishop of Norwich, could interpose no obstacle to his proceedings. The Duke of York, who appears to have been gained over, made a faint shew of official interference; but fear drove most of the others into Bristol. They probably thought to have gone to Milford, and thence to Ireland, or at least to have secured that important position, anticipating the king's return. They could not have taken a more favourable direction for Henry; it led him towards his territories and holds. Thus he advanced upon Leicester, where the castle was his own: Kenilworth, his own also by inheritance, was upon the road to Evesham: from this place he quickly got upon the line of the Severn, and followed it to Gloucester and Berkeley. There he came into amicable contact with the duke of York; secured many of Richard's adherents; passed on to Bristol; took the castle, slew three out of four of the unfortunate ministers, and gained possession of a place entirely disaffected to the king.

Thus occupying the keys of the Severn, Gloucester, and Bristol, and commanding the passages into South Wales, it would not be necessary for him to entangle his army in the principality, where Richard was still beloved. It would only be useful for him to secure his best castles in that quarter, and to raise his tenants, which he could easily accomplish by skirting the southern part of Herefordshire. His course thence would lie directly northward up the borders, through the chief towns upon the marches. All this time, it would be Albemarle's business, if possible, to detain Richard till Henry had gained upon that line, and made an impression upon the whole of the neighbouring country. In any case he should endeavour to draw him down to Milford. The king must be hindered from passing over into North Wales; or shewing himself in Cheshire, where he had more adherents than in any other quarter. But if Richard should land while Henry was in the south, provided his army had been properly practised upon, it would afford them a temptation and an opportunity to desert while the duke was moving up the border, who should use his utmost diligence to get first to Chester. Thither the king, if he
had

When the earl heard these doleful tidings, it was no wonder that he

had tried to outmarch him, could not advance with the same rapidity, were he to move upon a parallel line, on account of the difficulties of the country ; and, if he should attempt to pursue him, must have so much more ground to traverse. Arrived at Chester, Henry would occupy the key of North Wales, the point from which it had ever been most assailable since the days of Edward I. and from which, if any thing adverse had happened to him, he might have retired upon his supporters in Lancashire and Northumberland, as the exigency might have required.

It seems, from the issue, that all this, at least, must have occurred to him: for that the greater part of his proceedings were directed merely by fortuitous coincidences is still more difficult to be imagined. His conduct justifies the hypothesis that he did not set about his enterprise without the best consideration ; and, admitting this to have been the case, it may be allowed that hardly any thing could have been more judicious than his arrangements. From Bristol he directed his march back to Gloucester, thence bearing westward to Ross and Hereford, as it were with a view of securing those castles appertaining to the duchy of Lancaster, which were upon that southern border.¹ He might have taken a nearer direction to Chester, but his purpose in bending to the left is evident. From Hereford he had derived one of his titles, and there his family were respected.² He then continued to pass upward through Leominster and Ludlow, encreasing his train by the maintainers of Herefordshire and Shropshire, as he moved onward to Shrewsbury and Chester. No greater proof need be given of his anxiety to secure Chester than his despising Holt, a strong fortress, garrisoned for the king, which was hardly out of his road. After the surrender of Chester, he turned back to invest it, and it became an easy prey.

In the mean time the plans of his colleague, Albemarle, were equally successful. By his artifice the king was prevented going from Dublin to Chester, where he might have anticipated Henry, and infused a spirit into his loyal subjects which might have caused some difficulty to the latter : he also thwarted every thing that might have turned to his advantage ; brought him southward to Milford, while the duke was going northward ; and so corrupted and dispersed his army, that upon their landing they hurried over Wales to join his enemy. By about the time that Richard came on shore, Henry must have been at Chester, surrounded by his friends, at the head of an immense force, master, at least, of London, Bristol, and Chester, and of all the fortresses that had been his

¹ Monmouth, Skenfrith, Grossmont, Blanch Castle, occupied by the Duke of Exeter. Dugdale, *Baronage*, II. p. 79.

² Richard II. had taken the castle of Hereford from John of Gaunt in the first year of his reign. *Id.* II. p. 116.

was alarmed, for the duke had gained over the greater part of the

his own, or had belonged to Richard, on two sides of a triangle, the apex of which is to be found at Bristol, the base extending from the mouth of the Humber to that of the Dee. Some have asserted that all the castles¹ from Berwick to Bristol were in the hands of himself or his party; and, considering the power of the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland in the north, it may readily be believed.

Up to this point the measures of Albemarle and the movements of the Duke of Lancaster seem perfectly to correspond with each other. The course pursued by the latter reflects a light upon the intrigues of the former. Nothing appears to have been neglected that could be turned to account; and there is a decision and connexion about the whole campaign which gives it the air of deep contrivance.

ⁱ This rumour, it may be supposed, could only refer to the appointment of military officers or castellans. Our author says, that he deprived Albemarle of his title of duke, and post of constable, and that he had made Henry Percy chief captain of his army: but, I believe, nothing was regularly done in appointment of officers of state till after they reached London. Official documents issued while they were at Chester, upon the road, and even in London, run in Richard's name.^{*}

^k The Duke of York, his uncle, remained unmolested: but at Berkeley he seized the persons of the Bishop of Norwich, Sir William Elmham, and Sir Walter Burleigh, knights; Lawrence Drew and John Golofre, esquires, attached to the king's household; executed others already mentioned, at Bristol;² and while he was at Chester, and the king was at Conway, beheaded Sir Peers a Legh, of Lyme, near Macclesfield, commonly called Perkin a Legh, ancestor to the Leghs of Adlington, a faithful adherent of Richard; and ordered his head to be set upon one of the loftiest towers of Chester.⁴ The opposition of Sir Peers must have occasioned this severe measure: but I have not any where seen the particulars of his resistance. An inscription upon his monument, in a chapel of the Leghs at Macclesfield,

¹ Albemarle had at his command, only in Denbigh, Flint, and Shropshire, the following castles and seignories; Chirk, Lyons, (*Holt, garrisoned for the king*), Isabell, Dallilay, and Oswaldestreet (*Oswestry*), with the town well walled with stone, and eleven towns to the said castle belonging. The whole of which had belonged to the late Earl of Arundel. All these must have yielded to Henry. So that Richard must have been quite hemmed in and excluded from England, by the time he shut himself up in Conway. See Statutes of the Realm, II. p. 100. 21 Ric. II. c. 9.

² Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. pp. 84, 85, 87. Summons to Parliament. Parl. Hist. II. p. 4.

³ Sir John Russell got off by feigning madness. Baker, p. 154. He had long had the care of the king's great horses. *Calendarium Rotul. Pat.* p. 234, a. 3 Pat. 21 Ric. II. No. 28.

⁴ Vita Ric. II. p. 154.

nobles of England,¹ and we were assured that there were full sixty

Macclesfield, briefly records the cause of his decease, and suggests that he was taken by treachery :

Here lieth the body of Perkin a Legh,
That for King Richard the dethe did die,
Betrayed for righteousnesse.¹

¹ The duke had been active in exciting the people by circular letters throughout the country. The MS. Ambassades has preserved the substance of that which was addressed to the city of London: one hundred and fifty of the same kind were sent to different places.

“ Those which came to the commons of the city of London, said that King Richard had done every thing secretly ; that he had drawn over and bound to agreement with him many great lords, as well of France, Germany, and Brittany, as of divers other kingdoms ; and that by the aid of his allies he would lord it and domineer more greatly and mightily over the kingdom of England than any of his predecessors, the kings of England, had ever done ; and that he would keep the villains of England in greater subjection, and greater servitude, than any christian king had ever exercised towards his subjects. Their other contents were, that he would first cause to be apprehended all the chief magistrates (*eschevins*) of the good cities who, ever since his coronation, had maintained the opinions of the commons in opposition to him and his council, and put them to death by divers torments ; and he had purposed, that, as soon as he should be come from Ireland, he would secretly bid his allies to a certain festival which he was to make, which was to last a month ; and would bring thither all the great burgesses, chief magistrates, and merchants of all the good cities of England ; and afterwards, when they were all come, would cause them to be apprehended by his people and allies, and would then lay on such subsidies, tallages, and imposts as he should please.” And then the duke said in his letters, “ Wherefore, my friends and good people, when the aforesaid matters came to my knowledge, I came over, as soon as I could, to inform, succour, and comfort you, to the utmost of my power ; for I am one of the nearest to the crown of England, and am beholden to love and support the realm of England as much or more than any man alive ; for thus have my predecessors done. My friends, may God preserve you : be well advised, and think well of that which I write to you. Your good and loyal friend, Henry of Lancaster.”

“ These letters were read to the people by the chief magistrates of the towns, and produced a great outcry against Richard : none durst speak in his favour ; his servants and officers

¹ Lysons's *Britannia*, Cheshire, II. part 2. pp. 306, 728.

thousand men ready for war.^m The earl then quickly sent his sum-

officers were killed, wherever they could be found; and the people exclaimed, "Let Richard be deposed and Henry declared our lord and governor."

"Soon after, the duke sent letters to the nobility, accusing Richard of a design to deliver over to the French king all the possessions of the English in France, for a sum of money to be paid by instalment in ten years; which was the more readily believed, because he had already given back Brest and Cherbourg. The effect of these letters was such, that every gentleman of England went and offered his services to the duke; and in less than six days, he had so large an army both of nobles and *non-nobles*, that he was obliged to dismiss the greater part for want of means to subsist them; and for certain it was in consequence of the effects produced by these letters that he was so well received in England, and emboldened to advance to London."¹

Carte² has placed the dissemination of these imputations after the capture of the king; but, according to the above relation, this is an unwarranted transposition. The desertion of Richard at Milford-haven by the principal lords who had returned with him from Ireland, is elsewhere attributed to the letters which they had received, informing them of the causes for which the duke of Lancaster was come into England.³ Before the army dispersed, the Earl of Rutland had received letters from Lancaster, and had been seen reading them by one of his squires.⁴

^m This exactly accords with the statement of Walsingham.⁵ The rapidity with which large armies were raised is a striking feature of this reign. The croisade against the Clementists in 1383, the alarm of an attack from France in 1385, the dispute between the Duke of Ireland and the nobles in 1387, and the conspiracy against Henry IV. in this year, 1399, quickly drew together considerable bodies of men. This may easily be accounted for. The disposition of the Scots promoted a warlike spirit in the north: great numbers of the veterans who had been engaged in France under Edward III. had been disbanded, and with the partial exception of the Duke of Lancaster's campaign in Spain, there had been little employment for common soldiers: the people were generally dissatisfied, and in a state of ferment: the banditti styling themselves "maintainers," who roved about in different counties, especially upon the western borders, and subsisted by plunder in defiance of the laws, encreased the facility of raising forces.⁶ The mischievous effects of military ardour, the relic of former wars, were visible in the turbulent state of England during the life of Henry IV.; but this disposition was turned to account by his son.

¹ MS. Ambassades, pp. 126, 127, 128. Mr. Allen's MS. Extracts.

² Hist. of Eng. II. p. 635.

³ Bibl. du Roy. MS. 1188, f. 17. a.

⁴ Ibid. MS. 635, p. 14. MS. 10,212, p. 136.

⁵ Hist. Angl. p. 358.

⁶ Lingard, III. c. 20.

mons, throughout Wales and Chester, that all gentlemen, archers,²

² Cheshire abounded with bold and rapacious maintainers, many of whom were among the celebrated bowmen of the king's guard. The men of this county were preferred from their known attachment to him. Before the meeting of the parliament in 1397, he thought it necessary to provide for the safety of his person; and orders¹ were addressed to the Dukes of Lancaster and York, and the Earl of Derby, to raise men at arms and archers for this purpose: some have reckoned their number at two thousand:³ they mounted and relieved guard night and day. The writers of the Parliamentary History⁴ doubt respecting the date of their introduction and their number, because no such account of them appears on record. But that they made their appearance in London at that time, and that it produced a strong impression, is evident from the way in which they are spoken of by the early writers. "*Interea (sc. a 1397) rex sibi metuens convocavit ad tutelam sui corporis multos malefactores de comitatu Cestrie, qui noctium vigilias dierumque servarent et dividerent circa illum.*"⁵ While the trial of Arundel was going on, they surrounded the house of Parliament "*ad pugnam arcubus tensis, sagittas ad aures trahentes;*"⁶ and afterwards escorted him at his execution, "*Præcessit eum et sequebatur satis ferialis turba Cestrensiū, armata securibus, gladiis, arcubus et sagittis.*"⁷ Their disorderly conduct was a cause of scandal to Richard. The fifth article of accusation complains that "he drew to him a great number of malefactors out of the county of Chester, who, marching up and down the kingdom, with the king, as well within his own house, as without, cruelly killed his lieges, beat and wounded others, plundering the goods of the people, &c. and although complaints were made to the king of their excesses, yet he took no care to apply remedy or do justice in them, but favoured them in their wickedness, confiding in them, and in their assistance against all others of his kingdom; wherefore his good subjects had great matter of commotion and indignation."

Like all his other favourites, they gained a complete ascendancy over him, and indulged in great freedom of speech towards him; a specimen of which the Chronicle of Kenilworth gives in the original dialect. "*In tantam familiaritatem domino regi annectebantur, ut eidem in materna lingua audacter confabularentur; Dycun, slep sicury quile we wake, and dreed nouzt quile we lyve seftow: ffor zif thow haddest weddet⁷ Perkyn dauzter of Lye thow mun well halde alone day⁸ with any man in Chester schire in ffaith.*"⁹

He took the Cheshire archers of his guard into Ireland.¹⁰

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 14. Dugdale, *Baronage*, II. p. 119.

² *Vita Ric. II.* p. 133.

³ Vol. I. p. 461.

⁴ *Walsing. Hist. Angl.* p. 354.

⁵ *Vita Ric. II.* ut supra.

⁶ *Walsing.* ut supra.

⁷ This is Perkin a Legh, mentioned in note ^k, p. 65.

⁸ Query, Keep Hallown tide? Be as good and substantial a man as any in Cheshire.

⁹ MS. Chronicle of Kenilworth, in *Ric. II.*

¹⁰ *Walsing. Hist. Angl.* p. 357. Otterbourne, p. 200.

and other persons, should come to him without delay, upon pain of death, to take part with King Richard, who loved them. This they were very desirous to do, thinking of a truth that the King had arrived at Conway: I am certain that forty thousand were trained and mustered in the field within four days, every one eager to fight with all who wished ill to the ever preux and valiant King Richard.^o Then the earl, who endured great pain and trouble, went to them all, and declared to them with a solemn oath, that before three days were ended, he would so straiten the duke and his people, that for this time

^o From the predatory dispositions and habits of the people of North Wales and Cheshire¹ they were ever ready to arm; and in 1387 had furnished him with troops in his contest with the nobles.² No part of the island was so well affected to him, or continued more unshaken in their fidelity after his misfortune. Great numbers of the Welsh had fought under his father and grandfather, and the nation were habitually devoted to their princes. On Cheshire he had conferred marks of especial favour. In the summer of the above-mentioned year he had visited it, and much ingratiated himself with persons of all ranks in the county; they adopted his livery, and bound themselves by oath, to stand in his defence against all manner of men.³ In the parliament held in 1398 at Shrewsbury, on account of the loyalty of that district, for the love he bore to the gentlemen and commons of the shire of Chester, he caused it to be ordained, that from thenceforth, it should be called and known by the name of "the principality of Cheshire." From that time he took the title of Prince of Chester.⁴ This act was revoked in the next reign.

Henry diligently watched the Cheshire men; and one of the statutes of his first parliament was enacted against them.⁵ He had sufficient reason to be suspicious of them. Chester, Flint, and Denbigh, were afterwards conspicuous in the insurrection of the Percys in 1403.⁶ The goods, lands, and chattels, of thirty-four Cheshire gentlemen were forfeited to the king;⁷ and two hundred knights and squires of that county alone lay dead upon the field at Shrewsbury.⁸

¹ Statutes of the Realm, II. p. 10. ² Ric. II. c. 6.

² Ypod. Neustr. p. 452.

³ Lingard, *ut supra*.

⁴ Lysons's Britannia, Cheshire, II. part 2, p. 561. Statutes of the Realm, II. p. 100. ⁵ Ric. II. c. 9. Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 355.

⁶ Id. pp. 118, 119. ⁷ Hen. IV. c. 18.

⁶ Rymer, Fœdera, VIII. p. 320.

A list of them is to be found in Bibl. Harl. MS. 1988, 38.

⁸ Ypod. Neustr. p. 560.

they should advance no farther to waste the land. Soon after, he found the whole of his friends assembled together in the field; he spake to them well-advisedly, "My good gentlemen (*or people*), let us all make haste to avenge King Richard in his absence, that he may be satisfied with us for the time to come: for mine own part I purpose neither to stop nor to take rest, till such time as I shall have made my attempt upon those who are so traitorous and cruel towards him. Let us go hence, and march directly towards them. God will help us, if we are diligent in assaulting them; for, according to our law, it is the duty of every one in many cases to support the right until death."

When the Welshmen understood that the king was not there, they were all sorrowful, murmuring to one another in great companies, full of alarm, thinking that the king was dead of grief, and dreading the horrible and great severity of the Duke of Lancaster and his people. They were not well satisfied with the earl, saying, "Sir, be assured, that for the present we will advance no farther, since the king is not here; and do you know wherefore? Behold the duke is subduing every thing to himself, which is a great terror and trouble to us; for indeed we think that the king is dead, since he is not arrived with you at the port: were he here, right or wrong, each of us would be eager to assail his enemies. But now we will not go with you." The earl at this was so wroth at heart, that he had almost gone out of his senses with vexation; he shed tears. It was a great pity to see how he was treated. "Alas!" said he, "what shame befalleth me this day! O death! come unto me without delay; put an end to me; I loath my destiny. Alas! now will the king suppose that I have devised treason."

While thus he mourned, he said, "My comrades, as you hope for mercy, come with me, I beseech you; so shall we be champions for King Richard, who within four days and a half will be here; for he told me, when I quitted Ireland, that he would upon his life embark before the week was ended. Sirs, I pray you let us hasten to depart." It availed nothing; they stood all mournfully, like men afraid; a great

part of them were disposed to betake themselves to the duke, for fear of death. But the earl kept them in the field fourteen days, expecting the coming of King Richard. "Many a time," said the good earl apart, "small portion will you have of England, in my opinion, my rightful lord, since you delay so long. What can this mean? certes, I believe you are betrayed, since I here no true tidings of you in word or deed. Alas! I see these people are troubled with fear, least the duke should hem them in (*or hate them*). They are but common ignorant people. They will desert me." So said the good earl to himself in the field; while he was serving with those who in a little time all abandoned him; some went their way straight to the duke, and the rest returned into Wales; so they left the earl encamped with none but his own men, who did not, I think, amount to an hundred. He lamented it greatly, saying, in a sorrowful manner, "Let us make our retreat; for our enterprise goeth on very badly."

Thus doth the earl make little account of his life; for he seeth well that he hath neither death nor good report; the people of the duke stir up so much vexation in his heart. The enemy advanced without farther delay, for they had been told that the earl had gathered his troops to come to the point against them. The duke was glad of it; he desired nothing so much as to combat all those who would defend or wait for King Richard. He made his way as straight as he could take it, towards the earl, who withdrew himself to Conway, full of grief, sadness, and dismay.^p Great hurt it surely did me, for I sincerely loved him, because he heartily loved the French: and besides he was humble, gentle, and courteous in all his doings, and he had every one's word for being loyal and prudent in all places. He gave most largely, and his

^p This intimates that the Earl of Salisbury had at first advanced beyond Conway, and that the duke made some demonstration against him in that direction. It is probable that the latter was now at Chester; but how far Salisbury had pushed towards him, or whether the other had actually passed the Dee, does not appear, no further notice being taken of this operation. Flint and Rutland were still in Richard's possession, till Northumberland brought up his detachment towards Conway to seize the king.

gifts were profitable. Bold he was, and courageous as a lion. Right well and beautifully did he also make ballads, songs, roundels, and lays.¹ Though he was but a layman, so gracious were all his deeds,

¹ Ballad-making was much in fashion. The squire of Chaucer, in the passage already cited, page 7, possessed this qualification. The French took the lead in composition of this kind. About the year 1380, according to Warton, a new species of poetry succeeded to the Provençal in France. It consisted of Chants royaux, Balades, Rondeaux, and Pastorales.² But the passion for writing songs among the princes and gentlemen of that country may be traced much higher.³ Wincellaus of Bohemia, Duke of Luxembourg and Brabant, uncle of Richard's first queen, was a great composer of songs, ballads, roundelays, and virelays.⁴ Froissart made a collection of these at the request of the duke, in the volume entitled *Meliador*, which he presented to Richard II. and that historian has left us several specimens of similar efforts of his own muse.⁵ Among the contemporary writers of our own nation, the French ballads of Gower are remarkable for their ease and elegance.⁶

Of the poems of the Earl of Salisbury,⁷ probably composed in the French language, a favourable opinion may be formed from the commendations bestowed upon him by Christina of Pisa, who calls him, "*Gracieux chevalier, aimant dictiez, et lui meme gracieux dicteur.*" She herself, whose various works both in prose and verse form so conspicuous a portion of the literature of this period, was little inferior to any of the poets of the age; and her judgment might be depended upon, even though it should be suspected to be biassed by the debt of gratitude which she owed to her admirer and friend. She was a foreigner by birth, but the widow of a Frenchman, patronised at the court of France for her literary talent; and a part of her story is closely connected with the Earl of Salisbury and Henry IV. When Salisbury went over to France either upon the marriage of Richard, or to thwart the match of the duke of Lancaster, he became acquainted with Christina, whose works had attracted his attention; and he conceived such a friendship for her, that seeing she had a son whom she wished to place out, he offered to take him and educate him with his own. Christina consented; and her son, then thirteen years of age, accompanied him into England in 1398.⁷

At

¹ Hist. of Eng. Poetry, I. p. 464.

² Roquefort, De L'Etat de la poésie Française dans les XII et XIII Siècles, p. 211, and his authorities.

³ Chronicles, VII. c. 31.

⁴ Memoires de l'Academie, XIV. p. 219, &c.

⁵ Ellis, Specimens, I. pp. 170, 171.

⁶ They had escaped the researches of Warton, and are probably lost. He notices the earl's talent and fondness for poetry, Hist. of Eng. Poetry, I. p. 342 note; and thinks he must have been a patron of Chaucer. His son married Alice the grand-daughter of the poet. Dugdale, Baronage, I. p. 653.

⁷ Mem. de Litt. par Boivin, le Cadet. Paris 1717, 4to. T. II. pp. 768, 769.

that never, I think, shall that man issue from his country in whom God

At the death of this nobleman, Henry, who had read the compositions of Christina, which were in Salisbury's possession, and must have seen or heard of her at Paris, was very desirous to entice her to his court: he took her son under his protection; and sent two kings at arms, Lancaster and Falcon, to invite her over with promise of an ample maintenance. But, as she had been disgusted at his conduct towards Richard, she declined his offers with many thanks, excuses, and delays, till she could obtain her son again. She confesses that she made this sacrifice of a liberal establishment for herself and her child to her principles and feelings; (perhaps also it was made to her apprehensions;) that he returned upon an understanding that she was to go back with him, which, however, she did not; and that his restitution cost her some of her books. (*"De mes livres me couta."*) She afterwards placed him in the service of the Duke of Orleans, and thus expresses herself in a ballad addressed to that prince, recommending the youth to his protection.

Ja. iij. ans que, pour sa grāt promesse,
L'en enmena le conte tres louable
De Salsbery, qui mouru a destresse,
Ou mal pays d'Angleterre; ou muable
Y sont la gent. Depuis lors, nest pas fable,
Ya este; si ay tel peine mise
Que ie le ray: non obstant qu'a sa guise
L'avoit henry, qui de la se dit hoir.
Or vous en face ie don de foy apprise,
Si le vueilles, noble duc, recevoir.¹

After what Boivin has said respecting her and the Earl of Salisbury, it might be expected that among her numerous ballads, in that most splendid volume of her poems in the British Museum, many of which are addressed to her patrons and the principal persons of the time with whom she had intercourse, some one at least might be found addressed to this nobleman. But I am not aware that he is mentioned in any other passage of that part of her works, except in the above quotation. It will be observed how lightly she there touches upon the death of the earl, the behaviour of the English, and the claims of the reigning monarch. And it is a remarkable circumstance, that there are several blanks left among the ballads by the transcriber. This might at first sight seem to favour the conjecture, that these spaces might in other copies be filled up with compositions containing allusions objectionable to Henry, and that this might be one of the very books which she

¹ MSS. Harl. 4473. f. 47. a. in *Cent Balades*.

hath implanted so much worth as was in him. ^r May his soul be placed

she sent to procure the restoration of her son. It appears, however, from internal evidence of some of the pieces, that the volume was not written till after 1404; before which time, according to her own account, he must have returned. Its costly decorations indicate it to have been prepared for some person of rank; and, if part of the suspicion be founded in fact, it might be originally destined for an Englishman. — It belonged in 1676 to Henry Duke of Newcastle.

There is reason to believe that Salisbury possessed an active and cultivated mind, with a taste for literature and the arts. The reader will hereafter see that it is to his suggestion that he owes this interesting story of Richard's fall. He seems to have been the earl of that title alluded to in the romance *History of Partenay*, composed about this time; in which the writer, speaking of the sources from which his materials are derived, says

Forment celle historie avery
Le conte de Salsebery,
Dun livre quavoit.¹

Either by inheritance or purchase he had tapestry in his possession, which, upon his forfeiture, was thought a present worthy of a king's son.²

It is indeed probable, that the earl, his uncle, had been a collector of books; but all his stores did not descend to his heir. Among the royal MSS. in the British Museum is Comestor's *Scholastic History*, in French, which, as it is recorded in a blank page at the beginning, was taken from the king of France at the battle of Poitiers, and, being purchased by William Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, for 100 marcs, was ordered to be sold by the last will of his countess Elizabeth for 40 livres.³

Bishop Percy and Strutt perused the passage, to which this note is appended, so inattentively as to ascribe the above poetical accomplishment to the king.

^r He was an eminent patron of the disciples of Wycliff. Their doctrines had spread so rapidly, that they had made their way into the court, the church, and the universities. The great towns of London, Leicester, and Bristol in particular, cherished them with avidity; and according to Knighton, a man could scarcely meet two persons upon the road, without one of them being a Wycliffite.⁴ As their religious assemblies were subject to interruption, Sir John Montacute and others, about 1387, used to attend them in armour.⁵ When their

¹ Bibl. Bodl. MS. 3286, 19. f. 9. a.

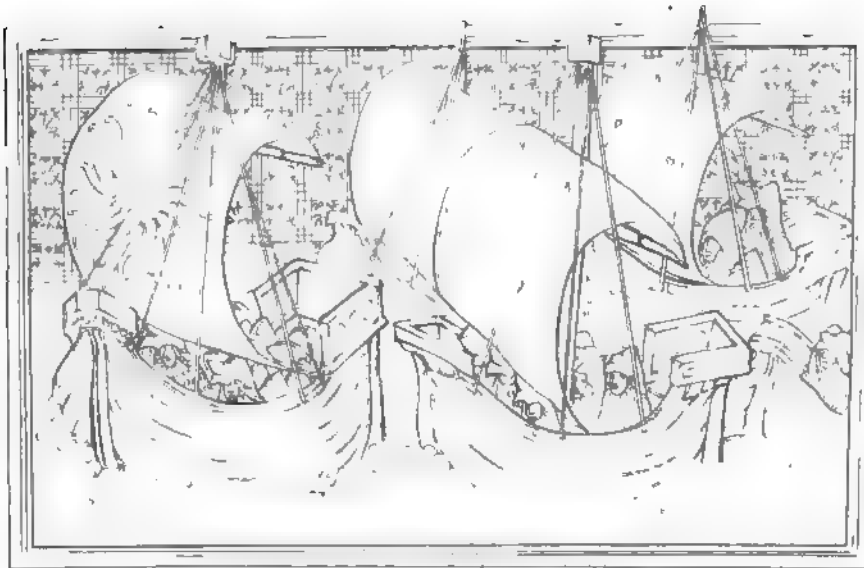
² Three pieces of tapestry, of the forfeited property of the Earl of Salisbury, were given to Thomas the king's son by a grant, dated May 2, 2 Hen. IV. Rymer, Donat. MSS. Brit. Mus. I. 4596, p. 180.

³ Warton, I. Diss. II.

⁴ Fox, I. pp. 576, 585. Wilkins's Concilia, III. 265. Knighton, Col. 2661.

⁵ Ypod. Neustr. p. 540.

ILLUMINATION VII.



in paradise with the saints for ever ; for they have since foully put him to a painful death, like a martyr, loyally maintaining reason and the rightful cause. How this happened, if God preserve me, you shall hear. But first, I must tell you of the arrival of King Richard, too late for him ; for he tarried eighteen days after our departure from Ireland. It was very great folly. Accursed be the man by whom this happened : well did he prove the love that he had for the king, who so loved him. Throughout his host he gave order for loading barges and ships, and for those who could bear arms to embark.

(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE VII.)

Thus King Richard passed the sea in a little time, for the weather was fair and bright, and the wind good, which brought him within two days to Milford.* He did not stop there, considering the distress,

their attempts at reform recalled Richard II. in haste from Ireland in 1394, he sharply rebuked Montacute and several of his household, and threatened to put to death Sir Richard Sturry, who had served him and his grandfather for many years, if he did not renounce these opinions.¹ As to Montacute, he had shewn such an aversion to images, that he caused all those, that had been placed in his chapel of Shenly in Buckinghamshire by his wife's former husbands or their ancestors, to be removed and thrown into obscure places, except that of Saint Catherine, which, on account of the respect paid by many to it, he permitted to be placed in his bakehouse.

Walsingham loses his temper when he mentions him ; "*Inter ceteros major fatuus Johannes Mountagu, qui in tantam vesaniam, &c.*" and speaking of his death he tells us, that "he who throughout the whole of his life had been a favourer of the Lollards, a despiser of images, a contemner of the canons, and a derider of the sacraments, ended his days, as is reported, without the sacrament of confession."²

* At this place ends Carew's abbreviated translation of the former part of this tract, of which an account has been given in the Introductory Observations, page 4. "The story of Richard the second's expedition into Ireland," in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, F. 4. 30.³ is probably only another copy of it.

¹ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 351.

² Id. pp. 329, 363.

³ Report respecting the Public Records of Ireland, 1810—1815, p. 191.

complaints, and lamentations of the poor people,^t and the mortal alarm of all. Then he resolved,^u that, without saying a word, he would set

^t The author assigns a singular reason for the resolution that Richard took of quitting his army. It is difficult to conceive how the general distress and terror of the country should form a motive for his abandonment of them. The latter part of the sentence must indicate the true cause,—the panic and disorganisation that prevailed among the troops themselves. We learn from other sources that desertion had taken place to a serious extent before he withdrew. “Some days after his arrival in England, ‘when the king arose in the morning, and was about to say his orisons, he leaned on a window that looked to the field where his army was encamped; and when he saw the smallness of the number, he was quite dismayed.’ This army of thirty-two thousand was reduced to six thousand, the rest having deserted during the night, and joined the duke of Lancaster.”¹

He halted two days at Milford to refresh them.² The monk of Evesham must have been misinformed when he reports that they were much concerned to see him so dejected, and offered to stand by him to the last drop of their blood; but that he disbanded them.³

^u The account of the discussion that took place in the council at Milford-haven is supplied by the MS. Ambassadors, and is curious, inasmuch as it is characteristic of the speakers, and shews the grounds upon which the king was determined to retire to Conway.

“He consulted with his friends what course he had best pursue. Then said the earl of Salisbury, ‘Sir, truly this man, as I have heard, hath already stirred up many people against you by falsehoods and artful words (*paroles entrouvees*): you now see, and may perceive, that four parts of your men, and all those of highest rank, have left you in a single night. So it seemeth to me, that it were well, saving the correction of your good opinion, since we are few in number, and, moreover, we know not whether those who are with us will remain, that on the approach of night we should take four or five hundred of the best and most faithful of those that are left; put to sea, for our navy is ready to go wherever you please; and make straight for Bordeaux: there we shall be well received; and you will also have aid, if it be needful, from France, from Brittany, or from Gascony; for it is better to withdraw a little from an enemy than to throw one’s self upon his protection.’ The Earl of Huntingdon replied, ‘By Saint George, if my lord trusts to me, he will go this very night to Bellicaldit, and thence to the strong castle of Conway; there he will be in a state of security, in his kingdom, and in his rightful inheritance.’ And the king made answer, ‘So we should at Bordeaux.’ ‘That is true,’ said the earl; ‘but if you

¹ Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 216.

² Bibl. du Roy, MS. 635, p. 13.

³ Vita Ric. II. p. 150.

out at midnight from his host, attended by a few persons ;^v for he would on no account be discovered. In that place he clad himself in another garb, like a poor priest of the Minors,^w for the fear that he had

you go to Bordeaux, every one will say you will have fled without being pursued ; and that if you had not felt yourself guilty in some respect, you would not have gone away ; and if you are in the castle of Conway you will be secure from any one ; for in spite of Henry of Lancaster and all his friends, at all times, and at any time you please, you may embark and go wherever you chuse. And, peradventure, while you are in the castle some good agreement may be made.' Then said the king, ' you speak well ; we will do so ; and yourself shall go to-morrow to Henry of Lancaster to know what he would have.' The Bishop of Carlisle, the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Stephen Scroope, Ferriby, Janico, and Maudelain would have preferred going to Bordeaux : but it pleased the king to listen to his brother."¹

In Bibl. du Roy, MS. No 635. p. 15. The Bishop of Carlisle unites in advising him to proceed to Conway. Bellicaldit or Bellicardric is there represented to be a strong castle thirty miles from Milford ; and it is said that they went thither the first night, and the next night to Conway ; which, upon any calculation of the whole distance to the extremity of North Wales, taking into account also the nature of the country, seems impossible.

^v According to other MSS. about one hundred horse accompanied the king in his flight :² if it were so, many of these might have fallen away from him by the road. That he went off secretly, and abandoned the remains of his army, all the MSS. agree.

^w The habit of the Franciscan, or Minor Friar, was a loose garment of a grey colour, reaching down to the ancles, with a cowl of the same, and a cloak over it, when they went abroad. They girded themselves with cords, and went barefoot.³

The dresses of the clergy had been the subject of much episcopal animadversion during the latter part of this century. It seems, that through vanity or from a sense of inconvenience they were desirous of altering the clerical costume. They affected to have their upper garment shorter and tighter, and introduced buttons, which were entirely contrary to canonical regulations. John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, complains in his constitutions of the luxury of their apparel, particularizing the Black Friars ; and that many dressed rather like soldiers than persons of ecclesiastical profession.⁴ Simon Islip,
in

¹ Bibl. du Roy, MS. Ambassades, pp. 131, 132. Mr. Allen's Extracts.

² Id. p. 232, and No. 635, p. 16.

³ Tanner, Notit. Monast. Preface, p. xiii.

⁴ Concilia, II. p. 703.

of being known of his foes. Alas! he thought that the earl was still keeping the field with his warriors, wherefore he rode hard towards him in sad and pensive mood.

It is now right that you should know what friends he took with him into the country. I saw and observed the Duke of Exeter,^x and with

in an ordinance dated November, 1353, in which the rules of his predecessor are recited, allows them on a journey only to use short vests, but they are to be neither too tight nor buttoned (*botonata*) down the middle; merely closed above and below: any clerk wearing buttons in public was subject to a fine. The constitutions of Thoresby, Archbishop of York, published in 1367, also censure "vestes nimia brevitare ridiculas vel notandas."¹

The seventy-fourth Canon of the Church of England, as it now stands, is, in part, but a more modern edition of the above regulations, adapted to the Reformation.

^x John de Holand, third son of Thomas, Earl of Kent, by Joan, daughter of Edmund of Woodstock. His mother, one of the most beautiful women of the age, was afterwards the wife of the Black Prince; and hence John de Holand was uterine brother to Richard the second. He was also brother-in-law to Henry, Duke of Lancaster, having married his sister Elizabeth.

He had been long exercised in arms; and had served in Scotland, 29 Edw. III. 7 and 8 Ric. II.; in Spain, 9 and 11 Ric. II.; and in France, 9, 11 and 13 Ric. II. His lady accompanied him in the Castilian campaign, where he was constable to the duke of Lancaster, his father-in-law, and high in his confidence. He executed the task of bringing off the remnant of the army enfeebled by pestilence.²

He had espoused by proxy the king's first wife, Anne of Bohemia, and attended her into England; he assisted also at his second marriage. He had held the office of Justice of Chester, 4 Ric. II.; had been negotiator of peace with France and Flanders, 7 and 15 Ric. II.; admiral of the fleet from the mouth of the Thames westward, 13 Ric. II.; twice lord chamberlain of England, 13 and 17 Ric. II.; governor of the castle and town of Carlisle,³ 19 Ric. II.; and warden of the west march towards Scotland, 21 Ric. II. His advancement to the title of Earl of Huntingdon bears date, 2 June, 11 Ric. II. and to that of Duke of Exeter, 29 September, 21 Ric. II.

The enterprise and valour of John de Holand have been much celebrated. He himself confessed to the Duke of Lancaster, "I love nothing better than fighting."⁴ He excelled in jousting, and was insatiably fond of it. Upon a formal challenge he tilted with Sir Reginald de Roie, before the court of Portugal at Entença;⁵ won the stranger's prize

at

¹ Concilia, III. p. 29 et seq. et p. 70.

² Froissart, IX. cc. 3, 4.

³ Rotuli Scotie, II, p. 135.

⁴ Froiss. VIII. c. 31.

⁵ Id. ut supra.

him the good Duke of Surrey,¹ who was loyal and true to his death,

at Oporto;² ran six lances at the grand match on the plain of Saint Inglevere;³ near Calais; and would have entered the lists again, but was not allowed; he also carried off the tenants prize at the famous tournament in Smithfield in 1390.⁴ The king granted special licence for himself and his retinue, knights and squires, to exercise points of arms, if they should be required, during his stay at Berwick upon Tweed and in the marches, in 1392.⁵

But his intrepidity more than bordered upon ferocity. In bravery he might be a good knight; but he had certainly been a bad man. Twice within two years he had committed murder. During the parliament held at Shrewsbury in 1384, an Irish Carmelite presented to the king a schedule containing allegations of treason against the Duke of Lancaster, which he pledged himself to substantiate upon a day appointed. The duke denied the charges, and offered to prove his innocence; but demanded that the Friar should in the mean time be placed under the custody of Sir John Holand. At midnight preceding the day of enquiry, Holand and a knight, named Sir Henry Green, with their own hands put the accuser to death in the most barbarous manner; and to remove suspicion, caused his body to be dragged in the morning through the streets on a hurdle, like that of a traitor. Richard's youthful incapacity and the licentiousness of his nobles were never more conspicuous than upon this occasion; and it is not the least extraordinary particular in the affair, that no notice was taken of so gross an outrage. Walsingham drily remarks upon it. "*Mirandum quod non armigeri, non valecti, non garciones, nec inferioris status viri quicquam mali voluerunt inferre fratri; sed milites hæc fecerunt. Ipsi judices, ipsi ministri, ipsi tortores extiterunt. Et hic fructus Parlamenti præsentis.*"⁶

In the other case, his iniquitous conduct occasioned ultimately the death of his mother. When the king, on his march towards Scotland in 1395, halted his army at Beverley, in Yorkshire, a quarrel arose between a squire attached to Sir John Holand, and an archer belonging to Ralph, eldest son of the Earl of Stafford, respecting a German knight who was on a visit to the queen. High words ensued; and the archer shot the squire through the heart. When Sir John heard of it, Froissart tells us, "he was like a madman; and said he would neither eat nor drink till he had revenged it." Accordingly he sallied forth in quest of the knight who had been the innocent cause of the affray; and accidentally meeting young Stafford in a narrow lane, without any personal provocation, slew him with a single stroke of his sword. His answer, when he was informed that Ralph was dead, was equally wanton and ferocious. "Be it so: I had rather have put him to death than one of less rank; for by that I have the better revenged the loss of my squire." But he soon found the danger of his situation, and fled for sanctuary to Saint John's at Beverley. It is affirmed, that from this hour the Duke of Gloucester conceived an antipathy against him; and

¹ Froiss. VIII. c. 27.

² *Ibid.* X. c. 11.

³ *Ibid.* c. 21.

⁴ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, II. p. 117.

⁵ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 310.

together with the brave Earl of Gloucester. Three bishops² were also

and that he never forgave him for the transaction. The king, who was greatly incensed at it, caused him to be indicted and outlawed, and seized upon his offices. The Princess Joan, then at Wallingford, hearing that Richard had vowed Holand should suffer according to the law, attempted to mediate between her sons, and to obtain his pardon. But Richard rejected her earnest entreaties; and at the return of her messenger she was so affected with grief that she took to her bed, and in a few days expired.¹ The king, shortly after, yielded to the solicitation of the Duke of Lancaster that for which his mother had sued in vain. Holand was received into favour, and was reconciled to the Earl of Stafford.

Either the express terms of this reconciliation, or some actual contrition on the part of Holand, caused him to appoint three priests, at the king's assignment, to celebrate divine service for the soul of Ralph, two on the spot where the murder was committed, and one at Langley, *every day to the world's end*.³

It was, probably, the hope of expiation that induced him some years after, 17 Ric. II. to repair to the Holy Land in pilgrimage. He visited Jerusalem and Saint Catherine's of Mount Sinai, and purposed to have returned by way of Hungary. As he passed through Paris, where from his birth and connexions he was generously received at the court of the French king, he heard that the king of Hungary was to fight with Bajazet, and publicly avowed his resolution of joining the Christian army. An engagement took place, but, fortunately for him, he was not among the combatants: out of a great number of the French, who mingled in that fight, very few revisited their native country.⁴ His absence in Palestine prevented him from attending the king on the first expedition into Ireland. Of late he had been chiefly at court and about the person of his brother. Great jealousy had subsisted between him and the Duke of Gloucester; Froissart says, Huntingdon was much afraid of him. He was one of his appellants. Carte⁵ has endeavoured to disprove the story of his brutal conduct at the execution of Arundel, as related by Walsingham; and at any rate the wishes of humanity are on his side. After the death of that nobleman, he took possession of his residence in London called Cold Harbour, in the parish of All Saints in Dowgate Ward, then counted, "a right fair and stately house; and it is upon record, that in 1397 the king dined with him there."⁶ He gave him the whole of the furniture in the castle of Arundel.⁶ In the present campaign he was retained to serve with one hundred and forty men at arms, and five hundred archers: and about this time obtained a grant of various castles and lordships in Wales, which had belonged to the

¹ Hist. Angl. p. 316.

² Thus Dugdale. But the Patent Roll expressly appoints them to say mass at Langley, *et non alibi*.
Calend. Rot. Pat. p. 215. b. 1 p. 11 Ric. II. ³ Froiss. X. c. 21. ⁴ II. p. 624.

⁵ Royal and Noble Wills, p. 138. note in Dallaway's Inquiries, p. 188.

⁶ Calend. Rot. Pat. p. 232. b. 1 p. 21 Ric. II.

with them ; two of whom, as you shall hear, were not (did not behave)

the late duke of Lancaster. His acceptance of these would naturally have excited the displeasure of Henry, in whose presence he was shortly to appear.

After the deposal of Richard he was adjudged in parliament to lose the greater part of his honours and lands, but allowed to retain the title and estate of the Earl of Huntingdon. Having joined in the conspiracy against Henry IV. he remained in London till after the battle at Cirencester.¹ He then made two several attempts to escape by sea, but being driven back by contrary winds, was taken and beheaded. Historians differ as to the place where he was arrested, but they in general concur that he lost his head at Pleshy, the spot from which he had been instrumental in enticing the Duke of Gloucester to his untimely end. The MS. Ambassadors² describes his decollation there, accompanied with circumstances of peculiar cruelty ; yet Carte very reasonably doubts whether he was put to death at that place.³ After his apprehension he was certainly committed to the Tower of London ;⁴ though Walsingham makes him remain a prisoner in the gate-house at Pleshy from his capture to his execution.⁵ Few of the accounts agree ; but Froissart is wider of the mark than any of them, when he says, not only that he was slain fighting at Cirencester ; but that he was absent at Calais as governor, during the time when the king was taken.⁶

By his wife, daughter to John of Gant, he left issue, two sons and one daughter.⁷

y Thomas Holand, Earl of Kent and afterwards Duke of Surrey, nephew of the above mentioned John Holand ; son of Thomas Holand, Earl of Kent, by Alice, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundel. His father had been dead about three years.

This young nobleman had been one of the appellants of the duke of Gloucester, and was rewarded, 21 Ric. II. with the castle and manor of Warwick, together with many other manors forfeited by the Earl of Warwick to the Crown.⁸ The title and dignity of Duke of Surrey was conferred upon him in the parliament of Shrewsbury, 21 Ric. II. and shortly after he was constituted Marshal of England,⁹ and acted in that capacity at the duel at
Coventry ;

¹ Hist. Angl. p. 402.

² Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 233, et seq.

³ II. p. 646.

⁴ Rymer, VIII. p. 121.

⁵ Hist. Angl. p. 363. His head was buried at Pleshy, and afterwards procured by his widow to be interred with his body. Dugdale does not say where. It had been exposed on London-bridge only for a day and a night. It seems probable that he was beheaded in the Tower, and that his head, for the justice of the example, was sent first to Pleshy.

⁶ XII. cc. 15, 17, 23, 30.

⁷ Dugdale, Baronage, II. p. 80. See the article, John de Holand, Earl of Huntingdon, *passim*.

⁸ He obtained from the king the Arras at Warwick, in which was wrought the story of the celebrated Guy, who slew the Danish champion. Dugdale, Baronage, II. p. 76.

⁹ Rymer, Fœdera, VIII. p. 44, dated at Coventry, Sept. 17, 1398.

like men of worth.² But I will first tell you their names. One was the

Coventry; Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, the first *Earl Marshal*,¹ being one of the combatants. He was made Lieutenant of Ireland upon the death of the Earl of March, and arrived there on the feast of Saint Mark,³ April 25, 22 Ric. II. He behaved with great bravery;³ but was unable either to repress or appease the insurgents. In fact the grant of Mac Morogh's forfeited barony of Norragh, which had been made to him, was one of the pleas of that rebellious chieftain for rising in arms. About the same time he was appointed governor of the castle of Liverpool, and obtained the castle and lordship of Carlow.⁴

He had offended Henry by his prosecution of the Duke of Gloucester,⁵ and was imprisoned by him as soon as he got him into his power at Chester. In the first parliament of the ensuing reign he urged his tender age and small reputation in defence of his having engaged in the appeal;⁶ but he was degraded from his title of duke. He associated with the conspirators, and was taken and beheaded at Cirencester on Wednesday after the feast of the Epiphany. Froissart says, that "he was young and handsome, and had very unwillingly taken part in this conspiracy; but his uncle and the Earl of Salisbury had forced him into it."⁷ He was about twenty-five years of age at the time of his death.

An anecdote related of him a few days before this event savours strongly of youth. When the party failed in their attempt to seize Henry at Windsor, they marched rapidly to Sunning, near Reading, where Isabel, Richard's queen, then resided. There the Duke of Surrey, with the Earl of Salisbury, entered the palace, dissembling their mortification before the household, who came out to meet them. Surrey then crossed himself, and began to harangue them in the following strain: "Bless me! what is the matter, that Lord Henry of Lancaster, who boasted so much of his prowess and knighthood, thus runs away from me? and presently he added, "My lords and friends, I would have you to know, that Henry of Lancaster has been chased by me into the Tower of London, with his sons and adherents. And I mean to go to Richard, who was and is and shall be our king; for he has escaped from prison, and now lies at Pomfret, with a hundred thousand men to defend him." In confirmation of all this, he contemptuously took off the collars, the badges of Henry, from the necks of some, whom he observed wearing them; and told them they must bear such ensigns no longer. He also pulled off the crescents from the arms of the attendants,

¹ Dallaway's *Inquiries*. Appendix, No. III. p. li.

² Henry Marleburgh in Camden, *Annals of Ireland*, a. 1398.

³ *Chronic. Tinemut.* p. 193, in Leland's *Collectanea*, I. p. 188.

⁴ Dugdale writes it "Clitherow," which I suspect is an error. The grant of the lordship and castle of Carelagh is in Bibl. Cotton. MS. Titus, B. XI. f. 171.

⁵ He was also in possession of some of the Duke of Lancaster's manors in the county of Gloucester. *Calend. Rot. Pat.* p. 235. a. 3 p. 22 Ric. II.

⁶ Cotton's *Abridgement*, p. 399.

⁷ XII. 30.

Bishop of Saint David's,^b and the other was (my) lord of Carlisle;^c he

attendants, and threw them away. Having thus cheered the queen's spirits, though to no purpose, he took his course to Wallingford."

He founded the priory of Mountgrace, near North Allerton, in Yorkshire, where his body was buried.¹ It had been first interred in the Abbey of Cirencester, but was removed on the petition of his widow; his arms are still to be seen in the first compartment of the eastern window in the chapel of the Holy Trinity in that town.² His head was exposed on a pole upon London bridge, from the beginning of January till the middle of March, 1400.

He was married to Joan daughter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, by whom he left no issue. Many writers have confounded him with his deceased father. Even Dugdale calls him "brother of the Earl of Huntingdon," contradicting what he had taken pains to prove before.³

² Other bishops are mentioned as having been with him in Ireland. The writer of the life of Richard II. in the Complete History of England, ⁴ affirms, but I know not upon what authority, that the Bishop of Exeter was there. Walsingham ⁵ speaks of many; and instances also the Bishop of London and the Abbot of Westminster; he adds the reason of his taking over so many prelates, that he might hold a parliament, whenever he should be so disposed. We may imagine that the king always liked to have some of these about him, from the sarcasm of his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, that "he was only fit company for bishops and ladies." Stow says he had usually thirteen in attendance.⁶

He had, besides, many ecclesiastics in his army; Maudlin and Ferriby, his own chaplains, and several others went over, whose names are specified in the letters of safe conduct;⁷ John Haslee, Thomas More, Simon Hoke, William Lane, William Yoxhale, clerks, Richard Felde, Almoner, and master John Midyton, Archdeacon of Norfolk.

^a He means to insinuate that they soon deserted him, though he gives no particular account of it. Merks was the only bishop present on his side when he was taken at Flint. The king had committed a capital error in provoking the clergy against him; they were greatly instrumental in promoting his downfall. Though he might affect the society of bishops, and was often more ready to ask the advice and attend to the suggestions of his chaplains,⁸ than of his nobler lay-counsellors, yet towards the clergy as a body,

¹ Tanner, Notit. Monast. Yorkshire, LXXXIV.

² Bigland, Collections relative to the County of Gloucester, p. 346.

³ Dugdale, Baronage, II. pp. 76, 77, 79. See the article, Thomas Holand, Duke of Surrey.

⁴ Vol. I. p. 283, note.

⁵ Hist. Angl. pp. 357, 358.

⁶ Annales, p. 323.

⁷ Rymer, VIII. pp. 78, 79.

⁸ See a striking instance of this in Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 306.

was the best of them; for he never would desert the good king, nor

body, and especially the regulars, he had upon the whole, shewn himself inconsiderate, if not hostile. He seems to have looked upon their revenues as inexhaustible sources upon which he might draw whenever his necessities required; he forced heavy loans from them; and oppressed and aggrieved them in several ways. Great complaints had been made of his want of feeling in particular towards religious houses. Their hospitality is well known: but it had been frequently abused; for it was an old grievance¹ that great men came to lodge in them when they were not invited by the governors; and whether it were at the charges of the inhabitants, or at their own charges, if it were against the will of religious persons, the intrusion was the same. Richard, in the early part of his reign, held more than one parliament in houses of this kind. In the fourth year he assembled one at Northampton, in a chamber of the priory of Saint Andrews, a place and town most unfit for such a purpose, in winter when lodging and fuel were scarce;² and where a crowd of attendants pent up together must have broken in upon the quiet of monastic arrangements, and occasioned serious expences to the establishment. And that such intrusions bore heavily upon the parties may be seen in the account of a former parliament held at the Abbey of Gloucester, in the time of Robert Boysfield, the nineteenth abbot. Froucester, at that time one of the monks, was an eye-witness of the inconvenience and disorder, and has thus described it. "A. D. 1378, in the second year of King Richard II. and in the first year of that abbot (Boysfield) on the eleventh of the kalends of November began the parliament of Gloucester, and lasted till the sixteenth of the kalends of December. King Richard lodged by turns, sometimes in the abbey of Gloucester, sometimes in that of Tewksbury, at his pleasure. But while he was at Gloucester, not only himself, but his whole retinue lodged in the Abbey. It was so entirely filled with them and with the parliament, that all the convent were obliged for some days to take their meals in the dormitory, both on flesh and fish days, when their dinner was prepared in the store-room; and afterwards for greater convenience, while the parliament lasted, in the school-house." He then points out how the different parts of the building were occupied by the different courts, and proceeds; "All open spaces in the monastery were so crowded by persons coming to the parliament, that it appeared more like a fair than a house of religion. The grass-plot of the cloister was so trampled down with wrestling and ball-playing, that not a vestige of green was to be seen upon it."³ The distress of the monk under the temporary hardship of being dispossessed of his refectory and kitchen may excite a smile; but a little reflection upon the nature and constitution of their establishments

¹ Statutes of the Realm, I. p. 237. Pleas in Eyre, 2 Edw. I.

² Cotton's Abridgement, p. 188. Parl. Hist. I. p. 358.

³ MS. Bibl. Cathedr. Glouc. Account of the Abbots of Gloucester, by Walter Froucester, xxth Abbot. pp. 56, 57.

did he ever change his mind about it for any thing that was said to

blishments may convince us, that the misrule occasioned by such occupation must have been in every respect most unwelcome. This want of consideration for them might in the first instance be rather attached to the ministers than to the young king: but he gave farther proofs of it in his circular visits to the Abbies. His stay at that of Bury in 1383, for ten days, cost them eight hundred marks, at a time when they could very ill afford it. Walsingham peevishly shuts up the account of these visits. "Tædet recordationis tot nugarum, et idcirco placet melius silere quam loqui."¹ When he set out for Ireland he gave them a strong proof that he had no hesitation in violating their privileges, if it suited his convenience; for although they were allowed to be exempt from furnishing armour, horses and carriages in time of war,² these articles had been unsparingly extorted from them.³

One of Richard's advocates⁴ has extolled his "great veneration for the clergy, whose privileges he maintained more than any of his predecessors;—neither in any other time," he assures us, "were they less wronged." It cannot be denied that their liberties were often formally asserted and acceded to in parliament; and that upon one occasion he sided with them against the laity, and declared, that he was resolved to leave the church in as good a state, or better, than he found it.⁵ As to the public acts of this reign, the enforcement of the *statute of provisors* was in favour of the English clergy; and the *profane statute*, as Knighton⁶ is pleased to call it, and that of *appropriations* passed in the parliament of 1390,⁷ were so far really to the advantage of the church, as they went to the correction of abuses in a community, in which there was room enough for reform. But the personal conduct of the king was not conciliatory towards them: the contempt with which he treated the pope, his harshness towards several prelates, and towards Arundel in particular, would increase the dislike of a great majority; and at length he had excluded most of them from any share in the administration of affairs.⁸ Widely different from this had been the conduct of his predecessor, who, while he judiciously restrained any encroachments of the clergy, understood the art of turning their services to account in the management of his temporal concerns; and in the zenith of his prosperity had more of them in office about him than any prince in Europe.⁹

This, at least, shewed Edward the Third's good opinion of them; but he seems not to have calculated upon the injurious effect that might arise to the individuals, and through their example to society, by engaging them in affairs so discordant to their profession. Neither had
such

¹ Hist. Ang. p. 302.

² Cotton, pp. 139, 165.

³ See page 21, note f.

⁴ Carte, II. p. 640.

⁵ Hist. Angl. p. 320.

⁶ Col. 2738.

⁷ Parl. Hist. I. p. 448.

⁸ Cotton, p. 374.

⁹ Kennet in Daniel. Parl. Hist. I. pp. 293, 294, note.

him. The third was the Bishop of Lincoln,^d who cared nothing (not

such been the notion of the times.¹ Jealousy, or a better estimate of the matter, occasioned the laity some years after to remonstrate, 45 Edward III. and the order of things was changed.²

The Duke of Lancaster might discern the general impolicy of Richard's proceedings towards the church; and in the outset of his enterprise, when promises were cheap, when he was backed by the pope, and every thing went smoothly before him, he made solemn oath that he would respect their rights. Whether he adhered to his professions, after he came to the throne, it is not our purpose to enquire: his enemies in their insurrections openly affirmed that he had broken his word.

^b Guido de Mona or Mohun. He had been Keeper of the Privy Seal,³ and was appointed Treasurer of England in 21 Ric. II. He also held the same office for a short time in 4 Hen. IV. Godwin dates his advancement to the see of Saint David's in 1401; but this is incorrect; for John Gilbert, the bishop immediately preceding, died in 1397.⁴ Guido is one of the witnesses to the will of the king.⁵ Walsingham, recording his decease, briefly observes, that "in his life he was the cause of much mischief."⁶ He died August 31, 1407, probably of the epidemic disease that raged violently in that year, and, in London alone, in a very short time carried off thirty thousand persons.⁷ Solemn processions with litanies and collects were ordered for the mitigation of it;⁸ and Archbishop Arundel directed that a funeral service and masses should be performed in all churches and chapels throughout the province of Canterbury for the Bishop of Saint David's.⁹

^c Thomas Merks, Merk, or Newmarket, (*de novo mercatu*) whose fidelity to the king has been applauded by so many succeeding writers. Their commendations of him are chiefly founded upon a resolute speech which he is reported to have made in the first parliament of Henry IV. against the deposition of Richard II. But the authenticity of that speech, which will be adverted to in its proper place, was shewn to be questionable, in a controversy respecting hereditary right and passive obedience, three centuries after the death of this prelate, when his character and conduct became the subject of strict enquiry. On one side he was set forth as a glorious example of loyalty and

¹ It is, however, noted that when Simon Sudbury was made Chancellor, 3 Ric. II. it was looked upon as a degradation to his archiepiscopal dignity. Parl. Hist. I. p. 358.

² Cotton, p. 112. The reason is shewn in Collier, Eccl. Hist. I. p. 561.

³ Calend. Rot. Pat. p. 232. 1 Pat. 21 Ric. II. No. 23.

⁴ See Hist. of the Bishops, under Saint David's, Nos. 61, 62.

⁵ Rymer, VIII. 77.

⁶ Hist. Angl. p. 376.

⁷ Ypod. Neustr. pp. 567, 568.

⁸ Concilia, III. pp. 304, 305, dated July 20, 1407.

⁹ Ibid. Dated Sept. 12, 1407.

a rotten pear) for all their doings, for he was the duke's own brother,

and fortitude, a man of conscience and integrity, a champion for the right heir; on the other side, as a tool of the mal-administration of Richard's arbitrary reign, led by his own interests to espouse the king's cause, a bold adventurer, but a very impotent actor in treason and rebellion. Both parties, arguing for victory, may have overstrained their representations; but Bishop Kennet's exposure of Merks,¹ to which no impartial reader can refuse the praise of industry and ability, holds him up in a very different light from that in which he has been viewed by most historians. He has brought forward facts, which were previously suppressed or unknown, and has shewn that his attachment to the cause of Richard was not so permanent as had generally been believed.

It appears that about 18 Ric. II. Merks was a doctor of divinity, and a person of some consequence at the university of Oxford; he was also a Benedictine Monk of Westminster; where being of the abbot's party, his quickness of talent recommended him to the ministry and to the king; by whom, on the translation of Bishop Read to the see of Chichester in 1397, he was promoted to the bishoprick of Carlisle, in opposition to the objections of the monks, who claimed the right of election. Under his episcopal character he was distinguished rather as a minister of state than a spiritual guide; and was employed in a variety of secular concerns at home and abroad.² He joined in the proceedings against the Duke of Gloucester, and the Arundels;³ and continued to the last in great estimation with King Richard, who left him by his will a cup of the value of twenty pounds.⁴ He followed his master's fortunes, so long as that monarch continued at liberty; and used his endeavours to obtain his restoration to the crown. It seems undeniable that about the meeting of the first parliament of Henry IV. Merks had for some reason incurred that king's displeasure, who placed him in custody at Saint Alban's; and that he was brought before the parliament by warrant, dated October 28, 1399. After this he was suspected to have had communication with the insurgents, whose attempts were crushed at Cirencester; and, though he did not openly act with them, was arraigned before a special commission for having held meetings with other conspirators in London, at Saint Paul's church, in the ward of Baynard's-castle, in the parish of All Saints the Little, in the ward of Dowgate, and in other places; and was found guilty and sent to the Tower; but he was pardoned⁵ and released at the end of the year 1400. According to Carte,⁶ he was committed to the Marshalsey in the year following; but at last set at liberty. In the meantime, the see of Carlisle had been reported vacant, and Henry procured the pope to translate him to the bishoprick

¹ Third Letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, concerning Bishop Merks. London, 1713.

² Rymer, *Fœdera*, VII. p. 858. VIII. p. 52.

³ Stow, *Annales*, p. 316.

⁴ *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 76.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 166, 167. "For it had never beene scene hitherto that any bishop was put to death by order of law." Godwin.

⁶ *Hist. of Eng.* II. pp. 647, 648.

and thought he could easily make his peace with him at any time. Of laymen there were two knights, right worthy in arms, valiant and bold. The first was named Stephen Scroope;^c the other

rick of Samos, *in partibus infidelium*. The same author represents him reduced by poverty to return to the protection of the Abbey of Westminster; that the convent presented him in 1404 to the living of Todenham in Gloucestershire; and that he enjoyed it till his death in 1409.

But Kennet^d draws a very different picture of his occupation in the interim between his liberation and his decease; he states that Merks was committed to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster; that he retired to Oxford; obtained the prebend of Mas-sam, in the church of York; acquired the favour of Henry IV. and received from him the vicarage of Sturminster Marshal, in the diocese of Sarum, and county of Dorset; that he conciliated the esteem of Archbishop Arundel; acted as his commissary; and was returned a member of the lower house of convocation for the province of Canterbury, which convocation he opened with a Latin sermon, on May 10, 1406. The publication of these facts, for which he cites sufficient authorities, has robbed Merks of a portion of the interest which he had excited, when viewed as a man, who in degradation and seclusion ever maintained an inviolable attachment to the deposed king. Though he forsook him not while hope remained; others might be found who pushed still farther their devotion to his cause and person. And when we see that he courted his adversaries, whatever may be the opinion that may be formed of him, we are no longer to imagine that he patiently and perseveringly cherished the feelings, which have been attributed to him, in monastic retirement or pastoral labours to his latest hour.^e

^d Henry Beaufort, second son of John of Gant by Catherine Swinford; a prelate of a bold and contentious temper, whose existing sentiments are neatly, though familiarly touched by the author, when he says, "*il n'acontoit pas une poire mole a tous leur faiz.*" His turbulent and ambitious course is so strongly marked by the general historians of our country, that it may be sufficient to note little more than the progress of his professional career.

^c Third Letter, &c. *passim*.

^e The last touches of Godwin's false and flattering portrait of him are given in the strongest colours of constancy and loyal affection. Having spoken of his release from prison, and his translation, he concludes, "Hee was so happy, as neither to take benefit of the gift of his enemy, nor to be hurt by the masked malice of his counterfeit friend: disdayning (as it were) to take his life by his gift, that tooke away from his master both life and kingdom. He died shortly after his deliverance, so deluding also the mockery of his translation; whereby (things so falling out) he was nothing damnified." History of the Bishops, in the article Merkes, under Carlisle, No. 15.

Ferriby,^f who was well made and active; they had also Jeni-

career. He studied the civil and canon law many years at Aix-la-chapelle and Oxford; and became Dean of Wells; was made Bishop of Lincoln in 1397; Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1398;¹ and upon the death of William of Wykeham was translated to Winchester in 1405; which see he held upwards of forty years. He received a Cardinal's hat from Pope Martin V. under the title of Eusebius, in 1427; undertook a croisade against the Bohemian Hussites in 1429; and performed the ceremony of coronation to his great nephew, Henry the Sixth, at Paris in 1431. He was Chancellor of England in the reigns of Henry IV, V, and VI.² His dispute with the Duke of Gloucester lasted too long for the fame of either party. He died April 11, 1447, at the age of eighty, "annis non minus quam divitiis gravis."³ Through frugality he had amassed such wealth that he was called "the rich cardinal;" he lent Henry V. at one time twenty thousand pounds. By a testament made two years before his death he disposed of his riches to various charitable purposes. Cambridge, Eton, and Saint Cross near Winchester bear testimony to his bequests; and he left plate and jewels to a great amount, to most of the cathedrals and principal monasteries in the kingdom. It was supposed that he had not been over scrupulous as to the means of acquiring this property. Though neither his youth nor the vigour of his life were spent altogether irreproachably, it has been asserted that the close of his days was marked by sedulous attention to his diocese.⁴ May his death-bed, as detailed by Shakspeare, be merely a poetical fiction!

— Lincoln is, in the original, *Nicole*. This is the way in which it is usually given in the earlier French writers. In the names especially of persons, misspelt as might be expected from the hand of a foreigner and the inaccuracy of the age, the translator has adopted the readings that are sanctioned by the somewhat more correct authorities of public documents; but even in these, it is well known, there is great disagreement under the unsettled orthography of places as well as names.⁵

^e Sir Stephen Scroope, eldest son of Henry, Lord Scroope of Masham, in the county of York. He was about forty-eight years of age, and had been a soldier from his youth, having served in France and Flanders during the last and present reign. When the Earl of Warwick was banished to the Isle of Man, 20 Rich. II. Sir Stephen was joined with the Earl of Wiltshire, his brother, in the precept for his safe conveyance and custody. In the

¹ Anth. a Wood, II. 401.

² Cotton, pp. 478, 534, 576, et alibi.

³ Anglia Sacra, Pars prima, p. 318.

⁴ Godwin in Lincoln, No. 19, and Winchester, No. 53.

⁵ Fabliaux, II. p. 70. Stat. 13 Ric. II. Stat. I. c. 18. Warton, Hist. Eng. Poetry, I. p. 78. Reference to the original, printed at the end, will shew that the word Carlisle is ingeniously varied. It is *Gertie*, *Guerlille*, *Kertille*, and in the Lambeth MS. *Quierlille*.

co,⁵ who bore the character of a good soldier, for according to common report he undertook very great feats.

the same year he was constituted Justice of Munster, Leinster and Uriell in Ireland; where by iniquitous behaviour and abuse of power he excited the disgust of the English as well as Irish. This was the last post that he held under Richard the second. It will be found that he was made captive with him at Flint; where he courageously sustained the only remaining poor relic of the fallen monarch's state. When Richard came down from the tower to put himself into the hands of his adversary, Sir Stephen bore the sword before him.¹ After these affairs he retired to his manor of Bynbury in Kent, where, in 1 Hen. IV. he was accused by John Kighlee, esquire, of being privy to the insurrection so often alluded to in these notes. His trial was held, August 4, 1400, in the court of chivalry, in the Moothalle at Newcastle upon Tyne; when he was acquitted, and his accuser condemned to the same punishment that Scroope was to have endured, had he been found guilty.² Henry IV. soon took him into his service. In the course of that year he was made joint governor with Sir Richard de Grey of the castle of Roxburgh, in Scotland; and in 2 Henry IV. went again into Ireland, as the deputy of Thomas, the king's son, lieutenant of Ireland.³

And now the firmness of a female corrected the errors of his former administration, and rendered his conduct towards the Irish as beneficial as it had before been injurious. His wife, Margery, who had been widow of John de Huntingfield, and to whom he had been married twenty-four years, having heard the complaints that had been made against him, refused to accompany or continue with him there; except, as the account is given in the antiquated but expressive language of Holinshed,⁴ "he would receive a solemn othe on the Bible, that willingly he should wrong no Christian creature in that lande, that truly and duly he should see payment made for all expenses; and hereof, shee sayd, shee had made a vowe to Christ so determinately, that unless it were on his part firmly promised, she could not without peril of soul go with him. Hir husband assented; and accomplished hir request effectually; recovered a good opinion for his upright dealing, reformed his

caters

¹ Baker, p. 155.

² See the confirmation of the process in Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. pp. 168, 169, 170. Kighlee was afterwards pardoned. *Calend. Rot. Pat.* 243. a. 2. p. 2 Hen. IV. No. 31.

³ Holinshed, *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 66. The Red Book of the Exchequer of Ireland notes the precise hour of his entering upon his office, 23 Aug. *circa horam Xma*. Carew's MS. Extracts, Bibl. Cotton. MS. Titus, B. XI, f. 293. Thomas of Lancaster was appointed, June 27, 2 Hen. IV. Rymer, *Donat. MSS.* I. 4596, p. 137. He succeeded Sir John Stanley, who had been made lieutenant, Dec. 10, 1 Hen. IV. *Ibid.* p. 61. Scroope at the same time succeeded Stanley as governor of Roxburgh castle. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, II. pp. 132. a. 138. b. Bibl. Cotton. MS. Vespasian, F. VII. 87.

⁴ *Hist. of Ireland*, ut supra.

Thus the king set out that very night with only thirteen others; he

caters and purveyers; enriched the country; maintained a plentiful house; remission of great offences, remedies for persons endangered to the prince, pardons of landes and lives he graunted so charitably, and so discreetly, that his name was never recited among them without many blessings and prayers; and so cheerfully they were redy to serve him against the Irish upon all necessarie occasions."

In the absēce of the king's son he continued to act as deputy lieutenant in Ireland, with some intermission, till his death. Occasionally he revisited England; as in 1403, and the two following years, when his charge of Roxburgh castle, and commission to treat respecting the prisoners taken at the battle of Hamildon,¹ demanded his personal attention. James Butler Earl of Ormond, was usually appointed Lord Justice in his stead. How valuable his services were deemed by the young lieutenant, Thomas of Lancaster, from his ability, experience, and local knowledge, may be understood by an interesting letter given in APPENDIX No. III. It is addressed by the prince to his father in 3 Hen. IV. and conveys a pleasing proof of his duty and affection and of discernment beyond his years.²

In 1407, with the aid of the Earls of Desmond and Ormond, and the Prior of Kilmainham, Scroope invaded the lands of Mac Morogh, and vigorously chastised that chieftain and others of the rebels. He died at Tristel Dermot on the festival of Saint Marcellus, the Martyr, February 10, 1408.³

He was summoned to parliament among the Barons of the realm from 16 Rich. II. to 7 Hen. IV. inclusive. One of the chronicles of Ireland frequently styles him *eques auratus*.⁴ He left issue one son, Henry, a man of considerable talent and as deep dissimulation, who found his way to the entire confidence of Henry the fourth and his successor.⁵ But he conspired with the French on his embassy to Paris in 1415, and suffered at Southampton the death of a traitor.

^f In the marginal notes of names that accompany the Lambeth MS. he is called William Firebye; and though in this place, and elsewhere, he is described as a layman, and a knight, others have represented him to be one of Richard's chaplains. Thus the MS. Amba-

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 292.

² The original is in Bibl. Cotton. MS. Titus, B. XI. f. 22.

³ Holinshed, *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 67. According to Dugdale, Jan. 25, 7 Hen. IV. See the article, Stephen Scroope of Masham, *Baronage*, I. p. 659.

⁴ *Annal. Hibern. in Lyra Hibern. a Carve*, pp. 240, 243, 244.

⁵ Henry IV. assigned to him, while he should be resident at Westminster, or London, the towns of Hampstead and Hendon, for the accommodation of his servants and horses. Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. p. 659. And he usually slept in the same chamber with Henry V. Rapin, I. p. 511,

travelled hard, desiring quickly to find the Earl of Salisbury, who took

Ambassades¹ asserts of Maudelain, that he was one of his esquires; whereas there is no doubt that he was a priest. I would therefore here with some diffidence suggest, that it is possible, that our author, having no acquaintance with the real character of Ferriby,² and having never seen him to notice him before, might have fallen into an error, from hearing him called Sir William Ferriby, the usual method of addressing clergymen as well as laymen; while Ferriby might have disguised himself through apprehension of the Duke of Lancaster; which by the Canons³ the secular clergy were permitted to do in case of danger. Maudelain appears to have made his escape.

The family of Ferriby, or Ferribridge, were of the county of York, and the name not unfrequently occurs in references of the time. William, the king's chaplain, is one of the witnesses to the king's will;⁴ and he had been employed as commissioner in the truce with Scotland, 22 Rich. II. in association with the disreputable Bussy and Green.⁵ The writer of this tract says, that for some unknown cause Henry hated him, and that he on his part was greatly afraid of the Duke. Maudelain was equally in disgrace with him, for his interference in the affair of the late Duke of Gloucester; and it seems very likely that as Richard's chaplains were too often his agents and counsellors, both these persons had been concerned in advising and enforcing the harsh measures that had been exercised towards that prince and Henry of Lancaster.

His fidelity to the king was, however, exemplary. After the insurrection, in 1400, he was arrested with Maudelain on their way into Yorkshire; and being brought to London, they were hanged, drawn, and beheaded together.⁶ A precept to the sheriff of Kent for the recovery of the effects of the conspirators, names Richard Maudelyn, clerk, and William Ferriby, clerk, deceased.⁷ The latter possessed property in Coventry and the county of Warwick, of the annual value of twenty pounds, which upon his death and attainder was forfeited to the crown.⁸

g Jenico or Janico D'Artois, esquire; alias D'Artasso and D'Artas; a captain of great repute. One writer⁹ states that he was a German; but the notes of the Lambeth MS. and many

¹ Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 228.

² Neither was he acquainted with Maudelain, except by sight: and this is plain from the way in which he speaks of him. "*Maintesfois le vy en Irlande.*"

³ Lyndwood, Provinciale, L. 3. Tit. 1. p. 119. *Nisi forte justa causa timoris exegerit habitum transformari.*

⁴ Rymer, Fœdera, VIII. p. 77.

⁵ Rotuli Scotiæ, II. pp. 143, 144. Rymer, ut supra, pp. 46, 57, 58.

⁶ Walsing. Hist. Ang. p. 363.

⁷ Rymer, Donat. MSS. Brit. Mus. I. 4596, p. 150.

⁸ Calend. Rot. Pat. p. 244. b. 4 Pat. 2 Hen. IV.

⁹ Chronic. Tinemut. p. 193, in Leland, Collectanea, I. 188.

no account of his life, for the evil treatment and shame that he had of

many other authorities, affirm that he was a Gascon. In the reign of Edward I. the celebrated Robert D'Artois had settled with his family in England; but I find no proof that Jenico was a descendant of that illustrious stock.

He had been long in the service of Richard the second. Mention of him occurs in 11 Rich. II. when he was appointed with Sir John Say and Robert Walden to receive the ransom of John de Bloys;¹ and though Froissart complains of the avarice of the Gascons,² the imputation does not seem to attach to Jenico; for in 20 Rich. II. he received a grant of "Mareys lande in Hunsprele, in the hundred of Brinxton and county of Somerset, sometime belonging to John Trivet, deceased, to hold for his life in chief by military service, on the annual payment of forty marks into the exchequer, in consideration of his good and *gratuitous* services."³

When the Duke of Surrey went over to Ireland, Jenico was there, or had attended him thither. The *bon routier* of the writer may be traced in the few particulars we possess of his achievements. He and the lieutenant are thus spoken of, in 1399. "Virtus ducis Southreie et Janichonis Alemanni in Hibernia claruit."⁴ In less than a week after Richard's landing in that island, before he could have moved from Waterford, this captain began to attack the Irish, favoured by the approach of the grand army. On the Friday after their arrival two hundred of the Irish were slain at Ford in Kenlys, in the county of Kildare, by Jenicho de Artois, a Gascoigne, and such Englishmen as he had with him.⁵

At Flint he firmly refused to submit to the Duke of Lancaster's command that he should lay aside the badge of his master; he was therefore imprisoned in the castle of Chester; and it was expected that he would have shared the fate of Perkin a Legh. Here our author's account of him closes: but we may trace him much farther. Henry, who could not but have admired his loyal attachment to the fallen king in his adversity, soon released and brought him over to his own side. Jenico was made commissioner, December 10, 1399, with Sir Thomas Gray to treat with the Scots.⁶ On the return of the troops from the expedition into Scotland in 1400, a Frenchman and an Italian⁷ challenged to fight at York within

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VII. p. 565.

² *Chronicles*, II. c. 170.

³ Rymer, *Donat. MSS. Brit. Mus.* V. 4595, p. 46, dated March 8.

⁴ *Chronic. Tinemut. ut supra.*

⁵ *Holinshed, Hist. of Ireland*, p. 65.

⁶ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, II. p. 152. b. Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 113.

⁷ Stow, *Annales*, p. 325, says they were knights; but I apprehend the challengers to have been Charles Savoisy, knight, and Ector de Pontbirant, esquire. See a letter of safe conduct for them to come and perform feats of arms, dated April 27, 1400. Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 140; and for their return, dated at York, July 26, 1400. *Ibid.* p. 151. The challenge of Savoisy could only be accepted by an esquire; and this exactly applies to Jenico. I cannot discover that he ever received the honour of knighthood, not-

the duke, who thus, go where he will, surmounteth every thing. The

within lists against Sir John Cornwall and James¹ of Artois. This is the way in which the name is given by Stow; and I have no hesitation in concluding that Jenico is the person here intended. The strangers were vanquished; and Cornwall's conduct, in particular, found such favour at the hands of Henry IV. that he consented to his marriage with his sister, the widow of the Earl of Huntingdon.

The king continued to patronise Jenico, who in the letter of Thomas of Lancaster, 3 Hen. IV. APPENDIX, No III. is spoken of as having command of the troops with Sir Stephen Scroope and Sir Edward Perrers.² His name also appears in another mutilated letter in the same collection,³ addressed to Henry IV. by the council, requesting pecuniary aid. It draws a deplorable picture of the state of the lieutenant's resources: "his soldiers have deserted him; the people of his household are on the point of leaving him; and though they were willing to remain, our lord is not able to keep them together; *n're dit s' v're fitz est si destituit de monoy, qil n'ad un denier en monde, ne nul denier poet creancer*; our said lord your son is so destitute of money, that he hath not a penny in the world, nor a penny can he get credit for." Honourable mention is then made of "*v're humble liege Janico, qi a t'stout n're cuer*." Jenico's name among others is affixed to this letter; but it is evidently a copy.

In 5 Hen. IV. he was made admiral of Ireland,⁴ and was commissioned with the Bishop of Down to treat with Donald de Insulis.⁵

Two other notices of him are found in Holinshed. "June, 1409. Janico de Artoys with the Englishmen slue eighty of the Irish in Ulster.—1413, Janico de Artoys ledde forth a power agaynste Magynors, a great lord of Ireland; but near to a place called Inor many Englishmen were slain."⁶

This is the last time his name occurs in these Annals of Ireland. But I perceive that in 1 Hen. VI. he was still alive, and resident in that country, and that his authority was confirmed to him.⁷ It might be no small presumptive evidence of his merit, though nothing more were known of him, that he was found worthy to be a servant of the state during four successive reigns.

withstanding his services, and the high post that he afterwards filled. All documents addressed to him are directed, *dilecto armigero nostro*.

¹ Baker calls him James, when he mentions his being taken at Flint; Chronicle, p. 155; but surely Jenico is rather a diminutive of *Jean* than of *Jacques*.

² Bibl. Cotton. MS. Titus, B. XI. f. 22.

³ Ibid. f. 19. a. dated August 20, no year is mentioned.

⁴ Rymer, Donat. MSS. II. 4592, p. 152. dated at Pomfret, July 5.

⁵ Rymer, Fœdera, VIII. p. 418. dated September 8.

⁶ Hist. of Ireland, pp. 69, 70.

⁷ Calend. Rot. Pat. p. 269, 2 p. 1 Hen. VI. No. 13.

king rode on without any disturbance, so that he arrived at Conway,^b where the houses are covered with tiles, by break of day.ⁱ

^b The reader who has visited this town and district, and remarked the abundance of slate with which the country is furnished, will recognise the author's talent for observation in the insertion of this circumstance: luckily it here helps him to a line and a rhyme. Conway, though it has suffered by war and time, still presents the same material features that it did in those days.

ⁱ We have other instances of Richard travelling all night upon emergencies. One of his journeys from Daventry to London has already been noticed. See page 58, note d. At another time he rode in this way to save the life of Henry himself, when he thought it was in danger.¹ The passage of the text, on first inspection, might seem even to go beyond the idea held out in one of the MSS. that he performed the whole of the distance from Milford to Conway in less than thirty six hours; and that, setting out at midnight, he arrived at the latter place on the immediately ensuing morning. It is not worth while to undertake gravely to disprove this; but, admitting that the time would have allowed it, he could not have done so, owing to his inability to change horses, from the secret manner in which he wished to pass through the country. It can be taken, therefore, to signify no more than that he rode so warily in the night time that he reached Conway by break of day. And this is the sense attached to it by Stow.² Rapidity of movement, in the existing state of the roads, is very rarely alluded to. Forty days were allowed by letter of safe conduct, dated April 8, 1381, to Lion, herald to the King of Scotland to go from London, to the borders of Scotland, with five servants and six horses.³ Henry's progress with an army from Yorkshire to Bristol, and thence to Chester, in forty-seven days,⁴ was looked upon as an extraordinary exertion; but this must be classed under the head of military movement, rather than of travel. The greatest feat of the kind handed down to us in this reign was achieved by Thomas, Lord Percy, second son of the Earl of Northumberland, and nephew to the Earl of Worcester. It was in the year 1383, when Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, broke up from Ypres, on intelligence that the King of France was advancing to raise the seige. "He came from Prussia," says Froissart, "and hearing
on

¹ Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 222.

² Annales, p. 320. *at the break of a day.*

³ This would be at a very slow rate. But he was conveying armour, and might proceed by land or sea. He came to London to procure a complete suit of all pieces, with gloves of plate, and harness for the legs, to arm Robert Mercer, esquire, who was to fight in the lists with John Gille, esquire, both of Scotland. *Rotuli Scotie*, II. p. 35. It was a matter of great favour to be allowed to transport armour of any kind to Scotland. It had been prohibited by statute, and could not be done without the king's licence. *Stat. 7 Ric. II. c. 16.*

⁴ *Walsing. Hist. Angl.* p. 358.

At the meeting of the king and the earl, instead of joy, there was very great sorrow. Tears, lamentations, sighs, groans and mourning quickly broke forth. Truly it was a piteous sight to behold their looks and countenance, and woeful meeting. The earl's face was pale with

on his road that the Kings of France and England were to engage in the plains of Flanders or Artois, each at the head of his army, the knight was so much rejoiced, and had so great a desire to be present at the battle, that the journey, which at a moderate rate of travelling would have taken forty days, he performed in fourteen, leaving his equipage and servants behind, and frequently changing horses. He afterwards learnt that his baggage had arrived in less than twenty days in the town of Ghent." The historian takes fire at the thought of his activity and appetite for deeds of arms. "Such good will and gallantry," he adds, "deserve much praise."¹

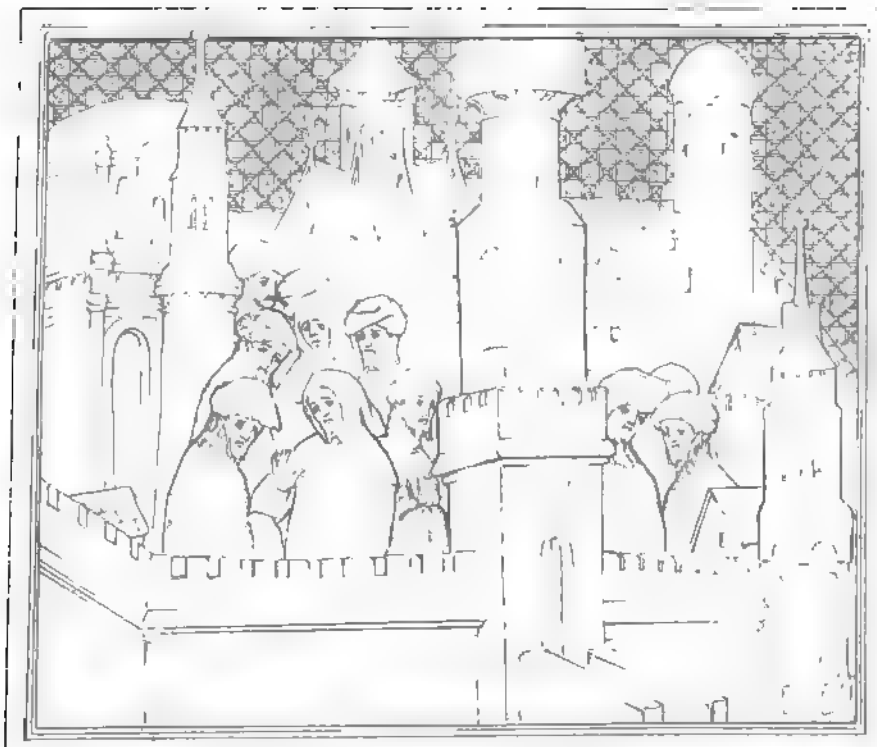
That carriages were not altogether unknown, may be seen in the circumstance of Richard having accompanied his mother to Mile-end during the insurrection of 1381 in one, called by Stow a *whirlicote*;² but it is almost needless to remark, that all journeys of any length were performed on horseback. *Hackneymen* let out horses for this purpose, and were subject to frequent impositions. Rymer's additional MSS. contain an article upon this subject. It sets forth that Reginald Shrewesbury and Thomas Athekot, and others, of Southwark, Dartford, Rochester, and other towns between London and Dover, were hackneymen; that the hire of a hackney from Southwark to Rochester was sixteen pence; and from Rochester to Canterbury, the same: but that some persons were in the habit of hiring horses, and not paying as they ought; and that they were injured, rode off, and worked to death by others. An order is issued, that in future the hire of a hackney from Southwark to Rochester should be twelve pence, from Rochester to Canterbury twelve pence, and from Canterbury to Dover six pence only, prompt payment; and that they should not be compelled to let out their horses unless the money were paid. For the security of the said horses a brand was to be kept in each of the above towns to mark them; and all persons, of what state or condition soever, were forbidden to sell or purchase horses so branded, or to cut off their ears or tails, or put them to death, under heavy penalty of law. The said Reginald and Thomas and their partners might seize and carry off any horses found so branded, upon application to the bailiff or constable of the place where they should be discovered. If any horse should knock up on the road, these owners were to refund a proportionable sum to the hirer.³

¹ Froissart, VI. c. 59.

² Annales, p. 287. Some of the high roads out of London were paved to a considerable distance. *Pavagium pro alta via de Smithfield Barrs usque Goresplace in Iseldon (Islington)*. Calend. Rot. Pat. p. 204, a. 1 pars Pat 1 Ric. II.

³ Rymer, Donat. MSS. V. p. 18, dated Jan. 5, 19 Ric. II.

ILLUMINATION VIII.



H. Corbould del.

J. Baskin sc.

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watching; he related to the king his hard fate; and how he had made his muster when he landed in England; and that he had straightway sent through the country for the Cheshire men, and the Welsh, who were heartily willing to conquer their enemies.

(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE VIII.)

Forty thousand of them were brought together. There, said I to them often, "My good friends, let us go forward; the king hath sent me over hither to lead you on. Be sure, that I will not desert you till I die. But I could not persuade them from going, each of them when he saw his danger (his tail on fire), some to the duke, others elsewhere; thinking because they saw you not directly there, that you were of a truth dead beyond the sea. So after I had kept them nearly a fortnight in the field, they left me all alone in the plain. Alas! very little doth he love you, who hath so long detained you in Ireland. All is lost; without the help of our Lord, I surely think that we are delivered over to our latter end." No one would believe how much the king grieved at it. His mortal misfortune was not light, neither (*was*) his wrath, while he often said, "Glorious and merciful God, who didst endure to be crucified for us, if by sin I have greatly transgressed against thee, with folded hands I cry thee mercy. Suffer me not to lose my country and my life through these perfidious traitors full of envy, who thus would thrust me out and deprive me of mine inheritance. Alas! I know not what they would require of me. According to mine ability I have desired to observe (have respect unto) justice and righteousness. That sovereign King, who sitteth above, and seeth afar, I call to witness it, so truly, that my sad heart could wish that all mortals, past, present, and to come, could know my thought and my desires. If I have been most invariable in preserving right, reason demands it; for a king should be firm and steady both in keeping himself notable for the punishment

of the wicked, and for holding to the truth in every place.^k Alas! and because I have followed this righteous course, as far as I was able for these three years past, yea, for eight or ten,^l do these people keep me in this affliction. O God of glory! I humbly beseech thee, that as I have never consented, according to my ability, to bring evil upon any one who had not deserved it, be pleased to have mercy upon me, alas! a poor king; for I know right well, that unless thou shouldst speedily deign to regard me, I am lost."

I will now tell you in what manner the constable who commanded

^k These expressions may suggest to us that his conscience reminded him of his coronation oath, and anticipated the accusations that might be brought against him. Compare his words with the language of the following charges.

"Article IX. Notwithstanding the said king at his coronation swore, that he would do in all his judgments equal and right justice and discretion, in mercy and truth, according to his power; yet the said king, without all mercy, rigorously, amongst other things, ordained, under great punishment, that no man should intercede with him, for any favour towards Henry, Duke of Lancaster, then in banishment: in so doing, he acted against the bond of charity, and rashly violated his oath.

"Article XXV. He was so variable and dissembling in words and writing, and so contrary to himself, especially in writing to the pope,¹ kings, and other lords, without and within the kingdom, and also to his subjects, that no man living, knowing what he was, would confide in him; yea, he was reputed so unfaithful and inconstant, that he was not only a scandal to his own person, but to the whole kingdom, and all strangers that knew him."²

^l He had taken the government into his hands ten years before. The proclamation to inform the people that he had done so is dated May 8, 1389.³ When he speaks of "three years past," he alludes to the transactions of that period, detailed in the general histories, including the proceedings against the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk and Henry of Lancaster; and he evidently attempts a vindication of his conduct in these affairs. But the passage is involved and obscure.

¹ This is an allusion to his letter to the pope concerning Archbishop Arundel (page 49, note), and to his refusal to grant the very next request the pontiff made.

² Articles of Accusation.

³ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VII. p. 618.

his (*the king's*) people basely went off without waiting for him, and took away all his men, for which he hath been much despised; not a soul hath held him in estimation from that time; and it is no wonder; for it is a long while since any man of high employ hath been seen to do such a thing as to attempt the undoing of his rightful lord, and the accomplishment of his will upon him. On that night in which the good king set out from the sea-port at midnight, there arose a murmur and report in the army, that the king had fled without saying a word. Then the constable was much rejoiced at it, for he could not well find out any method of departing; but when he saw that the host was alarmed, he spake so loud as to be plainly heard, "Let us begone; since my lord is so careful to secure himself, we are all lost." Presently he caused the trumpets to sound, and commanded that every man should forthwith prepare for departure, for he knew not when the king would return. There was most wonderful confusion in packing up and loading wagons; every one soon made ready his baggage to depart. They carried off all that belonged to the king,^m robes, jewels, fine gold, and pure silver, many a good horse of foreign breed,ⁿ many a rich and

^m The king's apprehensions, love of display, or probable intention of holding a parliament, had induced him to take the regalia with him on the expedition;¹ and it was brought forward as one of his offences, that he had "carried with him towards Ireland, without the consent of the states of the kingdom, the treasures, reliques, and jewels of the Crown."² The holy oil of anointing, used at coronations, and reputed to have been handed down from Becket's time, he kept about him during the remainder of his difficulties; till it was wrested from him at Chester by the duke, who entertained, or affected to entertain the same superstitious value for it. Unless the whole of the story respecting it, as it is given by Walsingham, were merely a fabrication for purposes of state.³

ⁿ Among other shewy things, he was fond, as might be supposed, of fine horses. Shakspeare has turned this to good account in the incident of the groom, and Roan Barbary.⁴ The young

¹ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 357. Otterbourne, p. 200.

² XXIVth Article of Accusation.

³ Walsing. ut supra, pp. 360, 361.

⁴ Richard II. Act v. sc. 5.

and sparkling precious stone, many a good mantle, and whole ermine,

young man, attendant upon Richesse in the Romaunte of the Rose, is a counterpart of Richard in this and other particulars.

Hys luste was moche in housholdynge;
In clothyng he was full fetyse,
And loved well to have horse of pryse.
He wende to have reproved be
Of thefte or murdre, yf that he
Had in hys stable an hackenay.¹

Towards the close of his grandfather's wars in France, coursers had become so scarce, that the parliament of 1370 interfered to check the exorbitant demands of dealers.² No serious drain from the same cause could have taken place now for many years; but it appears that Richard drew the choicest of his stud from abroad. Some of the nobility were great breeders, and kept up a large stock;³ and the wealthy regular clergy always encouraged a race of good horses. "Religion," says a contemporary satirist, "is a rider, a pricker of a palfrey from manor to manor;"⁴ and Chaucer, who has frequently noticed the subject, observes of his monk,

"Full many a daintie horse had he in stable;"⁵

and mentions the high condition of that on which he rode; "his hors in *great estate*." They were kept in a sumptuous stile at Saint Alban's. The stables for the guests would accommodate nearly three hundred, and had a lamp burning all night.⁶

The king was never at a loss for these animals, when any particular occasion called for them; he had only to go to the abbies. They were all ransacked for this purpose, when he was about to attend at a conference with the king of France at Calais;⁷ and it has been more than once remarked, that a large demand was made upon them for this campaign in Ireland. Much abuse occurred in the impressment of horses for the king's service;⁸ for which remedy was provided by the statute, 20 Rich. II. c. 5. against "people of evil condition, who of their own authority take and cause to be taken *royally* horses, saying and devising that they be to ride on hasty messages and business, where of truth they be in no wise privy of any business or message; but only in deceit and subtilty, by such colour and device do take horses, and the said horses hastily do ride, and evil entreat,

¹ Romaunte of the Rose. Chaucer.

² Cotton, p. 109.

³ Calend. Rot. Pat. p. 232. 1 p. 21 Ric. II. No. 6.

⁴ Pierce Ploughman's Vision in Ellis, I. p. 156.

⁵ Prologue to Canterbury Tales.

⁶ Fosbroke, British Monachism, II. pp. 206, 207.

⁷ Ypod. Neustr. p. 545.

⁸ The form of a regular warrant occurs in Rotuli Scotie, II. p. 74, for a messenger going to Scotland, dated June 11, 1385.

good cloth of gold, and stuff of foreign pattern.^o One whose name

entreat, having no manner of conscience or compassion in this behalf; so that the said horses become all spoiled and foundered, paying no manner of thing nor penny for the same, nor giving them any manner of sustenance;" and to complete this picture of swindling, similar to that alluded to in the provisions made for the *hackneymen*, (see note ¹, p. 96.) it farther states, "some such manner of people changing and altering their names, do take and ride such horses, and carry them far from thence to another place, so that they, to whom they belong, can never after by any means see, have again, nor know their said horses where they be."

It was usual to feed them with horse-bread; ¹ and set their coats with cloths. ²

^o Most writers who have given an account of these times have descanted upon the luxury and extravagance that extended more or less to all the arts of life, and affected the whole of society. It had been increasing during the preceding reign, and was cherished by foreign intercourse and war. About the middle of the fourteenth century there was hardly a female, who could be styled a gentlewoman, that had not in her house some portion of the spoils of furniture, silk, plate, or jewels, from Caen, Calais, or the cities beyond the sea; ³ and those who, like the knight of Chaucer, had been at Alexandria, "when it was won" by Peter King of Cyprus, returned with great riches in cloth of gold, velvets, and precious stones. ⁴ The English at Poitiers were so laden with valuable booty, that they despised armour, tents, and other things; ⁵ and previously, at the taking of Barfleur, so much was acquired, that the boys of the army set no value on gowns trimmed with fur. ⁶

The passion for finery reached to a high pitch in the reign of Richard II. Apparel, armour, plate, and household furniture, were of the most costly description. Sumptuary laws ⁷ had been passed in the time of his predecessor; but they were insufficient to repress it. The very clergy went with the stream. "Fashions from proud Italy," and many imported by Queen Anne from Bohemia, infected even the menial servants, who indulged in the absurd shoes called *cracows*, and in *pokys* (*pouches*), enormous sleeves, which the monk of Evesham compares to bag-pipes, and tells us that they were often dipped into the broth when attendants were waiting at table. ⁸ The vanity of the common people in their dress was so great, says Knighton, "that it was impossible to distinguish the rich from the poor, the high from the low, the clergy from the laity, by their appearance. Fashions were

¹ Payn pour chivaux, Stat. 13 Ric. II. St. 1. c. 8.

² Bibl. Cotton. MS. Vespasian, F. XIII. 43.

³ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 168.

⁴ Anderson, Hist. of Commerce, I. p. 352, quoting Echard.

⁵ Froiss. II. c. 163.

⁶ Ibid. c. 120.

⁷ Stat. 37 Edw. III. c. 8. et seq.

⁸ Vita Ric. II. pp. 126, 172.

was Sir Thomas Percy had charge of the whole of this ; he was the

were continually changing, and every one endeavoured to outshine his neighbour by the richness of his dress and the novelty of it's form."¹ Richard, from the chain of his shoe to the plume upon his casque, was, perhaps, the greatest fop of his day. He had one coat at this time estimated at thirty thousand marks ; the value of which must chiefly have arisen from the precious stones with which it was adorned. The statute calls such dress, *apparel broidered of stone*.² By his will he directed his clothes to be given to his servants ; but under express condition that they were to be stripped of their costly garniture.³ The wardrobe of a nobleman, like that of a modern Turk, constituted no small part of his wealth ; and the articles of it were frequently the subjects of testamentary bequest.⁴ Sir John Arundel, who was shipwrecked off the coast of Ireland in 1379, was said to have had fifty-two new suits of tissue and cloth of gold.⁵

Armorial devices were embossed and embroidered upon the common habits of those who attended the court. Upon the mantle, the surcoat, and the just-au-corps, or bodice, the charge and cognizance of the wearer were profusely scattered, and shone resplendent in tissue and beaten gold. The custom of embroidering arms upon the bodice was introduced by Richard II.⁶ but mantles of this kind had been worn long before. Sir John Chandos lost his life in part owing to the rich robe which he had over his armour at the affair of Pont de Lussac.⁷ Knights and nobles of France and England went into the dust and blood of battle superbly arrayed.⁸

Habiliments of war displayed in tournaments were equally magnificent. Thirty-four knights that jousted on the king's part in Smithfield in 1390, were, each of them, led from the Tower to the lists by a lady with a golden chain, having their arms and apparel garnished with white harts, and collars of gold about their necks.⁹ The value of a collar is estimated, in a proclamation of Henry IV. at thirty pounds.¹⁰

The Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk made a most brilliant show of arms and trappings at the duel on Gosford-green, near Coventry : the plate and mail of the former was furnished by the armourers of Galeazzo, Duke of Milan ; the latter procured his from Germany. Each provided himself most magnificently to outshine the other.¹¹

The quantity of plate accumulated by wealthy individuals was very considerable. When the

¹ Knighton, in an. 1388. col. 2729.

² 37 Edw. III. c. 12.

³ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 76.

⁴ Dallaway, *Inquiry*, &c. p. 96.

⁵ *Hist. Angl.* p. 234.

⁶ Dallaway, *ut supra*, p. 89.

⁷ Froissart, IV. c. 9. He was dressed in a large robe, which fell to the ground, blazoned with his arms on white sarcenet, Argent, a pile Gules ; one on his breast, and the other on his back.

⁸ *Ibid.* c. 163.

⁹ Baker, p. 150.

¹⁰ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 167.

¹¹ Froissart, XII. c. 5.

king's steward, and had been long in his service ;^P to speak properly

the palace of the Savoy was burnt and plundered in the riots of 1381, the keeper of the wardrobe to the Duke of Lancaster affirmed upon oath, that the plate would have loaded five carts.¹

Of jewels in the possession of females, it may be sufficient to adduce the instance of Alice Perrers, the favourite of Edward III. He had made her a present of those that belonged to his deceased queen ;² and upon the confiscation of her property in 2 Ric. II. according to an inedited document,³ the number and value of her pearls and precious stones was found to be as follows :

	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
500 pearls, each at.....	1	8.....	50	0	0
1700 ditto.....	0	10.....	70	16	8
5940 precious stones, each at.....	0	5.....	123	15	0
1800 ditto.....	0	4.....	30	0	0
2000 ditto.....	0	4.....	33	6	8
1380 ditto.....	0	6.....	34	10	0
500 ditto.....	0	2.....	4	3	4
3948 ditto.....	0	3.....	49	7	0
4000 ditto.....	0	1½.....	25	0	0

And thirty ounces of pearls, valued in gross at..... 50 0 0

This account was delivered in by Thomas, Bishop of Exeter, treasurer, and Sir John Ermesthorp and John Bacon, chamberlains of the Exchequer, to Sir Alan Stokes, keeper of the wardrobe. The value of a great proportion of them seems to show that they were chiefly used in "broidering." The Scotch pearl, according to the statutes of the Parisian goldsmiths, was unfit for setting with Oriental pearls, except in great church jewels.⁴ Pearls were sold upon strings.⁵

The extravagance of the Lady de Coucy, who was governess to the young Queen Isabel, is described in MS. Ambassades, and incidentally throws light upon Richard's own establishment. On the king's farewell visit to Windsor before he went to Ireland, he enquired into it, and was so struck with it that he dismissed her. "She lives in greater splendour," said the informants, "one thing with another, than the queen ; for she has eighteen horses by your order, besides the livery of her husband, whenever she comes and goes ; and keeps two or three goldsmiths, seven or eight embroiderers, two or three cutlers, and two or three furriers, as well as you⁶ or the queen ; and she is also building a chapel that will cost

¹ Knighton, col. 2635.

² Rymer, Fœdera, VIII. 28.

³ Rymer, MSS. Donat. Brit. Mus. V. p. 127, dated May 14.

⁴ Ducange, Gloss. v. perla.

⁵ Rymer, Fœdera, VII. p. 562.

⁶ An original petition from Dendenell de Deek, the king's cloth of gold worker, *overour des draps d'or*, for arrears of wages, exists in Bibl. Cotton. MSS. Vespasian, F. XIII. 11.

in French, he was the chief grand maitre d'hotel. The constable and he discoursed together: they set out shortly after, and took their way straight through Wales; but the Welsh who saw their treason opposed them here and there in companies of one or two thousand, often saying, "Wretched traitors, you shall advance no farther this way, and shall surrender all the stolen jewels you are carrying away; for the king has not given them to you." Thus were the English all robbed by the Welsh. They kept back their wagons and all the harness, gold and silver, and jewelry set in gold.^q Then were the English greatly troubled and enraged, for a thousand of them were spoiled, who were sent to the duke in their doublets, with nothing but a staff in their hands, and barefoot.^r For, moreover, he that was not mounted, must there

cost fourteen hundred nobles." The king gave orders that she should be sent back to France, and that all her debts should be paid.¹

Much detail upon the above subjects may be found in Henry, Hist. of Eng. IV. B. iv. c. 7.

p "He had long been steward of the household, and all the accounts passed officially through his hands."^s He succeeded Sir John Devereux in 1392.³

q But the greater part were recovered by the exertions of Henry IV. "Thesaurus regis cum equis et aliis ornamentis, et universa domus suppellectili venit ad manus ducis."⁴ He took great pains to get into his hands all the effects of Richard II. A proclamation was issued for this purpose more than a year after.⁵ John Ikelyngton, one of the deposed king's chaplains, who had in charge the various sums of 65,000 marks and 946 marks, 4s. 4d. with many other goods and chattels, many of which he had disposed of, as verbally directed by Richard, surrendered the residue to Henry, before he assumed the reins of government, and received an acquittance, dated November 4, 1400, and another final discharge, dated November 4, 1402.⁶

r The MS. Ambassades says, that the remainder of Richard's army, who were waylaid and plundered by the duke's people, were chiefly foreigners:⁷ but I doubt the accuracy of

¹ Accounts and Extracts, II. pp. 212, 213.

² Froissart, XI. c. 48.

³ Stow, Annales, p. 308.

⁴ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 358.

⁵ Rymer, Donat. MSS. I. 4596. p. 157. dated Nov. 6, 2 Hen. IV.

⁶ Rymer Fœdera, VIII. pp. 162, 281.

⁷ MS. Ambassades, p. 132. Mr. Allen's Extracts.

tell whence he came, or whither he is going, and right or wrong, must pay his smart or die. This, though it should seem hard to be believed, is true; for with one accord they (*the Welsh*) pitied the very great wrong and outrage that the English did to the king. Alas! what a spirit! God will some time reward them for it; for he who willingly doeth evil or injury to another is often seen to be greatly punished of God, who is powerful above the present race of men as well as the past.

Behold how the English were treated by the Welsh, who had no mercy on them, as they marched like people put to the rout, here ten, here twenty, there forty, there an hundred. They were obliged to abandon their prey; for these Welshmen came from the mountains, without number; and it also happened, very ill for them, that out of two or three roads, they had taken the narrowest, and most dangerous. It was the way that heaven disposed them to go; for it was full of rocks and stones, so that they marched through it with difficulty. I heard eight days after that the English lost all their plunder, seeing that the Welsh, who are able men, closely pursued them. Certes, to my mind it was exceedingly well done. Where the English then made their retreat, or which way they went, I know not; but I tell you, that in less than a month I saw the constable in the host of the duke, as well as Lord Percy, who had been steward to the noble King Richard, bearing the order^a of the Duke; and on the other hand, I

of this representation, either as to the mercenaries, of which we have no other information, or as to Henry's partisans, who where employed in another quarter. Both parties might have taken advantage of the general confusion to spoil the fugitives; for that they were utterly stripped there is no doubt, "*Milites et armigeri qui Hiberniam cum 10 vel 20 equis transierunt, domum pedestres redierunt, penitus depredati.*"¹

^a The badge of cognisance, ² sometimes called sign of company. Those of the house of Lancaster were, the antelope and red rose; a fox's tail dependant; a swan Argent,

^a gorged

¹ Vita Ric. II. p. 150.

² See Du Cange, v. Cognitiones.

was told that they came straight to him, early and late, without delay ; and more than five hundred others, all naked, whom the Welsh had stripped to their doublets and well beaten, as, if you remember, you have heard before. I will now tell you of the king, who remained at Conway all sorrowful and astounded, saying, "Sirs, I solemnly beseech you, advise me according to your opinion, since it is usual for a man in time of need to look to his friends." The Duke of Exeter spake first, for he was the king's brother, saying, "It were good to send quickly to the duke, to know what he means to do, what is his desire, or for what reason he would take and keep your kingdom, your body, and your goods, or whether he wants to be king and sovereign master of England, Prince of Wales, and rightful Lord of Chester." Thus spake the noble Duke of Exeter to his brother. "Let him be told that he was banished by consent of his own father ;[†] let him also consider well what

gorged and chained Or, from the De Bohuns.¹ Henry wore the antelope and swan embroidered on green and blue velvet upon his caparisons, when he entered the lists against the Duke of Norfolk. That of young Henry, afterwards Henry V. during the life of his father, was a swan ;² the Black Prince had adopted a sun issuing from the clouds. Retainers of every condition bore the badge of their lord : and the minstrel of a noble house was distinguished by having it attached to a silver chain.³ They were thought of such importance in party matters, that they were in many cases forbidden by statute ; particularly Richard's white hart, which makes such a figure in history, and was a frequent annoyance to Henry IV. Galliard⁴ questions the propriety of the word "Order" employed in MS. Ambassades as well as by this author ; but the meaning is sufficiently clear.

[†] Because his father was of the council, and perhaps, as seneschal of England, had to pronounce sentence⁵ officially upon his own son. Merks, in his speech before the parliament in behalf of Richard II. has been made to say that "the duke was banished the realm by King Richard and his council, and by the judgment of his own father."⁶ But if this testimony

¹ Dallaway, Inquiry, &c. p. 283, from Dugdale, Misc. L. XIV. fol. 30.

² Stat. 2 Hen. IV. c. 31.

³ Id. pp. 186, 187. Percy, Rel. Anc. Poetry, Introd. p. xxxv.

⁴ Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 218.

⁵ He did this in the case of the Earl of Arundel, in 1396. Stow, Annales, p. 317.

⁶ Godwin, in Merks, Bishop of Carlisle.

he is about; for it would be a very great disgrace to him for ever, if it should appear that his rightful king was undone by him or by his doings. Never throughout his life would he recover this shame (*let him reflect*) too, how that all kings in being, all nobility and knighthood, would be

testimony should be considered dubious, the fact is confirmed by the manifesto published under the name of Archbishop Scroope, and affixed in 1405 to the doors of the churches in York. This goes farther, affirming that he was doomed to exile "per sententiam domini regis Ricardi, domini Johannis ducis Lancastriæ, populorumque (*sic*) dominorum temporalium et regni procerum voluntatem, et consensum suum, saltem verbotenus ab eisdem dominis expressatum. — juratus de non redeundo vel remeando in regnum Angliæ, priusquam gratiam regiam obtinuisset et habuisset."¹ Henry must have given his father some trouble, as by Richard's own account of him, John of Gant had passed sentence of death upon his son two or three times, and he was himself obliged once to intercede for his life.² This seems an extraordinary story, and was uttered in the heat of passion and anguish, during one of his nights of tribulation; but it is reasonable to suppose that there must have been some foundation for it.

The old Duke of Lancaster was of a cautious disposition, and interfered as little as possible with the king's proceedings against his son. The ostensible cause of Henry's exile is not quite clear; and though the public circumstances relating to it are generally known, the true grounds of it in all their bearings lie beyond the reach of enquiry. Generally speaking, it might take its rise in Richard's intolerance of any who opposed him. Nothing will justify the hypocrisy and injustice of the king towards him; but, in search of provocation received from Henry, it will not be overlooked that many years before he had been in arms against him, for which he upon his knees asked pardon: he was also among those who, in the eleventh year of the king's reign, had held the rod over him by an open threat, that "they had then good cause to depose him, but they stayed the same for the love of his noble grandfather and father, and in hope of his better government:"³ neither should it be omitted, though it has been seldom noticed, that upon one occasion, he had personally insulted him by offering to draw his sword upon him in the palace.⁴ In the mean

¹ Anglia Sacra, pars secunda, p. 363.

² Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 232.

³ Cotton. pp. 373, 376.

⁴ Accounts and Extracts, ut supra. When Richard heard in Ireland that Henry had landed, he used these expressions. "Ha! dear uncle of Lancaster, had I believed you, this man would not now have offended me: you told me truly that I did wrong to pardon him so often, for he would still continue to offend me. Three times have I pardoned his misdeeds, and this is the fourth offence he has committed." Ibid. p. 266.

displeased and disgusted at him, with good reason; and that throughout the world he would be said to be the true mirror of treason, if thus he wished to destroy and quite undo his lord. Let him take pattern from his father, who all his life was gentle and courteous, nor would ever

mean time he had acquired great reputation by valiant acts in foreign lands while Richard was idling away his time and oppressing his subjects at home; so that to the sense of various aggressions, must be added the jealousy of a weak mind at the popularity of a rival in the public affection. The king was not deficient in mean expedients. Scandal had whispered that he had secretly encouraged the duel at Coventry, that he might visit the parties with his serious displeasure; and thus we see, he artfully got rid of two of the most formidable survivors of the late Duke of Gloucester's party at a blow. Having removed him from England, he affected in the very act to shew lenity towards him by shortening the term of his banishment; and Henry appeared at the court at Eltham, just before his departure, with the air of a man who expected hereafter to be admitted into favour, and was confident of a speedier return. It was a scene of dissimulation. The king received him kindly, and addressed him with apparent humility: "Cousin," said he, "to relieve you somewhat of your pain, I now remit four years of the term of your banishment, and reduce it to six years instead of ten." "My lord," replied the earl, "I humbly thank you; and when it shall be your good pleasure, you will extend your mercy."¹ But it may be averred that nothing was farther from Richard's intention; because the recollection of what had occurred, Henry's "courtship of the common people," their love of him, and his hereditary wealth and power, rendered him too dangerous a subject in the thoughts of a king, whose government was so injudicious and arbitrary, and who had once, through the intervention of this same person, been well nigh shaken from the throne. While John of Gant was alive, he might conclude that Henry would attempt nothing against him; but when that prince died, Richard threw off the mask, revoked his indulgence, confiscated his estates, and declared his banishment perpetual, persecuted him even at the court of France, and filled up on his side the measure of his duplicity and provocation.

We shall anticipate no farther upon the manner in which Henry was affected by all this than to observe, that the tone of feeling expressed on his part throughout the narrative, is that of an exasperated spirit, goaded by the additional spur of ambition, and unhappily knowing neither how to forget nor forgive. And, though it is not to be questioned that he was invited over by a large portion of friends, that the hearts of the people for the time were with him, and that Richard's misconduct had drawn the evil upon his own head, it must be allowed that the duke suffered his private resentments too much to influence him in the direction of the whole affair.

¹ Froiss. XII. c. 5, 7, but he has made the Earl Marshal the challenger.

think or act disloyally against you, and hated falsehood. Let him be well told of all these matters, and that his race were never reproached with any treason or outrage, so that it were a great injury for him to disgrace his noble line by this undertaking ; and how God hateth and contemneth him who maintaineth falsehood in any shape ; such is our belief, as holy church teacheth concerning us ; and that he may take all his land again, on condition that for your honour he will at least come and sue for pardon : if he deign not to come, it will be needful that any one who is able should offer some other counsel. Thus shall it be said unto him, if it seem good to you ; and let us consider who shall go to him, for it is needful that we despatch him, without farther delay, provided you will agree to what I have spoken ; else let any one who can find out a better counsel declare it ; for there should be no partiality among us ; we are few ; and, as you see, the severity of the duke is so great and perilous for us.” Then the king replied with a sorrowful voice, “ Fair brother, you speak the truth, you have found out an excellent way ; for my own part I think we could take no better counsel. Fair cousins, and loyal friends, let every one, I pray you, give his opinion, seeing it toucheth our honour and our life ; for Duke Henry hateth us mortally, and hath moreover certainly done us great wrong. Let us now see whether we are of accord, and whether each of you will keep to this agreement.” Then they all said “ Yea, we can find no better (*method*) in the world. For he who is sick must look for a remedy, and if he stirs before the time he runs the risk of death, or of bearing all the blame.” Thus did they at this time agree, as I tell you, to send to Duke Henry. Now it came to pass that the Duke of Exeter was chosen by them ; for they could not there have found a man who knew how to speak so wisely, or set forth and relate a great matter. The good king caused his fair cousin the Duke of Surrey to go with him. They left the king in the morning, who heartily besought them to shorten their journey, and act well ; and to set before him all the matter that you have already heard, to the end that they might draw from him agreement or peace.

(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE IX.)

Thus they departed from the king, but they had not much liberty to return; for Duke Henry kept them at bay, as you shall presently hear. Now the king continued all sorrowful at Conway, where he had no more with him than two or three of his intimate friends, sad and distressed. There was the courteous Earl of Salisbury, and the great and upright Bishop of Carlisle: Ferriby was also with them, who was not very secure, for the duke hated him; I cannot tell the reason, but I think he (*Ferriby*) greatly dreaded him. Moreover there was another good friend, whom I heard called Sir Stephen Scroope; I saw him frequently with the king at that time. My companion and myself were there. Every one was very uneasy for himself, with sufficient cause. Reckoning nobles and other persons, we were but sixteen in all. Now, considering the power, possessions and grandeur of King Richard, who was so great a lord, reflect what mischief, torment, and grief (*must it be*) for him to be thus dealt with by treason, and by fortune who at all times hath power and authority, severe as she is, to undo those whom she pleases.^v She is a mistress puissant and proud, most changeable and im-

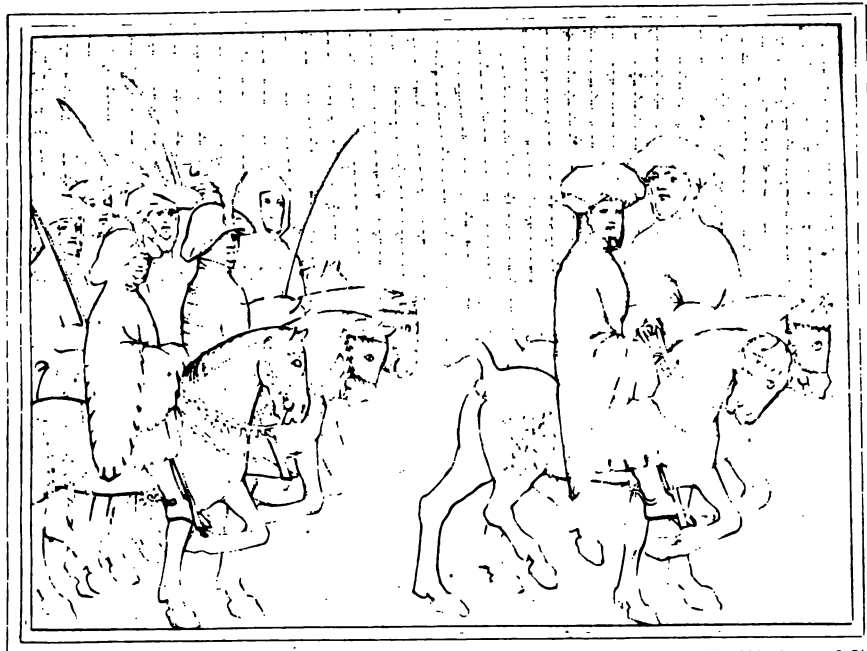
^v The writers of ballads and romances have some common places to which they have recourse either as introductions or digressions whenever they are at a stand. Their openings, for instance, very usually run upon the seasons. *La verdure renait; le printemps revient; le rossignol chante; je veux chanter aussi.*¹ Not less than seven out of nine cantos of the second part of the romance of "Merlin" open in this way.² Such is the case with the beginning of this metrical history; but the author need not be so much blamed, for according in this respect with the vulgar herd, because it immediately refers to his subject, and is therefore not inappropriate: this cannot be said in excuse for the generality of them. Thibaut, King of Navarre, in earlier times, found the same fault with the poets of his day, and has thus neatly censured it:

Fueille ne flors ne vaut riens en chantant;
Fors ke par defaute sans plus de rimmer,

Et

¹ Roquefort, De la Poesie Française, &c. p. 212.² Ellis, Romances, I.

ILLUMINATION IX.



petuous. For she is so restless, no bond can stop her; and when she resolves to act according to her nature, which to some persons is often severe, be it bad or good, it must be endured; for no one can make resistance to her gifts. Some she causes to smile, others to

Et pour faire soulas moienne gent
Qui mauvais môs font souvent abayer.¹

Another favourite topic was an invective against fortune. Lydgate in his poverty of invention, often flies to this, and sometimes hardly knows where to make an end.² We see it here employed not inartificially, since it is manifestly brought in to break and relieve the narration. Whether it produces a good effect may be doubted; but it should be considered that it is in compliance with the prevailing taste. A ballad of Christina of Pisa, so strongly resembles this digression, both in sentiment and moral conclusion, that I almost suspect the author had it in his mind.

Trop sont divers et merveilleux les tours
De l'inconstant, double et faulce fortune;
Car ses maulx sont moult lones et ses b'ns cours;
Nous le veons et c'est chose commune;
Dont ie ne voy pourveance fors q'une
Contre elle: C'est q' l'omme soit si sage,
Q'u'il n'ait es biens d'elle leece aucune,
Et ait ou mal fort et poissant courage.
Veoir povons que tout vie't a rebours:
Souvent aux bons par la fallace enfrune,
Et aux mauvais sans desserte ou labours
Rent bon guerdon: mais de. ij. voies l'une,
Ou reconfort ou lenguir en rancune,
Prendre convie't: si conseil q' homs se targe
De bon espoir, quoy qu'elle lui soit brune;
Et ait en mal fort et poissant courage.
Car, puis que ses ioyes ne sont q' bien cours,
Par le monde general en commune,
Que nous veons, plus souve't en decours
Sur les greigneurs mesmes q' n'est la lune,

Hom'e

¹ Poesies du Roi de Navarre, II. p. 38.

² See his *Boke of Troy*, lib. 2. the first 79 lines.

sing; and then brings them back to sorrow and misery. At certain times she falsely calls herself a mother, but presently she is stern and bitter; for king or prince, she careth not; it is all one to her, she plainly shews. For, as every one saith, she hath entirely stripped a

Hom'e ne doit les prisier une prune :
Mais, s'ilz vienne't, pense q' en petit de age
Perdre les peut, seurte n'y'ait aucune ;
Et ait en mal, &c.

Princes! soyes certain, que onques nesune
Ja ne sera fortune fors volage ;
En soit chacun avisie et chascune ;
Et ait en mal, &c.¹

A quotation from the historical Romance of Partenay by a poet very inferior to the former, if it be compared with the original text at the end of this translation, will shew how these contemporary writers borrow from one another.

A hay, dit il, faulce fortune !
Tu m'as este felle et enfrune :
Bien es mauvaise et malostrue.
Il est plus folle que beste mue
Qui point se fie en ton affaire.
Tu n'as compere ne commere :
A l'un es doulce a lautre amere :
Nul ne se doit fier en toy :
Tu fais dun petit homme roy ;
Et du tres riche povres homs ;
En toy n'ay ne rive ne fons :
Tu aides l'un l'autre deservis.
Helas ! dolent en moy le truis ;
Tu m'as destruit entierement,
Et dampne pardurablement.²

Even Commynes, about a century after, in his plain but lively prose, reflecting upon the disasters of the Earl of Saint Pol, Constable of France, turns to a digression of this kind; though after descanting upon fortune, he strikes into a better strain. "Que dirous nous de fortune?—il faut respondre que tels grands mysteres ne viennent point de fortune; et que fortune n'est riens fors seulement une fiction poetique.—Autre fortune n'y avoit mi la main que Dieu."³

¹ MSS. Harl. 4473. f. 47. b. in *Cent Balades*.

² Bibl. Bodl. MS. 2396. 19. f. 15.

³ Mem. de Ph. de Commynes, l. 4. c. 12.

powerful christian king of all that he had. One she makes, another she unmakes; her working is a downright dream. In her there is nothing perfect; wherefore no one who is wise and skilled in enduring will pay any regard to her follies and changeable qualities. For we came all naked into this world, poor caitiffs, and destitute of any good; and we must all likewise return to the earth beneath; prince, king, or earl; let us be who we may.

I shall here at present speak no more of fortune; for a prudent man would take no notice of her benefits but in a reasonable way. I shall now come to the conclusion of King Richard, who from sport of fortune, together with treason, as I have already said, was all alone at Conway, full of sorrow, mourning, and dismay. I know full well that he and the earl said that it would be a great thing to send to his people whom he lately left at the seaport, to come thither without delay. But in the mean time by chance there arrived a horseman, who set aside the measure; for he related to the good king the whole that the constable had done, which was not very honourable for him; since he declared without falsehood or fable, that he appeared to be unsteady towards him; and that as soon as the king had left Milford, and he heard the news of it, he set out upon his departure from that place; neither would the steward remain behind him; but packed up all that belonged to the king that was hitherto on board; and then afterwards they went away. But the Welsh, who were stout and fresh, closely pursued them. "These," said he, "took all your substance, and slew a great number of them; such as escaped thence have gone straight to the duke. This, dear Sire, have I been told for truth." And when the king had let him say the whole, you may be sure he was not fain to smile; for on all sides, one after another, came pouring in upon him mischief and trouble. "O Virgin Mary, sovereign queen, pure and unblemished mother of Jesus," thus spake the king, "fortune dealeth very harshly with me." Then said he to the earl of Salisbury, "How shall we prevail over the duke and his people, (*the duke*) who by his power treateth us in so grievous a manner? Alas! if this man tell the truth, they have not

done their duty towards us, seeing we have ever mightily benefited them all; and if they fail in loyalty, God will look to their doing. He who knoweth how to punish the misdeed of the sinner, he is the righteous judge. For well I know that when the latter day shall come, and he shall hold his judgment, the wicked shall neither have refuge nor reprieve; but shall find what they have done and spoken; and then shall they be accursed from his mouth, as we are told, in pain infernal. Such is our belief. Wherefore in every respect we take heed unto ourselves; and thus it is often said, power hath no law." Then said the earl, "Sir, by my honour, you speak the truth."

They then agreed to make no farther stay at Conway;^u for they were greatly afraid, and with good reason. They went straight to Beaumaris, which was ten miles from Conway. This is a castle that could not be taken in ten years, provided it were victualled for that time, and furnished with some good defenders. One side of it was seated on the champaign country; the other is on the sea. Saint Edward^w caused it

^u Otterbourne agrees in the account of the king's wanderings from one castle to another, in search of refuge; that he was in Anglesey, at Beaumaris, at Caernarvon, Conway, and Flint. Indeed he says that he visited Holt, which contained great part of his treasure;¹ but I cannot think that he is right upon this point, as Henry would have obstructed him in that quarter; because the duke had reached Chester by the time that Richard threw himself first into Conway, and previously had driven the Earl of Salisbury into that fortress. The author had been with the king when he inspected Rhuddlan, and charged the governor to defend it. Stow tells us that he shifted to Beaumaris by advice of the Earl of Salisbury.

^w He confounds Edward the First with Edward the Confessor: the former built Beaumaris in 1295 during his war in Wales.² "Tunc fundato Castro, quod vocatur Beaumareys, et deputatis ibi custodibus, superiores partes Snoudoniæ pertransivit."³ He gave it the name of Beaumaris.⁴ William Scroope, Earl of Wiltshire, beheaded at Bristol, was appointed governor in 20 Rich. II.⁵ Henry the Fourth granted it, with the whole county and dominion of Anglesey, to Henry Hotspur for his life.

¹ Otterbourne, p. 207. He is wrong in saying that Richard fled first to Flint, p. 206; and Walsingham equally so in affirming that Henry pursued him for many days with his army. Hist. Angl. p. 368.

² Camden, Annals of Ireland.

³ Annales Wigorn. a. mcccxcv. in Anglia Sacra, pars I. p. 516.

⁴ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 63.

⁵ Dugdale, Baronage, I. p. 279.

to be built, as I have heard the English tell. The king was here ; but he would not stop long, for he thought that himself and his people would be more secure at Caernarvon ; it is a town, and a fine noble castle, a place of strength. On one side is abundance of woods for the chase, and the tide comes up on the other quarter. There was the king, whose face was often pale, as he regretted his hard fate, and condemned the hour and the day that ever he had crossed the salt sea into Ireland. "Gentle Virgin Mary," would he often say, "succour me ; lady, I cry thee mercy ; since truly I have never deserved with regard to the duke that he should thus pursue me and my people, whom greatly and undeservedly he hateth and falsely betrayeth, as may be seen. Every one knoweth and may discern it. Alas ! and when the truth shall be known in gentle France, I firmly hope that my father-in-law^x will also bitterly grieve at heart for it. For truly it will be a great scandal for him, and indeed for every living mother's son among kings ; considering the outrage and very great distress, the poverty and condition in which I am ; and that I am thus concealing myself on account of those who have ever been on my side. Now are they turned, I know not why. Alas, what treachery ! It will be a reproach to them for ever so long as the world shall endure, or the deep ocean be able to cast up tide or wave. This action redounds with great evil to them all. Glorious God ! who didst die for us, suspended on the cross, look mercifully upon me. None other than thou can aid my present need ; and if I must lose my land and my life, should fortune will it, I must take

^x This proved true, according to Froissart. "The king was much afflicted at the melancholy account he heard ; for he knew the English to be determined, and hard to appease ; and although he had been for a considerable time in a good state of health, the rage he got into, on learning the events passing in England, brought back his frenzy."

And again, after Richard's decease, "The king of France was not in good health, nor had been ever since he heard of the misfortunes of his son-in-law, Richard ; and his disorder was greatly encreased when he was told of his death."¹ Charles VI. was afflicted with fits which brought on derangement.

¹ Froiss. XII. 28, 32.

it all in good part ; for her authority must be obeyed." Thus oftentimes spake King Richard, sighing piteously from his heart : so that I solemnly protest more than a hundred times I shed many a tear for him. There lives not a man so hard-hearted or so firm, who would not have wept at sight of the disgrace that was brought upon him.

What is still worse ; in his castles, to which he retired, there was no furniture, nor had he any thing to lie down upon but straw ;^y really he

^y Great attention was paid during this age to comfort and decoration in bedding.

Of downe of pure downes white
I woll gyve him a fether bed
Rayed with golde, and ryght well cled
In fyne blacke sattyn doutremere ;
And many a pylowe and every bere
Of cloth of Raynes to slepe on softe :
Hym there not nede to turne ofte. ¹

In noble and wealthy mansions the most costly materials were employed upon these articles of the household. Valuable beds, as well as Jewels, plate, and apparel, are often mentioned in wills. See the testament of John de Raby, Lord Nevill, in 1396,² and that of Joan Beauchamp, Lady of Bergavenny, in 1434. She had beds of gold with swans, hangings of cloth of gold with leopards, and of black and red silk embroidered with woodbine flowers of silver.³ Coverlets were furred with minever,⁴ and wrought with devices and arms ; one in the Duke of Lancaster's palace in the Savoy destroyed by the populace in 1381, was estimated at a thousand marks.⁵

Richard had experienced no privation till of late, in this or any other respect. If we reflect upon the very little hardship he could hitherto have endured, and upon what has been recorded of the luxury of his table, by his own cook,⁶ as well as by historians, contrasting these things with his having now neither a pillow for his head, nor scarcely a morsel to appease his hunger, the depth of his humiliation will fully appear.

The following lines from the contemporary above cited are peculiarly applicable to the condition of the king :

Gone is thy ioye, and all thy myrth in erth ;
Of all thy blythenesse now art thou black and bare ;
There is no salve may helpe thy sore ;

Fell

¹ The Dreame of Chaucer.

² Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 427.

³ Dugdale, *Baronage*, l. p. 240.

⁴ *Id.* li. p. 80.

⁵ Stow, *Annales*, p. 286.

⁶ See Pegge's *Form of Cury*.

lay in this manner for four or six nights, for in truth, not a farthing's worth of victuals or of any thing else was to be found in them. Certes, I dare not tell the great misery of the king, who stayed not long at Caernarvon; for he had little rest there on account of his misfortune and great poverty. He returned to Conway, where he thus greatly bewailed his wife. "My mistress and my consort! accursed be the man, little doth he love us, who thus shamefully separateth us two. I am dying of grief because of it. My fair sister, my lady, and my sole desire. Since I am robbed of the pleasure of beholding thee, such pain and affliction oppresseth my whole heart, that oftentimes I am hard upon despair. Alas! Isabel,² rightful daughter of France, you were

Fell is thy fortune, wycked is thy werth;
Thy blysse is banished and thy bale unberde.

Where is thy chamber wantonly besene
With burly bed, and bankers brouded bene,
Spyces and wyne to thy collatione;
The cuppes al of gold and sylver shene,
Thy sweete meates served in plates clene
With savery sauce of a good facioun,
Thy gay garmentes?—

All is arere thy great royall renoune.

—For thy bed, take now a bonche of stro.¹

² Isabel, eldest daughter of Charles VI. King of France, whom Richard had espoused October 31, 1396. At that time she was but eight years old, and he was in his twenty-seventh year; and the disparity of their ages had given rise to much discussion and dissatisfaction among his subjects, who were averse to this alliance with France. But the king despised public opinion, and overruled all the remonstrances of his friends. Sir John Grailly, the captal of Buch, ventured to tell him "that it was no way agreeable to the English that he should connect himself by marriage with France;" others told him "the lady was by far too young," but he replied by saying, that every day she would encrease in age. In addition to this, he gave pleasantly his reasons for his preferring her, that since she was so young, he should educate her, and bring her up to his own mind, and to the manners of the English; and that for himself he was young enough to wait till she was of a proper age for his wife."² They were accordingly married in Saint Nicholas church

¹ Chaucer, *The Complaynt of Creseyde*.

² Froiss. XI. c. 23.

wont to be my joy, my hope, and my consolation ; I now plainly see that through the great violence of fortune, which hath slain many a man, I must wrongfully be removed from you. Whereat I often endure at heart so severe a pang that day and night I am in danger of bitter and

church at Calais. Her dowry, as settled by the conventions,¹ was 800,000 livres; 300,000 to be put down on the day of marriage, and 100,000 annually afterwards, till the whole should be paid. This was never done ; and soon after the death of the king she was restored to her father. Richard spent in the festivities of his nuptials, not including presents, 300,000 marks and more.²

She had been well educated, according to Froissart,³ and her appearance and manners were agreeable. He placed her first under the care of the Lady de Coucy ;⁴ but, when she was discarded for her extravagance, see page 103, note o, the Lady Mortimer succeeded her.⁵ This was just previous to the Irish campaign. The young queen then resided at Windsor,⁶ where Richard on the road took his leave of her, and never saw her more.⁷ On the first alarm of Henry's progress, the regent sent her to Wallingford castle, and gave her in charge to Scroope, Bussy, Green, and Bagot.⁸ Henry afterwards placed her at Sunning ;⁹ and she probably remained there till she was sent back to France.

She had in the first instance been betrothed to the son of the Duke of Brittany : and after her return to her native county, she was married to Charles, eldest son of the Duke of Orleans ; who was then only nine years old. This is he whose father was assassinated in 1407 by the Duke of Burgundy ; and who was himself taken prisoner at Agincourt. They had one daughter, who married John II. Duke of Alençon.¹⁰

Catherine, Isabel's younger sister, married Henry V.

To many readers these piteous lamentations of a husband of thirty over a baby-wife in her eleventh year, couched in terms which would better apply to a female of his own age, may appear weak and absurd. Be this as it may, he certainly was much attached to her, and by the confession of the French, had behaved very affectionately and honourably towards her.¹¹

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VII. from p. 811 to p. 820.

² Walsing. *Hist. Angl.* p. 356.

³ XI. c. 25.

⁴ I suppose this was Richard's aunt, the eldest daughter of Edward III. who married Ingelram, Lord de Coucy.

⁵ *Accounts and Extracts*, II. p. 213.

⁶ Froiss. XII. c. 16.

⁷ When he was prisoner in the Tower, he earnestly requested that he might be allowed to see her ; but Henry refused him. *Accounts and Extracts*, II. p. 227.

⁸ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 83.

⁹ *Hist. Angl.* p. 362. Otterbourne, p. 225.

¹⁰ Mezeray, *Monstrellet*, I. c. 1. f. 1. b.

¹¹ *Accounts and Extracts*, ut supra. Mezeray.

certain death. And it is no wonder, considering my misfortune, who from such a height have fallen thus low, and lose my joy, my solace, and my consort. I plainly see too that no one maketh a secret of vexing and cheating me; alas! every one attacketh or hateth me: still praised be God in his holy heavens above." Thus spake the king, while his eyes wept piteously; for he could do no better at that time.

I will now tell you how the duke dealt with the king's brother who went to him with the Duke of Surrey, a most loyal lover of King Richard, insomuch that he was afterwards foully put to death for it, as, if heaven preserve me, you shall very presently hear. The two dukes travelled early and late till they came to Chester, which the duke on his part had already taken by his art and cunning without assault.^a They both entered: when they got in, a great number of persons were with them who thought they were changing the service of the king, and that they were coming to sue for mercy to Henry Duke of Lancaster: but great folly caused them to think so; for they would not have crouched to him for all the gold of England. They were straightway led to Duke Henry in the castle, which is a regular building; he was heartily rejoiced and delighted when he saw them; right welcome he seemed to make them.^b And afterwards he said to the Duke of Exeter,

^a Sir Robert and Sir John a Legh were sent with a deputation to treat for Chester, and to surrender every thing to the duke. They met him at Shrewsbury.¹ Sir Robert was Sheriff of Cheshire 21 and 22 Rich. II.² Henry entered Chester on the eighth of August, where he was received in a royal manner with solemn processions of all the religious orders.³

^b "On his arrival before the duke, Huntingdon bent one knee on the ground, and said, 'It is but reasonable, Sir, that I should pay you reverence; for your father was a king's son, and my wife also is your sister.' — 'Rise, brother-in-law,' said the duke coldly, 'you have not always acted thus.' Then taking him by the hand, he drew him aside, and they conversed together a long time, but I know not what they said." From the last expression, as well as that quoted in page 22, note^b, Gaillard conjectures the author of the MS. Ambassades to have been an eye-witness.⁴

¹ Vita Ric. II. p. 154.

² MSS. Harl. 5171.

³ Carte, II. p. 663.

Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 218.

"Come, brother-in-law, tell us, I pray you, without farther controversy, what news you bring." "None, brother-in-law, that is very good for my lord, but such as is disgraceful and bad, whereat I am most sorrowful and distressed."

(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE X.)

And then he went on to tell him very prudently what you have already heard at their parting with the king: that it would be most disgraceful to him thus to break his fidelity to his lord; and that he was banished by the will and consent of his good father: so that he should well weigh the whole of the matter; also that he would bring great shame and reproach upon every king alive; and that he would be hated of those who are his good friends; and that all would be his enemies who loved honour, loyalty, worth, and vassalage; and that if he should commit such an outrage it would be a scandal to his lineage for ever; seeing that he ought to be a great lord in wisdom and moderation: but, should it happen that his rightful king should be disinherited by his will or by force, he would be compared to Guenelon,^c who in his time committed much treason,

^c — The false Genellon,
He that purchased the trayson
Of Roulande, and of Olyvere.¹

The name of a traitor abundantly alluded to in the literature of the middle ages. He caused the death of Rolando and the defeat of the French army at Roncevalles, and was torn in pieces by horses at Aix la Chapelle by order of Charlemagne. The word became proverbial for any insincere person.

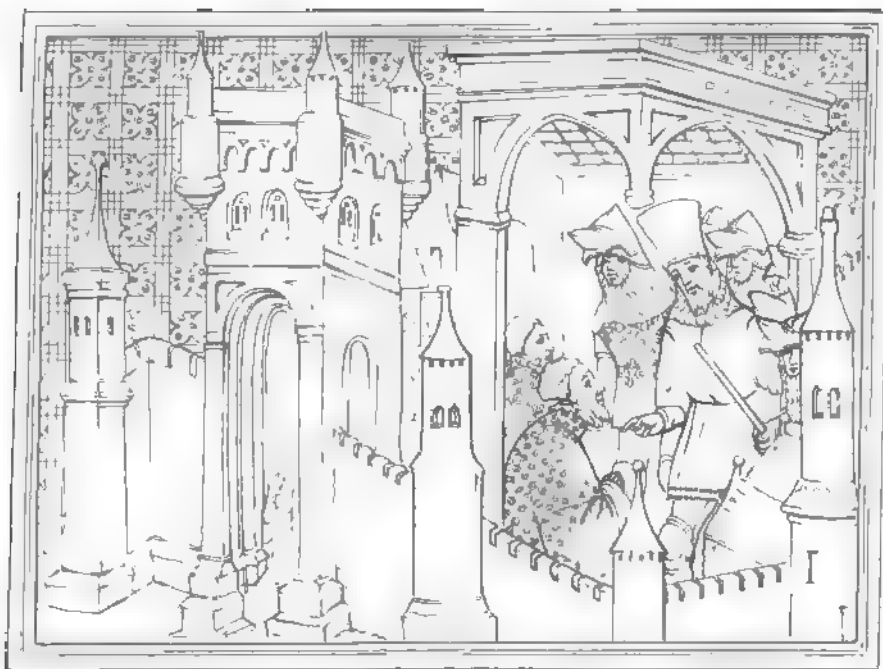
Les crueus felons,
C'on peut apeler Guenelons,
Qui retenir ne se porroient
De mesdire, s'ils ne moroient;
Tant i sont mis et afetie.²

The *Morgante of Pulci*, composed in the fourteenth century for the amusement of Madonna Lucrezia, the mother of Lorenzo de Medici, is constructed entirely upon this character.

¹ The Dreame of Chaucer.

² Le Lay d'Aristote.

ILLUMINATION X.



through which many a knight and worthy died. So that he earnestly besought him not to bring on this comparison: (*He told him*) he should also have his land and substance, provided he would henceforth do his duty; and that the king would heartily and freely pardon him the whole of the outrage he had committed against him. Thus right well and handsomely did the Duke of Exeter tell him of his doing, and dared too, to speak boldly to him; for he had married his own sister, and was thus his equal. Moreover the Duke of Exeter said to him, "I beseech you, brother-in-law, give us immediately the whole or a part of our answer; for my lord is expecting us, who is not in very good plight."

Then said Duke Henry, "You have spoken to me much to the purpose; but if God grant me health and happiness, you shall neither go to day nor for a week to come. It is not right that I should send you back so soon; you are not messengers for hire, and it is not wise in my lord to send you here; could he find none to send but you two? it is but a mean service for gentlemen of such high birth to send you here." So the duke resolved to detain them; but his brother-in-law continually besought him that he would give them leave to depart, saying, "Sire, the king may think that treason causeth us to abide here. We should never recover this disgrace. Wherefore, brother-in-law, for God and honour's sake, to the end that we may have no dishonour, we lovingly entreat you, suffer us to begone." Then spake the duke who was bold as a lion. "Brother-in-law, talk no more of this; at a proper season I will send you back to the king; and come no more into my presence; for I swear, and assure you upon mine honour, that you shall go from me upon no message for a month to come."^d

^d Henry farther alleged as his reason for detaining Huntingdon, that he must wait for the return of the Earl of Northumberland, who had been sent to the king with a message from him. Such is the account given in MS. Ambassades, though according to our author the resolution to send that nobleman was not yet adopted. Huntingdon was not only kept against his will, but made to wear the cognisance of Henry, and write a letter to Richard requesting him to place entire confidence in the Earl of Northumberland.¹

¹ MS. Ambassades, p. 133.

Thus were the two dukes detained, who were greatly vexed at heart, considering that Duke Henry was wroth with them at the time, and bewailing the king, who remained alone, without a soul to aid or support him. Thus each of the two dukes often wept ; but, like or dislike it, they were obliged to endure it all. Duke Henry separated them : he kept his brother the Duke of Exeter about him, and caused the good Duke of Surrey to be shut up in the castle of Chester. It has many fine windows and lofty walls. When I saw it, it put me in mind of the castle of Namur ; it is so high and strong. The good duke was in no great safety there. Six miles from the city was another fortress, that they called Holt.^e It stood very loftily^f upon a rock. In the mean

^e Stow, intentionally, I suppose, has altered the name of the castle to Beeston : but upon what authority, or whether from mere conjecture, does not appear. Probably he thought that the description of the Frenchman would better apply to Beeston than to Holt ; but there is sufficient ground for believing that the author of the MS. was correct upon this point. For the situation corresponds as to distance, Holt being but eight measured miles from Chester, whereas Beeston is nearly ten. Then as to its elevation, which might have misled Stow ; the town of Holt itself stands upon a rock of considerable eminence in respect to the adjoining country ; and from the extensive low and flat district on the south-east side, where the Dee divides England from Wales, the castle in particular appears on an elevated and commanding position. It was erected upon a part of the rock, which has been insulated from the rest on three sides by the quarry out of which the stone was raised for the building. This excavation, presenting a solid face of stone about thirty feet in height, formed the fosse, in some parts a hundred yards wide, and in none less than fifty. On the fourth side it was protected by the natural barrier of the river. It was clearly capable of containing a hundred men ; and there is reason to conclude that it was the place where Richard deposited his treasure. There still exists traditionary belief that the well in the castle, now choked up with rubbish, contains hidden treasure ; and the late Captain Gartside, who occupied the ruins and ground adjoining under the crown, expended a considerable sum in endeavouring to clear it out ; and though he did not proceed to any great depth, he obtained some curious armour and many coins. I have been informed that three hundred pieces of silver have been found there at one time ; and that it is unquestionable that many of the reign of Richard the second have been met with. For the above particulars I am indebted to the kind communication of my friend, George Kenyon, esq. of Cefn, near Wrexham, a gentleman whose means of information, as chief magistrate of
the

time the duke went against it with all his army. Those who were in it were so much afraid, that they knew not what to do. Though they were certain that the duke could not hurt them in the least at any time. For the castle is so strong and sound, that in my opinion, considering the height upon which it is seated, it could not have been taken by force in ten years. It was also well garrisoned with good men. There

the borough, and long and entire acquaintance with the spot, render his testimony especially valuable.

The drawing made of this fortress by Norden in 1620, when it was entire, engraved in Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, shews it to have been of a pentangular form, having a bastion tower at each angle, four of them circular, and that facing the river square. The entrance was by a drawbridge, over a deep moat, communicating with a gateway, upon which stood a square tower strengthened by portcullises and machicolations. John Earl of Warren, who murdered Madoc, the heir to these lands, began to build it in the reign of Edward I. and it was finished by his son William. It afterwards belonged to the Fitz-Alans; and was in the hands of Richard Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, who was resident there with armed men in 17 Rich. II.¹ The Earl of Albemarle obtained it of the king,² with several other fortresses in that county for his life; see page 65, note¹: but it was restored to the family of Fitz-Alan by Henry IV. It has since at different times been made the depository of wealth and military stores, in the reigns of Henry VII. and Edward VI. by Sir William Stanley, and Thomas Seymour of Sudley, Lord High Admiral of England.³ On the execution of Stanley, Henry VII. seized upon his effects, and found in this fortress, among a variety of valuables, money and plate to the amount of forty thousand marks.⁴ This of itself would be sufficient to account for the tradition of treasure; but does not at all invalidate the fact of the hoard that Richard II. had laid up there.—In the civil wars of Charles I. it was ordered to be demolished by the parliament.

The castle of Holt and the ground adjoining is now the property of the right honourable Lord Kenyon, who purchased it, some years ago, from the Crown.

¹ I suspect that he offers the adjective *hault* as the origin of it's name,

Un autre fort, que *hoult* en appelloit,

Sur une roche moult *hault* assis estoit.

not being acquainted with the Saxon word *Holt*, from which so many places in England derive their appellation.

¹ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 350.

² Stat. 21 Ric. II. c. 9.

³ Dugdale, Baronage, III. p. 368.

⁴ See the account of this castle in Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, I. pp. 205, 210, 212.

were an hundred picked men at arms within it, carefully provisioned on the part of the king. But they were not diligent in keeping good guard at the entrance or the pass, which is narrow, and must be ascended on foot, step by step: but, faint-hearted and cowardly as they were, they gave it up to the duke, who made haste to enter, more delighted than ever; for it contained a hundred thousand marks sterling in gold, and upwards, which King Richard caused to be treasured up there, besides a great quantity of other precious things. By Saint Mor (*Maurice?*) I heard it said that what could be found there might fairly be reckoned at two hundred thousand marks.⁵ Duke Henry took it

⁵ He had made up for his extravagance by pecuniary exactions, and had amassed a great treasure. The judicious Lingard¹ thinks that his expenses were not greater, and that his demands on the purses of his subjects were considerably less, than his predecessors. It is, however, clear that for the two last years he had taken strong measures to accumulate money. In 1397 he borrowed of the lords spiritual and temporal, and all the cities in the realm. This sweep amounted to 25,420 pounds sterling;² and in 1399, his *Ragman's bonds* extorted immense sums from seventeen counties:³ he had besides sent Maudelain over to drain the treasury of Ireland.⁴ He was thus enabled to leave a large property behind him. In his will he allowed 20,000 pounds for the payment of his debts, and 4000 marks for charitable and religious purposes; and then provided for the residue of his gold; which, considering the peculiar purpose to which it was to be applied, and which will appear hereafter, should have amounted to a considerable sum. "Kynge Henry," says Fabyan, "fande great rychesse that before tyme to Kynge Richarde belonged." He then quotes "Polycronycon" for different items, adding, "so it shuld seme that kyng Richarde was ryche when his money and jewellys amounted to VII. C. M. li."⁵

The garrison, and what is now called in France *munitions de guerre et de bouche*, were styled, in the language of the age, *stuffing and ward*.⁶ Lydgate in one place applies the word "stuff" exclusively to soldiers.

Now stode a castell faste ther be side
I stuffed well with Grekys sowdyours.⁷

The military store and furniture of a castle may be seen in Rymer, *Fœdera* VIII. p. 384.⁸ and Christina of Pisa, in one of her prose works, has given, in a long chapter, a minute account of requisites for the complete furnishing of a fortress against a siege.

¹ Hist. of Eng. III. c. 20.

² Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. pp. 9, 12.

³ Walsing. Ypod. Neustr. pp. 550, 553.

⁴ APPENDIX, No. I.

⁵ Fabyan, by Ellis, pp. 550, 551.

⁶ Stat. 2 Hen. IV. c. 18.

⁷ Boke of Troy, l. 2.

⁸ De Stuffura pro castro de Hadlegh, dated March 4, 1405.

all away with him. Thus was Holt surrendered as I have told you, and all the substance of King Richard seized; it was likewise stored with artillery and provisions, bread, wine, fresh water, and cattle for six years. Such fellows are not worth a straw; for without fighting battle or defending themselves, they were presently ready to give it up to Duke Henry:—I heartily wish now that he had hanged them all! He would not stop long there; but returned straight to Chester, where he summoned the whole of his council, and desired each of them to tell him what he thought good to be done. The Archbishop of Canterbury answered first, and said, “Fair Sirs, King Richard hath retired into Wales, where there are many dangerous mountains, over which neither wagon nor baggage can pass; on the other hand is the sea, where abundance of fish may be taken; your army could not approach him; but it were good to send to him, to swear unto him, and make a covenant to be at peace with him for ever, on condition that he will swear, that a parliament shall be called by him, in which those wicked men shall be punished by whom his uncles were put to death: so shall ye henceforth be good friends; and let him appoint such a day as shall seem good unto him, and in such place that every one, clerk or layman, knight, priest, or monk, may visit it; for you cannot take him by any other means; since he hath the power, in spite of us, at any time to put to sea, and be gone; because I have heard say that he hath caused vessels to be detained at Conway: so that I think you ought to advise upon this matter. Now speak upon it, my lords and friends.” Every one then said, “Better counsel than his I never heard.” Then said Duke Henry, “The thing will do well, and it will be a good method. It is my advice that the aged Earl of Northumberland,^b my fair

^b Henry, eldest son of Henry Percy, by Mary daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, married in 32 Edw. III. Margaret daughter of Ralph Lord Nevil, by whom he had three sons, Henry surnamed Hotspur, Thomas, and Ralph. His second marriage with Maude, sister and heiress of Anthony Lord Lucy, and widow of the Earl of Angus, was without issue.

The following notices respecting this veteran negotiator and warrior will convey some idea of the manner in which his public life was spent. In 33 and 37 Edw. III. he bore arms

cousin, set out to-morrow early in the morning, and that he return not un-

arms in France. 42 Edw. III. his father died, when he was twenty-six years of age; and he did homage, and had livery of his lands. In that year he was with the king in Calais, when the peace was made with France, and was sent to the relief of the marches of Poitou with three hundred men at arms and a thousand archers. 43 Edw. III. in the war in France, his retinue consisting of fifty nine men at arms, twelve knights, forty seven squires, and a hundred archers on horseback. 46 Edw. III. he accompanied the king towards France to the relief of Thouars; when they were driven back by contrary winds, after nine weeks tossing at sea. 47 Edw. III. he purchased, for 760 pounds, the custody of the castle of Mitford in Northumberland, with all the lands, during the minority of the Earl of Athol; and attended the king into Flanders. 50 Edw. III. he was Marshal of England, and went officially to inspect the towns and castles of Calais, and the marches thereof. 51 Edw. III. General of the forces sent to France; his retinue a hundred men at arms, and as many archers, with a ready supply of two hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers all mounted. He appeared now as a protector of Wycliff, to whom he shewed much respect at the conference with the bishops before the Duke of Lancaster in Saint Paul's Cathedral; and with difficulty avoided the fury of the populace, who rose on the part of the Bishop of London, and would have put him and the duke to death, had they not escaped in a boat over the Thames to Kennington.¹

At the coronation of Richard II. he acted as Marshal of England, and was advanced to the dignity and title of Earl of Northumberland. Shortly after he resigned his Marshal's rod, and went into Scotland against the Earl of Dunbar at the head of ten thousand men, and wasted his lands. 2 Rich. II. he entered that country again, with the Earl of Nottingham, and took Berwick. 4 Rich. II. the Scots invaded Cumberland and Westmorland; but he was stopped in his preparations to advance against them by the king's letters. 5 Rich. II. a dispute arose between him and John of Gant, which had nearly proved fatal to him. As commissioner for guarding the marches, with special care of the castles and garrisons, he had appointed Sir Matthew Redman his lieutenant at Berwick. Redman, acting strictly up to his trust, refused to admit the Duke of Lancaster into the place, on his return from Scotland. In the same manner he was shut out at Bamborough castle; though his provisions were stored in both places; and his family had taken refuge in the latter fortress.* The duke complained of this treatment in the presence of the king, at a meeting of the nobles at Berkhamstead, and taxed Northumberland with ingratitude, unfaithfulness, and disobedience: upon which the earl became furious, and used such reproachful language, that the king, who had in vain commanded him to be silent, ordered him to be arrested: but, the Earls of Warwick and Suffolk undertaking for his appearance

¹ Collins, *Life of John of Gaunt*, pp. 26, 28.

* *Id.* pp. 41, 43.

til by truce or by force he bring back the king ; let him also take with him

appearance at the next parliament, he was set at liberty. Lancaster and Northumberland both attended the next parliament with large bodies of armed men, to the terrour of the citizens ; and complaint was made of it to the king, ¹ who decided the quarrel, and reconciled them for the time. 7 Rich. II. he chastised the Scots who had made an incursion upon Northumberland, and had seized Berwick through the treachery of the lieutenant governor. This furnished a fit occasion for the Duke of Lancaster, who was intent upon humbling him, to accuse him in parliament, and obtain sentence of death and confiscation against him : but the king set aside the judgment, and Northumberland repaired the accident by recovering Berwick. In the same year he was of the commission for receiving the residue of ransom due for David King of Scotland ; Sheriff of Northumberland with the custody of the castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and retained to serve the king in the Scotch war for forty days. About this time he acquired a great accession of landed property by his second marriage. 9 Rich. II. he was again Sheriff of the same county. 10 and 11 Rich. II. Ambassador in Scotland. 13 Rich. II. Commissioner to treat of peace with France and Flanders ; but 14 Rich. II. recalled to guard the borders. 19 Rich. II. he was present at the interview between the Kings of England and France at Guisnes, and was one of the English Lords who attended Charles VI. to his pavilion. 21 Rich. II. in consequence of some expressions used by his eldest son Hotspur, derogatory to Richard II. he was summoned from the north, but refused to make his appearance ; for which, Froissart informs us, he was banished. As he was preparing to retire into Scotland, the king passed over into Ireland. Henry of Lancaster, with whom he probably held communication, landed ; and Northumberland with Hotspur joined him at Doncaster : then followed the train of events related in the metrical history.

The zeal that he had shewn in the cause of Henry IV. procured his advancement to the office of Constable of England for life, with the gift of the Isle of Man, to hold by bearing the Lancaster sword at the coronation. He was besides made Constable of the castles of Chester, Flint, Conway, and Caernarvon. In 2 Henry IV. he was commissioned to treat of a marriage between Blanch eldest daughter of the king, with Lewis, Duke of Bavaria. 3 Henry IV. he defeated the Scots in a decisive battle at Halidon-hill, where he took Earl Douglas, their general, prisoner ;—and here his services and his intimate connexion with Henry IV. ceased.

4 Henry IV. In this year his disaffection to the king began to shew itself. Some have affirmed that it was on account of money long due to him for the wardenship of the Marches, which Henry IV. was unwilling to pay ; others, that it originated in a dispute about the prisoners taken at Halidon. The Percys took up arms, and Sir Thomas and

young

¹ Cotton's Abridgement, p. 195.

four hundred lances and a thousand archers, who must be very diligent; for there is nothing in the world that I so much desire as to have the king in my keeping." Then he said to the earl, "Fair cousin, be careful to depart, and to accomplish well your enterprise; for you can do me

young Henry lost their lives at Shrewsbury, before Northumberland could bring up the force he had collected for their aid. But the earl afterwards appeared before the king on promise of safety, and disavowed the actions of his son; nor was Henry willing to push the matter any farther; but granted him pardon on commitment to safe custody; and in 6 Henry IV. either from recollection of what he owed to him, or from awe of him, restored all his possessions. 7 Henry IV. he joined the insurgents in Yorkshire, and when they were quelled, he was pursued into Scotland. With a resolution unbroken by these reverses he next retired into Wales, and concerted with Owen Glendour the means of deposing Henry IV. Then proclaiming liberty to all who would rise and follow him he re-appeared in Yorkshire 8 Henry IV. at the head of a considerable number of men. Sir Thomas Rokeby, the sheriff of that county met him on Branham Moor near Tadcaster, and a skirmish ensued, in which he was slain. Such was the end of Henry Percy, first Earl of Northumberland, who betrayed the king that had advanced him to honour, and rebelled against the king whom he had placed upon the throne. His head and quarters were distributed to London and different places where he had been respected and obeyed. His age and high station, and the remembrance of past services rendered him an object of regret to the Lancastrians,¹ and the partisans of Richard might be ready to believe that they had lost a friend; but his real intention, it is said, was to have conferred the crown upon the Earl of March, the rightful heir.

Upon his sense of religious obligation no observation need be made; but it may be mentioned that he had been so far influenced by the feeling of the times as in 50 Edw. III. to grant the hospital of Saint Leonard at Alnwick to the Abbot and Convent of Alnwick to hold for ever; and 19 Rich. II. to found a Chantry in the chapel of All Saints at Cockermouth for one priest to celebrate divine service there daily, for the good estate of himself and Maud his wife, and for their souls after their departure hence; as well as those of their ancestors, and all the faithful deceased.

His estates and residence upon the border country rendered him the natural guardian of those parts, and occasioned his frequent employment as Warden to watch over them, and as Commissioner to treat of peace with his neighbours the Scots. His different appointments of this kind bear date, 42, 45, 46, 47, 50 Edw. III.; 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 18 Rich. II.; 1 Henry IV.²

¹ This is evident from the manner in which Walsingham speaks of his death. *Hist. Angl.* p. 377.

² See the article, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. *Dugdale, Baronage*, I. pp. 276, 277, 278.

no greater pleasure in the world. I pray you now make haste, and I shall stay at Chester till you return, or till I have news from you, which may revive my heart with joy." "God grant it may be such," said the earl; "by reason or by craft will I bring him." So the earl set out without delay; he took his road as straight as he could for Conway, pondering, and full of care how he might take the king; thus he and his men travelled stoutly till he reached a very strong castle that they called Flint. He sent in an order on the part of Duke Henry to give up the fort to him, or all of them, without favour or respite, should be delivered over to death. So King Richard's people opened the gate to him through fear: he turned them out, and committed the keeping of it to a great party of his own men. In this castle that you have heard me call Flint was the king taken, as shall be related hereafter. Northumberland now made his people hasten straight from that place to Rhuddlan, where he found a toilsome and heavy road: many a mountain and great rock are between them. He got over it as fairly and as well as he could, and mightily rejoiced he was. He sent to the castellan,¹ who was an old knight, commanding him instantly to surrender the fortress in the name of the duke, or he and all who might be taken therein should be hanged without mercy: not for all the wealth of the realm should they escape: doubtless he would make them taste of death, if they gave not up to him the castle and place. At this menace of the earl, the castellan turned pale with fear; for he had long kept the castle and approach in the name of the king. It is very strong, because the sea comes into the fosses, and on the other side it is posted very loftily upon a rock; its walls are strong and thick, well provided

¹ Whoever the governor of this fortress might be, he does not appear to have been at his post. His office had a peculiar authority attached to it, as by an express provision 10 Rich. II. he was constituted for the time being sheriff of the county. "Constabularius castri de Flint pro tempore existenti debet esse vicecomes comitatus de Flint."

¹ Calend. Rot. Pat. p. 214. 1 Pat. 10 Ric. II.

with large towers.^k But such was the fear of the old man from morn till night, that, coward like, he gave up the keys to him : although King Richard had gently besought him to keep it, seeing it was well stored with wine and corn ; for he had very lately been there, and myself with him. The castellan bargained with the earl to surrender it in the name of Duke Henry, upon condition that he should continue castellan of that place all his life, to which the duke agreed.¹ They were now but ten miles distant from Conway by a direct road. There was the king in sorrow and dismay ; he knew nothing of the coming of the earl ; but he often said, " I cannot tell what this can mean : O glorious God, my maker ! What can have become of my brother-in-law of Exeter ? it is eight days since he went to Chester to bring the duke and myself to an agreement. I certainly believe that they are suffering pain or mischief. I neither know what to think or say of it." Thus the king was sore troubled, because of the evil that continually pressed upon him to his farther undoing ; yet still he gave thanks to the almighty. It is now right to tell you of Northumberland, and what he meditated,

^k The vestiges of this castle prove it's original strength. The walls are flanked by six round towers, three of which remain tolerably entire. The ditch is wide and deep, and on both sides faced with stone. The steep escarpment towards the river was defended with walls, in which were square bastions ; one of them is still standing.¹ The Welsh antiquaries state that it was erected before the Norman Conquest by Llewellyn ap Sitsylt, who reigned over North Wales from 1015 to 1020 : " Ruthlanæ castrum primo conditum est a Leolino, Sisillii filio, Cambriæ principe ; fuitque non solum ipsius Leolini verumetiam Gruffini filii sui præcipuum palatium."² Harold burnt it in 1063,³ and it was restored by William the Conqueror or Henry II.⁴

¹ That the agreement was kept seems confirmed by the grant of the constableness of the several castles of Chester, Flint, Conway, and Caernarvon, all upon the same line, to the Earl of Northumberland, in 1 Henry IV.⁵ Rhuddlan, which forms a link in the chain, is omitted in the list ; and I therefore conclude that the old castellan retained it.

¹ Evans, *Topographical and Historical Description of N. Wales*, p. 756.

² Powel, *Annot. in Silv. Giraldi Itin. Cambr. c. 10. n. 2.*

³ Orderic. Vital. in *Dugdale, Baronage*, I. p. 36.

⁴ Powel, *ut supra.*

⁵ *Dugdale, Baronage*, I. p. 278.

as he went on his way, for the better taking of King Richard ; for he was sure that if the king was aware of his force and power he would on no account stir from his castles.

He formed his men ^m into two bodies under the rough and lofty cliffs of a rock ; they were fresh and eager, persecuting traitors as they were, to take the king. Alas ! what men were they, and what could be their thoughts ? When for the space of two and twenty years they had upheld him in great joy and honour ; to ruin him afterwards is in my mind so great an error that they ought to be for ever looked upon as the wickedest of mortals ; and recorded in chronicles, that their deeds and their reproof might be seen at distant times. The subtle earl said to his people, " Keep well this pass. I am going over with five others to the opposite shore, and please God, or ere to-morrow dawn, I will, in some way or other (in prose or rhyme) tell the king such tidings, that unless he be harder than file of tempered steel, I think I shall make him leave his quarters. But beware that ye stir not for your lives, till you see the king or myself return." So they put themselves in good array ; and the earl, without making any stir, went on to Conway to fulfil his word. There is an arm of the sea before the town ; but when the earl came in front of it, he sent a herald ⁿ to King Richard, to ask if he would be pleased to grant him safe conduct that he might pass over to tell him how the duke was desirous of coming to an agreement with him. Then the herald crossed the water, and found the king aloft in the castle hardly assailed by sorrow. He said cheerfully to him, " Sire, the honourable Earl of

^m These men were commanded by Sir Thomas Erpingham, MS. Ambassades, p. 136, who came over with Henry from France, was one of the commissioners that passed sentence of deposition upon Richard II. and in his advanced age gave the signal for the battle of Agincourt. ¹

ⁿ The Percys had upon their establishment, Northumberland Herald and Esperance Pursuivant. ²

¹ Rapin, I. p. 513.

² Dallaway, Inquiries, Sect. II. p. 85, note.

Northumberland hath sent me hither to relate to you how desirous Duke Henry is to be immediately at peace with you. May it please you, for the better knowledge of the truth, to grant him safe conduct and leave to come here, for otherwise he will not presume to stir." Salisbury, who was there, then said to king Richard that it would be a good thing to make him come thither alone:° then the king said aloud to the messenger in his own language, "I heartily give the Earl of Northumberland permission to pass." He thanked him a hundred times, descended from the lofty castle, and passed the water, where the earl had been long expecting him. There he related to him how King Richard had freely granted him safe conduct, and besought him to make haste. Then the earl went on board a vessel and crossed the water. He found King Richard, and the Earl of Salisbury with him, as well as the Bishop of Carlisle. He said to the king,ª "Sire, Duke Henry hath sent me hither

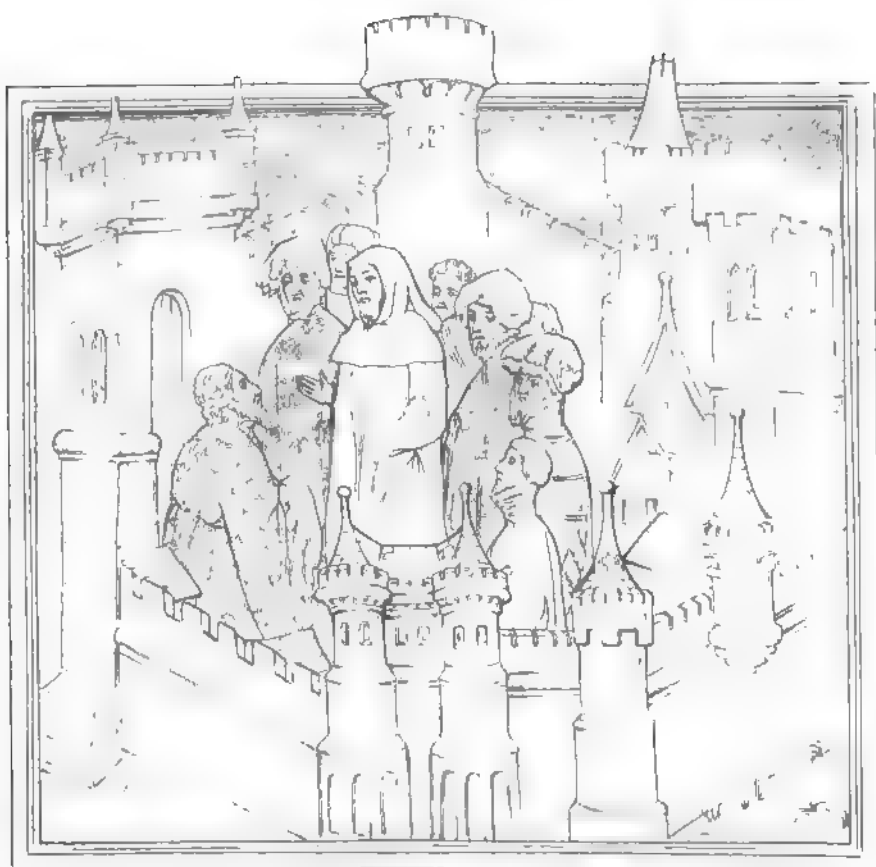
° His little retinue perhaps remained on the other side of the water, because Northumberland is admitted into the castle *alone*. And this should be particularly noted, since we shall endeavour to shew that a studied misrepresentation of the whole affair was made by the Lancastrians for an obvious end. Walsingham¹ tells us, that the first proposition towards a treaty came from Richard, and that he desired to confer with the Earl of Northumberland and Archbishop Arundel at Conway. So much were the true circumstances of the case kept out of sight.

ª We are here supplied with some additional matter from the MS. Ambassades. Huntingdon, by command of the duke, sent one of his retinue after Northumberland with two letters, one for Northumberland, the other for the king. When he appeared before the king with seven attendants, he was asked by him, if he had not met his brother on the road? "Yes, Sire," he answered, "and here is a letter he gave me for you." The king looked at the letter and the seal, and saw that it was the seal of his brother; then he opened the letter and read it. All that it contained was this, "My very dear Lord, I commend me to you: and you will believe the earl in every thing that he shall say to you. For I found the duke at my city of Chester, who has a great desire to have a good peace and agreement with you, and has kept me to attend upon him till he shall know your pleasure."³ When the king had read this letter, he turned to Northumberland, and said, "Now

¹ Hist. Angl. p. 358.

² Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 219.

ILLUMINATION XL.



(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE XI.)

to the end that an agreement should be made between you, and that you should be good friends for the time to come,—If it be your pleasure, Sire, and I may be heard, I will deliver to you his message, and conceal nothing of the truth;—If you will be a good judge and true, and will bring up all those whom I shall here name to you, by a certain day, for the ends of justice; listen to the parliament which you shall lawfully cause to be held between you at Westminster, and restore him to be chief judge of England, as the duke his father¹ and all his

“Now tell me what message you bring.” To which the earl replied, “My very dear Lord, the Duke of Lancaster hath sent me to you, to tell you that what he most wishes for in this world is to have peace and agreement with you; and he greatly repents with all his heart of the displeasure that he hath caused you now and at other times; and asks nothing of you in this living world, save that it may please you to account him your cousin and friend; and that it may please you only to let him have his land; and that he may be chief judge of England, as his father and his predecessors have been, and that all other things of time past may be put in oblivion between you two; for which purpose he hath chosen umpires (*juges*) for yourself and for him, that is to say, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Earl of Salisbury, Maudelain, and the Earl of Westmorland; and charges them with the agreement that is between you and him. Give me an answer, if you please; for all the greatest lords of England and the commons are of this opinion.” On which the king desired him to withdraw a little, and he should have an answer soon.¹

The latter part of this speech contains an important variation from the metrical history, worthy of the artifice of the earl; but the opposite account of our eye-witness, confirmed in Richard's subsequent address to his friends, is doubtless the true representation. The writer of MS. Ambassades might be at this time at Chester; but admitting that he had been in the train of Northumberland on the journey, he could not have been present at the conference.

¹ The style of the duke his father was, John, the son of the King of England, Duke of Guienne and Lancaster, Earl of Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester, Steward of England.² “The word seneshal,” says Rastall, “was borrowed by the French of the Germans; and

¹ MS. Ambassades, pp. 134, 135. Mr. Allen's Extracts.

² Cotton's Abridgement, p. 343.

ancestors had been for more than an hundred years. I will tell you the names of those who shall await the trial. May it please you, Sire, it is time they should." "Yes, (*tell me them,*) I desire to know who they are." "Know, Sire, that the first is your brother; the second who hath behaved amiss is the Duke of Surrey, who is, indeed, put in prison in the castle of Chester, for some offence committed against Duke Henry. Another is the Earl of Salisbury, together with the Bishop of Carlisle; the fifth, as I have heard my lord say, is Maudelain.^r These are they

and signifies one that hath the dispensing of justice in some particular cases, as the High Steward of England;"¹ the jurisdiction of his court, by the statute,² "shall not pass the space of twelve miles to be counted from the lodgings of our Lord the King."

These "particular cases" would, however, have secured to him a power of exercising his vengeance upon the parties who are immediately afterwards named. But the request urged with such apparent humility was only a part of the varnish of the plot. He had not waited for Richard's consent, having already, within two days after his arrival at Chester, assumed the title upon his own authority. In Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 327, is a letter of safe conduct from Henry to the prior of Beauval, dated from that place, August 10, 23 Richard II. in which he styles himself "Henry, Duc de Lancastre, Conte de Derby, de Leycestre, de Herford, et de Northampton, *Seneschal d'Angleterre*."

He conferred the office upon Thomas, his second son, by patent dated October 8, 1399; constituting at the same time Thomas Percy Deputy High Steward during the minority of the prince.³

^r Richard Maudelain, a priest of the chapel royal, who resembled the king so much in size, feature, and speech, that he was employed by the insurgents at Christmas to personate him in the army.

——— Un chapellain,
Qui ressembloit si de certain
Au bon roy Richart de visage,
De corps, de fait, et de langage,
Qu'il n'est homme qui le vist
Qui ne certifiast et dist
Que ce fust le roy ancien.

This man appears to have been one of the most obsequious and daring of Richard's creatures :

¹ *Termes de la Ley*, v. *Seneschal*.

² 13 Ric. II. St. 1. c. 3.

³ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 90.

who agreed and counselled you to put your uncle most wrongfully to death; and if they deny it, they await the judgment of your parliament, wherein you shall be highly crowned a sovereign king. There also shall Duke Henry be chief judge. Those who have been guilty of crime or treason shall be punished without partiality. Such is the determination of my lord. Certes, dear Sire, he would do nothing that is foolish or unreasonable. I would moreover speak to you of another thing; that you will speedily appoint the day; for there is nothing in the world that he more desireth; I know it well; and he wisheth for nothing but his land, and that which appertaineth to him; neither would have any thing that is yours,¹ for you are his immediate, rightful king;

tures; and served him in several confidential and difficult undertakings.¹ Thus he was sent to bring over money from Ireland; and to attend the corpse of the Duke of Gloucester from Calais to London.² The king gave him some property in Fleet-street, and the suburbs of London, which had belonged to Henry Bowet, clerk,³ a particular friend of the Duke of Lancaster, who had upon his account been attainted of treason, 22 Rich. II.⁴ So that for many reasons Henry had an especial dislike to Maudelain. He was a witness to Richard's will,⁵ and went with him upon the Irish expedition. On their return to Milford he was among those of his council who had advised him to withdraw from his army into France, see p. 77. I have already said p. 92, that he probably absconded; for, as he is a remarkable personage, it would have been mentioned had he been in the suite at Conway. When the rebels were dispersed at Cirencester he was taken in attempting to escape with Ferriby, and conducted to London for execution. He asked the mayor if he should be quartered. "No," said the mayor, "but your head will be cut off." Then Maudelain thanked God that he should die in the service of his sovereign lord, the noble king Richard.⁶ Walsingham oddly styles him, I. Mawdlyn Mawde.⁷

¹ Henry's appearance in arms was but too symptomatic of a treasonable design against Richard not to excite strong suspicions in those who were unacquainted with his real intentions, and might not wish that the matter should be pushed to extremities. By the statute of Northampton,

¹ APPENDIX, No. I.

² Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. pp. 20, 21, 31.

³ *Calend. Rot. pat.* p. 236. a. 3. p. 23 Ric. No. 24.

⁴ Cotton, p. 381.

⁵ Rymer, *ut supra*, p. 77.

⁶ *Accounts and Extracts*, II. p. 235.

⁷ *Hist. Angl.* p. 363.

and he regretteth in his conscience the great mischief and wrong that he hath done unto you, through the evil persuasion of the enemy, who never slumbereth nor sleepeth, but is ever watchful to tempt mankind. It is he who hath whispered to him all that he hath done. Wherefore, for the sake of him who suffered unparalleled death for us upon the cross, may it please you, be gentle unto my lord, who is sorrowful and afflicted, and for once lay aside your wrath; and he will most humbly come on his knees before you, and sue for mercy. This done, together

Northampton, promulgated in the time of Edward III.¹ and glossed upon and confirmed by many subsequent enactments in Richard's reign it was actual treason.² No man could "ride armed in harness with launcegays, nor go armed by night nor by day, nor bear sallet, nor skull of iron, nor raise people and ride against the king, upon pain of treason." So that to meet all imputations arising from his display of warlike preparation, his vengeance was at first professed only against the favourites of the court, who had abused the confidence of their sovereign, and had been the instigators of tyrannical measures. Besides this, to quiet the scruples of many of his well-wishers, who might look to reform rather than revolution; and to persuade others, probably the Archbishop of York in particular, of the purity of his intentions, and that he had no ulterior view than that of private justice, and an arrangement for the general good of the realm, he made oath upon the sacrament at Doncaster,³ immediately upon his landing, and afterwards at Chester,⁴ that he came to claim no more than his inheritance, which the ill-advised Richard had, contrary to promise, seized into his hands. "For this," says Baker⁵ shrewdly, "was a reason had no objection; the other he reserved till his power should not need to regard objections." And here, in professing to the king that he wished to touch none of his rights, he gave the Percys a lesson which they afterwards retorted upon him. In the beginning of their opposition to him, before the battle of Shrewsbury, "*scripserunt provincialibus ubilibet constitutis, propositum quod assumpserant, non esse contra suam ligantiam, et fidelitatem quam regi fecerant nec; ab aliunde exercitum congregasse, nisi pro salvatione personarum suarum, et reipublicæ meliori gubernatione, &c. Plures igitur, visis his literis, collaudabant tantorum virorum solertiam, et extollebant fidem quam erga rempublicam prætendebant.*"⁶

¹ Stat. 2 Edw. III. c. 3. ² Stat. 2 Ric. II. c. 6. 7 Ric. II. c. 13. 20 Ric. II. c. 1. 21 Ric. II. c. 3.

³ Ther sware the duke upon the sacrament

To claim no more but his mother's heritage. Hardyng, by Ellis, p. 350.

⁴ Maydestone, Hist. de Martyr. Ric. Scrope, Anglia Sacra, pars secunda, p. 369.

⁵ Chronicle, p. 154.

⁶ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 367.

shall ye go to London, like devout and peaceful men ; or, if you choose to go a different road you shall take it ; and then shall the parliament be proclaimed throughout the land. Be sure of all this : I will swear to it upon the body of our Lord, consecrated by the priest's hand, that Duke Henry shall most faithfully observe all that I have said, and every thing as I have told you ; for he solemnly pledged it to me upon the sacrament when last we parted. Now consider, Sire, how you will act, for I have tarried long."

Then King Richard wisely replied : " Northumberland, withdraw : ere it be long you shall have our answer, that you may speedily depart." Then might you see them separate. They discoursed long upon the matter of which they had heard the earl speak ; till at last the king said,† " Fair sirs, we will grant it to him, for I see no other way. You perceive, as well as myself, that all is lost. But I swear to you, that whatever assurance I may give him, he shall for this be surely put to a bitter death for the outrage and injury that he hath done unto us. And doubt it not, no parliament shall be held at Westminster upon this business ; for I love you so entirely, that I would not suffer you to come to parliament to die, for the fulfilment of his pleasure ; for I know full well that he would make you suffer most heavy penalty, and that you would be in very great danger of being put to bitter and certain death, seeing many murmur against you. Yet fear not, my good friends, but that in spite of them, you shall ever be my nearest friends,

† " He then consulted with his friends, Carlisle, Salisbury, Scroope, Ferriby, and Jenico in the chapel of the castle, and said to them, ' Gentlemen, you have heard what the earl says : what think you of it ? ' To which they replied, ' Sir, do you speak first.' The king answered, ' It seems to me that a good peace may be made between us two, if it be as the earl says. But, in truth, whatever agreement or peace he may make with me, if I can ever get him to my advantage, I will cause him to be foully put to death, just as he hath earned.' "

† MS. Ambassadors, p. 135. Mr. Allen's Extracts. Galliard interprets it, " I shall no more scruple to put him to death, than he did to gain the upper hand of me." Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 219. This is, however, too periphrastic. The original words are simply, "*Je le feray mourir malvaisement, ainsi comme il a gauguie.*"

for I have always found you, without evil intention, good and loyal. Moreover, I tell you, that I will summon and secretly bring together men throughout Wales that may be ready for us on a certain day. When

The commonly received opinion, which has been echoed by many writers, was, that Richard, desiring a conference at Conway with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Earl of Northumberland, and of his own accord declaring himself ready to resign, first stipulated for his own maintainance, and for the security of eight persons whom he should name. "Indicavit se velle regno cedere, si sibi victus honorificus vitæque securitas octo personis, quos nominari vellet, fide interposita, donaretur."¹ Whether Henry was willing to grace his new authority by forbearance towards the king's adherents, or whether Richard was afterwards able to negotiate for those whom the duke had threatened to bring before the parliament is immaterial: it is, however, plain, that excepting Jenico, whose resistance procured him a temporary confinement, they all remained unprosecuted and at large. But, as to Richard's spontaneous offer of resignation at this time, it may easily be understood that reports like these were propagated to encourage a persuasion that it was an act proceeding entirely from his consciousness of the difficulties to which he had been reduced by his inability to govern, and that it was not forced upon him by his adversaries. Richard himself in this genuine narrative holds no language which can induce a belief of this nature; he never hints at a wish to lay aside the burden of power in his message to Chester, his conference with Northumberland, or consultation with his little band of friends. On the contrary, he contemplates the future exercise of it in retaliation upon his aggressors, and merely in a general way accedes to the propositions of the earl, that he may escape from a part of his difficulties, with the confident expectation of his entire ability to screen his faithful servants. Salisbury, Scroope, and Merks, the only three present of those who were threatened with prosecution, are satisfied with his assurance of protection, and agree that at all hazards it would be well to close with the duke's conditions of peace.

But the king's pretended readiness to abandon his high estate was more industriously endeavoured to be established by an artifice that reflects little credit upon his successor. The story of what passed at Conway relative to the negociation is given in the text with such an appearance of truth, and is so coherent in all its parts, that it may very properly be taken to correct the variety of suspicious statements with which ignorance or wilfulness have clouded the affair. One of these is of too grave a kind to be passed over. Comparing it with the statements of our author, I am reluctantly compelled to look upon the ground of Richard's retirement from the throne, given in the Roll of Resignation deposited in the

Archives

¹ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 358.

we have spoken with Duke Henry, we will then take our way through Wales ; and if he should ask us wherefore we do so, we will tell him that there is no victuals (not a penny-worth) the other way, since his people and his army have wasted every thing, and that we are going

Archives of England, to be a gross fabrication published by Henry IV. for purposes of state. In order to colour the transaction and make the renunciation appear more voluntary than it really was, it is entered upon the roll that the Earl of Northumberland in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commissioners in the Tower, "remembered King Richard of his promise made to *the said Archbishop*, and to him *the said earl at Conway* in Wales, *at what time the same King Richard was at liberty*, how that he, for certain defaults and inabilities in himself to rule, would renounce and give up the crowns of England and France, with the whole rule of the same, and that by the best advice that could be devised ; King Richard thereto mildly answered, that he would willingly accomplish the same."¹

Now from the narrative before us it is evident, and we repeat it, that when the king was at Conway he had no intention to resign ; nor had any thing of this kind been proposed to him : every part of the negotiation contradicts it. "You shall be crowned king and lord," says Northumberland, "and he shall be chief judge. He desires to have nothing that belongs to you, for you are his rightful lord. Pardon him his offence, and he will sue for mercy on his knees before you." *Neither was the archbishop present at the interview ; nor did he ever meet the king till they came to Flint. Northumberland entered the fortress of Conway alone.* The truth might be, that afterwards at Flint, when he was in duress, and his spirit was humbled by affliction, he might admit of his inability to reign ; and in the private conversation that he had there with Arundel, under the influence of fear, a concession might have been obtained from him. His answer to Henry's address to him in the court of that castle seems to shew it. But though he talked at times of being ruined, and apprehended the duke's design to depose him, and warned him by the Duke of Exeter of the guilt and danger of such an attempt, he never appears to have seriously thought of giving way till he was made a prisoner. The reason then is evident why *Conway* was inserted in the roll instead of *Flint* ; for at the latter place it might be known that the king was not his own master ; and if a voluntary offer of abdication must be set to his account, it must be proved that he made it when his person was at liberty. At Conway he made no such offer, and from the day that he left that fortress he was in the hands of his enemies.

¹ Cotton's Abridgement, p. 385. There is an overstrained affectation of cheerful acquiescence in the report of his renunciation, which defeats itself. The parties are all very courteous, and happy in each other's society while it lasts. "After familiar talk had between the king, the duke, and archbishop, the instrument was ordered to be read ; but the king *willingly and cheerfully* took and read it throughout." The whole is curious ; and, I fear, in many particulars, a piece of deliberately recorded falsehood. Ut supra, p. 386.

that way, lest provisions fail us. Thus will we say to him, if it seem good unto you, and I believe that he will readily agree to it. The earl hath told us so. And when we shall have found our people assembled, we will display our banners to the wind, and suddenly march with vigour against him. For I am sure of it, as of my death, that when they shall behold my arms, they will be so sorry at heart for the wrong that they have done unto me, that the half of those who have gone along with him, will desert him, and indeed come over to us. For good and faithful heart can never prove false ; and nature will bring to their remembrance, that during my life, they ought to hold me as their rightful lord. You will then see them come to us straightways, and you will know that we have right (*on our side*). God, if we trust in him, will aid us. If we are not so much in our place as they shall be, yet, please God, they shall not chuse but fight us ; and if they be in any wise discomfited they shall be put to death. There are some of them whom I will flay alive. I would not take all the gold in the land for them ; please God, I continue alive and well."

Thus the king spake unto them, and they all agreed thereto, saying, "Sire, let the Earl of Northumberland be sent for, and let him forthwith be made to take the oath,^v as he hath declared he will, if we will consent to all that he hath said." Then was the earl without farther parley called, and the king said to him, "Northumberland, the duke

^v In the MS. *Ambassades* the ceremony of taking the oath is adopted upon the advice of Merks. "The Bishop of Carlisle approved of the peace, but suggested that Northumberland should be made to swear upon the gospel and on the body of our Lord, that what he said was true. The others approving of this advice, Northumberland was called in, and the proposition made to him, which he readily acceded to. Mass was then said ; the oath administered to Northumberland, and after dinner he set off to Flint before the king, on pretence of making preparations for the king's supper, and apprising the duke of what had happened ; but stopping at his ambush desired his men to be in readiness."

We have here another proof that the writer of that MS. was not present at Conway ; for our eye-witness mentions in more than one place that the king *dined* at Rhuddlan.

¹ MS. *Ambassades*, p. 135. Mr. Allen's Extracts.

ILLUMINATION XII.



hath sent you hither to reconcile us two; if you will swear upon the body of our Lord, which we will cause to be consecrated, that the whole of the matter related by you is true, that you have no hidden design therein of any kind whatsoever; but that like a notable lord you will surely keep the agreement, — we will perform it. For well I know that you are honourable (*preudons*), and would not perjure yourself for any bride. For the man who perjureth himself knoweth that he must live in disgrace, and die of it at last in great sorrow." Then replied the earl, "Sire, let the body of our Lord be consecrated. I will swear that there is no deceit in this affair; and that the duke will observe the whole as you have heard me relate it here." Each of them devoutly heard mass :^u then the earl without farther hesitation made oath upon the body of our Lord. Alas! his blood must have turned (*at it*), for he well knew to the contrary ;

(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE XII.)

yet would he take the oath,^w as you have heard, for the accomplishment of his desire, and the performance of that which he had

^u The translator, in the course of his enquiries, not long since took this metrical history and compared it upon the spot with the castle of Conway. There he recognised the venerable arch of the eastern window of the chapel still entire, where must have stood the altar at which this mass was performed, when the fatal oath was taken. The chapel, in which Richard conferred with his friends, is at the eastern extremity of the hall.

^w Unfortunately this is not a solitary instance of such abominable depravity. Sir Emeric of Pavia, Captain of the castle of Calais, in 22 Edw. III. swore upon the sacrament to Lord Geoffry Charney that he would deliver up that castle to him for 20,000 crowns of gold: but he communicated the secret to the King of England, and the French were foiled in their attempt. "A thing," says Barnes, "scarce credible among Christians;"¹ though he obscurely adduces another case of the same nature in his own time. Too many more might be found to add to the melancholy list. It must be admitted that the abuse
of

¹ Barnes, *Life of King Edward III.* p. 492.

promised to the duke, who had sent him to the king. Thus was the

of absolution by the church perniciously weakened the effect of such bonds of conscience, and encouraged the crime; but some periods seem more particularly infected with these blots upon the page of history; and certainly the age in which the metrical history was written had been profligate in the highest degree, with regard to what Lydgate calls, "assured othes at fine untrewes."

Richard and Bolingbroke appear to have been both guilty of this species of perjury. The first is accused¹ with having broken a corporeal oath, in the instance of his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, and one of another description sworn to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Carte, ever ready to vindicate the king at all hazards, treats these accusations with contempt. "The substance of the charge," he says, "is either false, trifling, or impertinent."² But it is easier to deny than to disprove: he has not attempted to make it clear that the allegations are untrue; and unless he could have done it, they can never be looked upon as "trifling or impertinent." They came indeed from Richard's enemies, who stuck at nothing which could blacken his character, or make him appear unworthy of his exalted station; but there is much in his own conduct which might dispose an impartial person to suspect, that these are not aspersions that could easily have been refuted, even at the time in which they were advanced. It may be inferred that he had imbibed no serious impressions of the solemnity of oaths from the levity of an observation made by him at the installation of Scroope, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, August 9, 1386. After that prelate had sworn to be faithful to the church according to the prescribed form, the king, in the hearing of all present, and apparently, as the Lichfield historian³ represents it, in the most idle manner observed to him, *Certe, domini, magnum præstitisti juramentum*. Without the slightest wish to overstrain the bearing of these words for the establishment of a point, I cannot but consider that they clearly admit of the interpretation which has been assigned to them.

Henry of Lancaster was also manifestly perjured as to the oaths upon the sacrament which he took at Doncaster and Chester, to assure the public of the unambitious views with which he designed to carry on his proceedings. If charity might incline us at first to believe, with Daniel,⁴

"That then his oath with his intent agreed;"

a closer

¹ See Article of Accusation, XXXII. et alibi.

² Hist. of England, II. p. 636. In another place he roundly asserts, that Richard "had a strict regard to truth." Ib. p. 340. So far as common promises went, as he often capriciously changed his mind under the influence of those around him, it does not seem that he had a great respect for his word. We have seen that his breaking the solemn assurance given to Salisbury, to come over from Ireland within six days, deprived him of the aid of an army, and probably as much as any thing, lost him a crown.

³ Gul. Whitlocke, contin. Hist. Lichfield, in Anglia Sacra, pars prima, p. 450.

⁴ Daniel's Poems, Civil War, b. 1.

agreement made between them; the one had bad intentions, and the other still worse; but as for the king, his offence was not so great; for it is often said, "necessity hath no law;" neither did he make oath or agreement, like the earl; hereafter he will come to a shameful death.

a closer investigation of his temper and behaviour from his first setting foot on shore to his calling together the parliament, shews that his mind was bent upon a higher aim. The challenge of the Percys sent to him before the battle of Shrewsbury,¹ and Scroope's manifesto² tax him with perjury in the most unqualified manner.

The grossest perjury was lightly thought of, and unblushingly committed in England.³ The citizens of Lincoln were notorious for it;⁴ and the biographer⁵ of Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, commends him for the steps that he took to expel it from the courts of inquest and assize in his diocese. Sir Roger Fulthorpe, one of the judges, was guilty of this offence;⁶ and all the members, peers, clergy, and commons, of the vindictive parliament of 1397, swore to observe every judgment, ordinance, and declaration made therein; and were afterwards as little mindful of their obligation as if it had never been entered into. "What reliance could be placed on such oaths," says Lingard, "it is difficult to conceive. Of the very men who now swore, the greater part had sworn the contrary ten years before; and as they violated that oath now, so did they violate the present before two years more had elapsed."⁷

Not a little of this general depravity may be attributable, I fear, to the evil example and arbitrary authority of the king; who, when he found his power declining, more than ever adopted this injurious mode of securing the obedience of his subjects. At that time, as it is found at all other times, the frequent requirement of these sacred pledges lessened the respect due to them; and whether they were by the cross of Canterbury, or the shrine of Saint Edward, the Holy Evangelists, or the body of our Lord, they produced little or no impression; or they were deliberately undertaken with mental reservation, and rendered subservient to the purpose of the day.

¹ Hardyng, p. 352.

² Articuli advers. Hen. IV. Angl. regem. *Anglia Sacra*, pars secunda, p. 360, et seq.

³ Truth, according to Christina of Pisa, was as little regarded in France:

Verité, depuis le greigneur malstre
Jusqu' au petit, si a peine trouvee
Fust comme elle est: c'est b'n chose senestre
Qu'en France soit si mençoigne eslevee.

MSS. Harl. 4478. Boudok f. 45, b.

⁴ Stat. 13 Ric. II. stat. 1. c. 18.

⁵ Capgrave in *Anglia Sacra*, pt. ii. p. 360.

⁶ Knighton, col. 2692, 2696.

⁷ Hist. of Engl. III. p. 250.

for it, unless he make reckoning with God by repentance; * because that which he did surpasseth all other evil deeds. For, in my opinion, when you shall have heard the whole, no other deed beareth resemblance to it; and † because he goeth on with success, he ruleth and

* The warmth with which he indulges his expectation of righteous retribution leads him into an expression as to the fate of Northumberland which was remarkably verified. The supposed causes of his dispute with Henry IV. are given in note b, page 127; but, in our uncertainty of the real ground of his disaffection, it is not unreasonable to imagine that all the Percys deeply regretted the part they had taken against Richard II. The earl from being Lancaster's greatest friend became his bitterest enemy. Their union lasted no longer than 1403, and in that and the four following years he was concerned in three risings against him, and shuffled on through a round of opposition and abject excuses, of rebellion and suing for mercy. He might have calculated upon the security derived from his distance from the seat of government, his position and influence upon the borders, and upon the king's fear of his power, or privy to transactions, the publication of which might have injured Henry's reputation: but something of judicial infatuation accompanied all his efforts. Outliving his accomplished and respected brother, and his eldest son, the darling of England, who perished at Shrewsbury, he was himself at last slain in an obscure affair with the sheriff of Yorkshire February 19, 1407-8, and his corpse was treated with all the studied ignominy customarily applied to the extreme punishment of traitors. Drake, after speaking of the skirmish at Bramham Moor, has the following passage. "The Earl of Northumberland, the chief instrument in deposing Richard and raising up Henry, after having the misfortune to live to see most of his family cut off before him, he the stock and root of the name of Piercy, was miserably slain at this battle. *His head, covered with silver hairs, being put upon a stake, was carried in a kind of mock procession through all the towns to London, and there placed on the bridge, where, says my author, (Holinshed) it long stood as a monument of divine justice.*"¹ And Walsingham,² from whom both writers copy, affectingly, and with more than his usual taste, applies to the same event a quotation from Lucan, descriptive of the impression produced by the ghastly sight.

"Nos nec sanguis, nec tantum vulnera nostri
Affecere senis, quantum gestata per urbes
Ora ducis, quæ transfixo deformia pilo
Vidimus."³

† This is an obscure passage; and, according to one of the readings may, perhaps, signify, *As for the man who goeth right forward, &c.* contrasting such conduct and its consequences through life with that of the parties of whom he is speaking: but I cannot determine whether the observation of the author is referable to Northumberland, or is intended to be general.

¹ Hist. of York, b. 1. c. 4. p. 106.

² Hist. Angl. p. 377.

³ Pharsalia, l. ix. 136.

liveth in great prosperity, and governeth in peace; until death cometh, which awaiteth each of us every hour; which devoureth all indeed, great and small; before whose strokes nothing can stand. A most ill-savoured morsel is this (*death*). God grant that it may seize us in such a state that in the blessed heavens we may behold his face, and that he may be merciful towards us at the latter day.

To return to our former affair. The earl besought the king to set out, saying, "Sire, I pray you, let us think of our journey, for well I know that the duke hath great desire to learn if peace is made."—Alas! the king knew nothing of the mischief, nor of the earl's desire, who wished to deceive him in manner as you may here behold. The king said to him, "We can set out when you will; but I think it right that you should go on before to Rhuddlan, that dinner may be prepared there." "Just as you please," replied the earl, and departed. King Richard soon followed him. The earl rode on till he saw all his men under the mountain; and then was he well pleased, when he saw that they were careful with good order and prudence to guard the pass. So he related unto them the whole matter, how he had succeeded; and that the king would presently come to them. Every one of them was much rejoiced at it, for they had very great desire to get possession of their lord. The king set out after him from Conway, and on his road to Rhuddlan: he passed the very broad and great water; and then rode on four miles, till he mounted the rock where the earl was concealed at the descent.* When he beheld them he was greatly astonished, saying,

* A late writer¹ places this scene in one of the deep bottoms near Llandulas; Penant² conjectures it to have been about the precipice of Penmaen Rhos. Much of the coast to the eastward of Saint Orme's head seems to partake of this rocky character.

Daniel, who works up Stow's materials, has given the following description of the spot; and in some respects, it forms no bad comment upon the text.

A place there is where proudly rais'd there stands
A huge aspiring rock, neighb'ring the skies,

¹ Thomas, *Memoirs of Owen Glyndwr*, p. 35.
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² *Tour in Wales*, I. p. 45.

"I am betrayed! what can this be? Lord of heaven help me!" Then were they known by their banners, that might be seen floating. "I think," said he, "it is the earl who hath drawn us forth upon his oath." Then were all in bitter dread. I could have wished myself at that time in France; for I saw them almost in despair; and by good right one ought not to be surprised that they were all in distress, for not a man of them could get away from that place to flee, without being stopped or taken. But, that I may be understood, I must tell you how that the king had come so near to them that it was much farther to return to the town than to descend the rock, which was washed by the main sea. We could not get away on the other side owing to the rock. So that, cost what it might, we were forced either to die or pass on into the midst of the body of the earl's people. He appeared armed in mail. There did the king demean him so very sorrowfully, that it was pity to behold; oftentimes did he say, "O true God, what mischief and trouble do I under-

Whose surly brow imperiously commands
 The sea his bounds, that at his proud foot lies;
 And spurns the waves, that in rebellious bands
 Assault his empire, and against him rise.
 Under whose craggy government there was
 A niggard narrow way, for men to pass.
 And here, in hidden cliffs, concealed lay
 A troop of armed men, to intercept
 The unsuspecting king; that had no way
 To free his foot, that into danger stept:
 The dreadful ocean on the one side lay;
 The hard encroaching mountain th'other kept.¹

It may seem strange that, before he descended, when he had a view of them from the vantage-ground, he did not turn about and make an attempt to fly. But he probably caught sight of them at some turn in the road: certainly it was so managed that he should be very near them before he made the discovery; and it would have been almost impossible to have escaped, as he had so far to go back, and moreover was on the wrong side of the water from Conway. The writer asserts that they were obliged to continue their course down the mountain road. This is farther elucidated in MS. *Ambassades*,² which informs us that the king alighted to walk down the hill on account of its steepness.

¹ Civil War, b. 1.

² MS. *Ambassades*, p. 136. Mr. Allen's Extracts.

go! Now do I plainly see that this man is taking me to the duke who loves us not. O Virgin Mary! sovereign queen! have mercy upon me; for if thou deignest not to look upon me, I know of a truth that I am lost." Thus spake the king, who on that spot had no power, for we were but twenty, it appeared to me, or two and twenty.^a So every one descended the lofty rock to the great grief of the king. And

^a All things conspire to shew the deserted condition in which the king was now placed. Some of the MSS. mention, see p. 77, note v, that when Richard rode away from the army at Milford-haven, he was accompanied by a body of horse; but, if this were true, they soon deserted him. Secrecy being a great object in his flight, the account of our narrative is more worthy of credit, which limits the number of attendants on that journey to thirteen, see p. 91. Of these we afterwards hear nothing concerning the Duke of Gloucester, or the Bishops of Lincoln and Saint David's; and as little is said of the hundred men, see p. 71, who came over with the Earl of Salisbury from Ireland. After the departure of the Dukes of Exeter and Surrey, the whole party, nobles and others, then at Conway, are estimated at only sixteen; and all that could be mustered as an escort in this perilous undertaking amounted to no more than twenty-one. The principal persons composing this troop, as they are distinctly enumerated shortly after their capture, were, exclusive of the king, the Earl of Salisbury, the Bishop of Carlisle, Sir Stephen Scroope, Jenico, Ferriby, the author and his companion; the rest might be inferior servants of the court, or mere domestics. Among these unquestionably was the famous Owen Glyndwr, ¹ at that time a squire in Richard's service; ² and probably Gwillim ap Tudor, another Welsh squire about his person, whom he had retained with a pension of ten pounds in the preceding year; ³ and who afterwards, together with his brother Rhys, as generals under Glyndwr, struggled against Henry IV. in the Welsh war: perhaps also may be added to the list John Pallet and Richard Seimer; should these personages not be fictitious whom Hall ⁴ introduces as assured servants of the king, endeavouring at Flint to favour his escape. Pennant places Perkin a Legh among them; but the head of the unfortunate Perkin, see p. 65, was already set upon one of the gates of Chester; and if he had been with them, considering the nature of his case, and what is said in commendation of Jenico's loyalty, it is not likely that the writer would have omitted to note him or his suffering for the sake of Richard.

¹ Pennant, *Tour in Wales*, p. 304.

² Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. p. 716, b. He says Owen had been squire to the Earl of Arundel. Pennant, however, ut supra, concludes that he was knighted before the deposal of Richard.

³ *Calend. Rot. Pat.* p. 234, 1 p. 22 Ric. II. No. 20.

⁴ *Union of the Families of Lancaster and York*, *Introduc.* f. 6. He may be right as to the names and existence of these men; but I cannot give him credit for the story of Richard's flight.

Salisbury said to him frequently, as one utterly astounded, "Now see I well, that I am certain to be a dead man, for Duke Henry surely beareth a great hatred towards me. Alas! wherefore have we trusted the earl upon his faith? certes, it hath been our utter ruin. But it is too late. May Jesus, in whom I believe, vouchsafe to help us!" While thus they discoursed, it came to pass that we drew near to them, as it might be, the distance of a good bow-shot; when the earl came and kneeled quite to the ground,

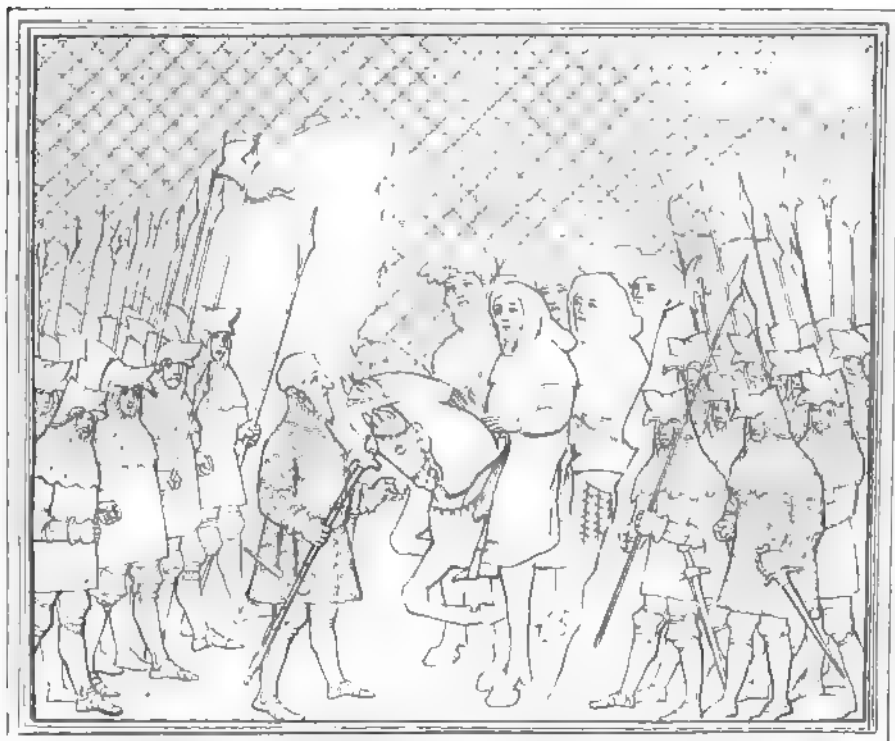
(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE XIII.)

saying to the king, "Be not displeased, my rightful lord, that I should come to seek you for your better security; for the country, as you know, is disturbed by war." Then said the king, "I could very well go without so many people as you have brought here. I think this is not what you promised me. You told me that you had been sent with only five others. This is very ill done, considering the oath that you made. You do not seem to me to be sound in your loyalty, having thus taken post around this place. Depend upon it, I shall return to Conway that I left this day." Then said the earl, "My lord, you accuse me of dishonour; but I solemnly declare,* that since I have you here, I will bring you to Duke Henry as directly as I may; for you must know that I made him such a promise these ten days past."b Then he

* He repeats his oath, taken in the chapel, in a most revolting manner; in the omission of which the principle of giving the text unmutated may for once be set aside.

b "Richard mounted on horseback, with twenty-one attendants; and going down a mountain on the road on foot, and looking into the valley, he said to the Earl of Salisbury, 'Do you not see below banners and streamers?' the Earl of Salisbury answered, 'Certainly, Sire, I do; and my heart forebodes ill:' and the Bishop of Carlisle said, 'I suspect that man has betrayed you.' At the same time they saw the Earl of Northumberland coming to them with eleven others. 'Sire,' said he, 'I am come to meet you.' The king asked who the people were he saw below in the valley. 'I have seen none,' said Northumberland. 'Look before you then,' said the Earl of Salisbury; 'there they are.' 'They are your men,' said the bishop, 'I know your banner.' — 'Northumberland,' said the king, 'if I thought you capable of betraying me, it is not yet, perhaps, too late for me to return to Conway.' — 'You shall not return thither,' replied the traitor, throwing off

ILLUMINATION XIII.



caused bread and wine to be brought; himself would present it to the king, who considering his power durst not refuse what the earl chose to command. When this was over they re-mounted, went on straight to Rhuddlan, and dined sumptuously in the strong castle there.

Dinner being ended, Northumberland drew out his people, being very diligent to ride on directly to Chester, where Duke Henry was awaiting the earl with a great number of men. He was much surprised at his delay; for he knew nothing of the business that the earl had achieved, how he was bringing the king in his host. From Rhuddlan, immediately after dinner, without further delay, we went on straight to Flint, where we alighted. It had been yielded to the duke without any resistance; and into this castle on the morrow did he come to take King Richard, and the whole of his party, as you shall presently hear. Alas! the mourning that he made that night in private you may well imagine.^c He had reason enough for it; seeing that on every side he

off the mask, and seizing the bridle of the king's horse: 'I shall conduct you to the Duke of Lancaster, as I have promised him; for I do not break all my promises.'" Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 230. Bishop Percy's MS note upon the accompanying illumination gives a very different colouring to the transaction, and indicates great inattention to the contents of the original, or peculiar tenderness to the memory of the earl. "As the king goes towards Chester, he finds a party of soldiers belonging to the Earl of Northumberland placed in a valley; the earl, who had gone before, being at their head; who tells the king he had placed these men to guard him to Chester, as the country was all in arms, &c. The king, alarmed, offers to turn back; but *the earl dissuades him; and prevails on him to take some refreshment of bread and wine.*" (This is much misrepresented by Carte.)

^c The lamentations of Richard given in the MS. Ambassades agree in the main with those in the text; but are rather longer, and involve some curious particulars, intermixed with invocations to the Deity, the Virgin, and Saint John the Baptist, and many appeals to his friends in France. Among other things he exclaims, "Ah! dear cousin of Brittany! — Alas! you said truly, at your departure, that I should never be safe while Henry of Lancaster was alive. Alas! thrice have I saved his life! for once my dear uncle of Lancaster, on whom God have mercy! would have put him to death, for the treason and villainy he had been guilty of. All night did I ride to preserve him from death, and his father yielded him to my request, telling me to do with him as I pleased. How true is the saying, that we have no greater enemy than the man we save from the gallows! — Once he drew his sword on me in the chamber of the queen, on whom God have mercy! He was of the council of the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel; he consented to my

beheld his enemies, like tyrants, all ready and desirous to put him to death. On that night greatly did he call upon his consort, the daughter of the king of France, saying thus, "My dearest heart, my sister, I bid you farewell. For love of you am I thus detained; for never have I deserved of my people to be so basely ruined. But if it be thy pleasure that I should die, Ah Jesu Christ! vouchsafe to guide my soul to heaven, for escape or fly I cannot. Alas! father-in-law of France! never shall I see you more. Your daughter I leave unto you, among these false and wicked and faithless people. Wherefore I am almost in despair. For she was my joyous delight. Heaven grant that as soon as you shall know this affair, you may one day speedily avenge it; that no one may blame you for it. The matter concerneth you; soon may you hear of it. Alas! I have neither vessels, men, nor money, at present to send to you; but I leave it to you. It is now too late. Alas! wherefore did we trust Northumberland, who hath delivered us into the hand of wolves? I fear that we are all dead men, for these people here have no pity. May they be utterly confounded!" *

Thus spake the king at that time to Salisbury, who made greater lamentation than I ever beheld: so did the Bishop of Carlisle. As for all the rest, not one of them went to sleep that night.^d

Northumberland sent word to Duke Henry that very night that he was bringing the king. The messenger arrived at Chester just at break

my death, that of his father, and all my council. All his offences towards me have I pardoned; nor would I believe my uncle, his father, who two or three times condemned him to death."¹ Some of these are allusions to facts, no other traces of which, I believe, are to be found in history. One cannot be surprised if, with this impression and knowledge of the character and disposition of Henry towards him, he should have yielded to gloomy anticipations.

* The strength of this execration, far less qualified in the original, and quite at variance with the pious resignation of many of his former expressions, the translator felt himself called upon to modify.

^d At one o'clock the Bishop of Carlisle exhorted them to submit to their fate with resignation; on which they ceased bewailing themselves, and went to bed. MS. Ambassadors, p. 139. Mr. Allen's Extracts.

¹ Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 222.

of day. He related to the duke the whole affair of King Richard, who stayed at Flint. It gave him great pleasure and joy at heart; and with good reason, for there was nothing in the world that he more desired. The whole of his host was encamped about Chester, and took up much of the country. Then he caused it to be proclaimed that every one should be forthwith ready to accompany him, wherever he might lead them, and the English sounded many a trumpet. Now will I tell you of the taking of the king, without seeking for any more rhymes,^e that I may the better set down the whole of the words that passed between these two at their meeting; because I think I thoroughly remember them. So I will relate them in prose; for it seems that (*in verse*) one sometimes adds or brings together too many words to the matter whereof one is treating. Now may he who made us in his own likeness punish all those who committed this outrage.

(*I shall treat*) in this part, of the afflictions and sorrows of King Richard in the castle of Flint, when he awaited the coming of the Duke of Lancaster; who set out from the city of Chester on Tuesday the 22d day of August, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1399, with the whole of his force; which I heard estimated by many knights and squires at upwards of one hundred thousand men, marshalled in battle array, marching along the sea shore with great joy and satisfaction, and eager also to take their rightful and natural lord King Richard; who, early on the morning of the said Tuesday, arose, attended by sorrows, sadness, afflictions; mourning, weeping, and lamentations:

^e Specimens of this style of breaking off from verse to prose may be seen in the Fabliau of Aucassin and Nicollete, and in Christina de Pisa's poem *Du duc des vrais amans*.¹ The author truly states the disadvantages under which rhyming historians must labour: but his own performance is a refutation of the stigma cast upon historical poetry by a romance writer of the twelfth century:—"Nuz contes rymez n'en est vrais: tot mensonge ce qu'ils dient."²

¹ MSS. Harl. 4431. xviii. f. 161, 168, et alibi.

² Warton, Hist. Eng. Poet. I. p. 135, note.

he heard mass most devoutly, like a true catholic, with his good friends, the Earl of Salisbury, the Bishop of Carlisle, Sir Stephen Scroope, and another knight, named Ferriby, who for no adversity, nor any disaster that befel the king, would desert, or relinquish him. There was moreover with them one who was son of the Countess of Salisbury,^f whom King Richard had newly knighted in Ireland, together with the eldest son of the Duke of Lancaster, and many others, as I have told you in the first part of this treatise. There was likewise Jenico, a Gascon squire, who showed well the true love that he had for King Richard; for never, for threats of knights or squires, nor for any entreaty whatever, would he put off the device of his lord the king, to wit, the hart,^g

^f Not of the *old* Countess of Salisbury; as in MS. *Ambassades*, p. 134; her only son was unfortunately slain in a tournament at Windsor during the life time of his father.¹ But this was the son of the wife of the present earl, by one of her former husbands, Sir Alan Buxhull or Boxhull, fifty-second knight of the Garter, sometime Chamberlain to Edward III. and Constable of the Tower of London at the beginning of this reign: he tarnished his reputation by being concerned with those who violated sanctuary in the abbey of Westminster, and committed murder in the church,² Ric. II. in the singular affair of Shakell and Hawle, for which he was excommunicated. Young Sir Alan was now about eighteen years old; for, in 3 Hen. IV. when he had livery of his lands in Sussex, he is stated to have been upwards of one and twenty.³ He died without issue; and the name of Buxhull was taken by Richard Godui of Wateringbury, nigh Malling, who had married into the family.³

The present earl had a son by this lady, who was eleven or twelve years of age; but had he been intended by the historian, he would have spoken of him in a different manner.

^g The white hart kneeling, a crown about his neck, and chained Or, Richard's favourite livery, adopted from the Holands; and which is probably the origin of many of those signs exhibited at Inns throughout England to the present hour. An old writer on the subject of Heraldry says, that he took the white harts for his supporters. "Kyng Richard the II. d. forsoke the two antloppys for hys bests, and toke two whyt hertys, beryng up the armys with her bakys."⁴ The mode of decorating armories by placing the

¹ Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. p. 648.

² *Calend. Inquis. ad quod damnum*, p. 348, b.

³ Short pedigree of Boxhull, MSS. Harl. 6148. f. 79. art. 22.

⁴ MSS. Harl. 2259. f. 76. compiled about the reign of Hen. VI.

saying, "Now, God forbid, that for mortal man, I should put off the order of my rightful lord, save at his own command." So that at last it came to the knowledge of the Duke of Lancaster, who caused him to be led shamefully and basely to the castle of Chester, expecting from day to day that they would cut off his head; for such was the common report of the people; and yet, as I have since heard, he was not put to death for it;^b but I can assure you that he was the last who bore the order of King Richard in England; and there he plainly shewed that he was not easily inclined to treason,ⁱ nor descended from the race of

the shield between two animals, similar to the bearing or cognisance, arose about this time.¹

He distributed them very widely among his friends and dependents.² In Rymer, VIII. p. 13, is a summons to the sheriffs of different counties, "Pro gerentibus liberatam de Cervo, ad equitandum cum rege." Henry, knowing the effect it might produce, was anxious to get rid of the hart entirely, and for that purpose general prohibitions were enacted against liveries and signs; though he would not condescend to publish his apprehensions of this livery in particular by causing it to be specified in the statute.³ He found, however, that when any attempt was to be excited against him, the harts were sure to make their appearance. The army that Hotspur brought down to Lichfield and Shrewsbury bore them;⁴ and the old Countess of Oxford, mother of the late Duke of Ireland, sent little gold and silver harts in Richard's name to several persons,⁵ when, in 1404, he was reported to be alive in Scotland.

It is well known that Westminster Hall presents a profusion of them: they are also to be seen in Gloucester cathedral painted on the capitals of the two pillars, between which stands the tomb of Edward II. It is not improbable that Richard himself caused them to be blazoned there.

^b S'il le fit mourir ou non je ne scay. MS. Ambassadee, f. 142.

ⁱ Or readily inclined to change sides: in the original *favorable de legier*. The evident application of the terms *faveur* and *favorable* seems very peculiar; and is not satisfactorily made out by reference to any Glossary that I have met with. But in justification of either
of

¹ Dallaway, Inquiries, pp. 97, 98.

² Walsing. Ypod. Neustr. p. 562.

³ Stat. 1. H. IV. c. 7.

⁴ Pennant, Tour, p. 337.

⁵ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 370.

them. As to their breed and nature, they are readily disposed to treason, holding, as they do, evermore with the most powerful, and him that maketh the best shew, without regard to right, law, reason, or justice. Neither is this any new thing; for many a time have they undone and destroyed their king and lord, as may be known from divers histories and chronicles.^k And in order that I may not go too far from the matter that I have opened, I will say no more for the present of their nature and condition, but return to King Richard, who, having heard

of the above interpretations, I must refer to the MS. where *faveur* is almost always used in a bad sense. In f. 11. a. l. 18. the writer speaks of the duke having taken possession of the greater part of England *par faveur* si estranges, oncques ne vy pieur; and in f. 25, b. l. 27, 28, he couples it with treason, *faveur* et trayson: f. 73 a. l. 2. he says that Richard loved the king of France *sans faveur*, without dissimulation, most sincerely: then as to *favorable*, f. 41, a. l. 1. the king exhorts Northumberland to perform the whole of what he promised, *sans avoir pensee favorable*, nulle quelconques, *mais fermez et estable*; a clear indication of it's signification; and again, l. 18, the earl declares in answer, Je jureray qu'il n'a point de *faveur* en ce fait cy.

^k It is easy to perceive to what parts of our history he alludes; and, indeed, such was the general disrepute of the English upon this head, among a nation who valued themselves upon their indiscriminate attachment to the persons of their princes, that the disloyalty of England became proverbial among them. This stigma is included in the following satirical review of national characters distinguished by their opposite qualities.

Largesse	de Francoys,
Loyaulté	d'Angloys,
Patience	d'Almant,
Humilité	de Normant,
Labour	de Picart,
Pitié	de Lombart,
Sens	de Breton,
Conscience	de Bourgoignon,
Confession	de Beguine,
Acomtance	de pouvre meschine,
TOUT NE VAULT UNE POYTEVINE. ¹	

A Poitevine is a coin of small value, formerly struck in Poitou.

¹ MSS. Harl. 4472. Petis dicties. f. 14

mass, went up upon the walls of the castle, which are large and wide on the inside, beholding the Duke of Lancaster as he came along the sea-shore with all his host. It was marvellously great, and shewed such joy and satisfaction that the sound and bruit of their instruments,¹ horns, buisines,^m and trumpets, were heard even as far as the castle.

¹ The band would have received a strong accession of military musicians from the famous minstrels of Chester. See Burney, II. pp. 358, 359. The family of Northumberland had always several minstrels in pay.

I cannot but indulge in the idea that a diligent search into the reliques of the Welsh bards might bring to light some vestiges of the attachment of that nation to the king. The praises of Owen Glyndwr are still in existence;¹ and I trust that it may not be deemed too light or fanciful a suggestion, that the ancient popular Welsh air of "Sweet Richard," might have been the production of some contemporary bard; and that it long served to keep alive the feeling of regret for his fate. I should be the more inclined to the supposition, had it been constructed in the favourite minor key. But the title cannot exclusively prove that the composition is amatory; and its words, if it had any, might be as encomiastic and expressive of political and personal affection towards the monarch, as those in the Scotch ballad of "Lewie Gordon" are towards the Chevalier, to whom in some copies the same epithet is applied.

^m Writers are not agreed as to the instrument described by the term *buisine*. It seems to have been a wind instrument of considerable effect, and much in vogue. It was made of metal; Ces buisines d'arein resonent.²

And had great power;

Il faisoit terre trembler
Des buisines et des taburs.³

It was not straight;

Ces buisines et cors croçus.⁴

And it is distinguished from the "trompe;"

Mainte bosine et mainte trompe.⁵

Roquefort concludes it to have been a trumpet; and derives it from "*buccina*;"⁶ but in the text it is coupled with that instrument. In a translation of the Bible of the twelfth

¹ Pennant, Tour, p. 311. ² Roman d'Athis et Prophilias. Roquefort De l'état de la Poesie, &c. p. 118.

³ Tournoiment d' Ante-Christ. Ibid. p. 119.

⁴ Baudouin de Condé in Le Dit des Heraults; alluding to distorted persons. Ibid. p. 121.

⁵ Ut supra, p. 119.

⁶ The resemblance of the word *buisine* to *bassoon* is too striking to be overlooked, though the latter has, perhaps, a different derivation. But see Burney, II. 388.

Then did he commend himself into the holy keeping of our Lord and of all the saints of heaven in this manner.

"Alas! now see I plainly that the end of my days draweth nigh, since I must needs be delivered into the hands of mine enemies, who mortally hate me that have never deserved it. Surely, Earl of Northumberland, thou shouldst have great fear and dread of heart, lest our Lord God take vengeance upon the sin which thou didst commit when thou swarest so foully by him to draw us forth from Conway, where we were right secure. Now for this may God reward thee."ⁿ

twelfth century it is thus introduced: "Ha, tu roy tu as mys descreet à chescun hom qe avera oy le soun de estive, de frestel, de harpe, de *busine*, de psaltrie, de symphans, et de totes maneres de musiks, soi abate et adoure l'ymage de or." Daniel, c. iii. ver. 10. The Latin version is *sambuca*: our translators have rendered it *sackbut*. Vitruvius says, that *sambuca* is a stringed instrument, and Papias, that it is a kind of rustic harp, *genus citharæ agrestis*; which would lead to a contradiction of what has been advanced as to the metal and power of the *buisine*.¹

Of wind instruments in their bands they had horns, nacaires, buisines, trumpets, large and small, and several sorts of flutes and flageolets; a list of these is given in the verses of a contemporary poet, Guillaume le Machault, in which he has enumerated all the instruments then in use.* But they also employed stringed instruments in their processions. In an illumination of a missal of this age minstrels are represented before David bearing the head of Goliath, one of whom, a female, is playing upon a kind of portable harp. A passage of Lydgate is decisive upon this point; and he writes as though he had an ear for music, in the description of the entry of Paris and Helen into Troy:

The shrille trompettys weryn areysed loude:
Up on the skye gothe the blessful sown,
When al this people entreth into the town.
And many another div's instrument
That al to forn in atte the gatis went
In sundry wise that made mellodye
That to heven the heavenly armonye
Be musik touched upon *strengre and corde*
So even in oon and justly they accorde
Hit wol an hert ravyshe in to joye.²

ⁿ Among the various reproaches cast upon Northumberland, I cannot discover the least allu-

¹ Roquefort, p. 129.

² Id. pp. 105, 106.

³ Boke of Troye, l. 11.

Thus spake King Richard to the Earl of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Carlisle, and to the two other knights, Sir Stephen Scroope and Ferriby, weeping most tenderly, and greatly lamenting upon the said walls of the castle. So that I firmly believe no creature in this mortal world, let him be who he would, Jew or Saracen, could have beheld these five together without being heartily sorry for them. While they were in this distress they saw a great number of persons quit the host, pricking their horses hard towards the castle, to know what King Richard was doing. In this first company was the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Percy, and the Earl of Rutland, whom Duke Henry had removed from his office of Constable of England, and from the dukedom of Aumarle, which he held aforetime of King Richard. But I firmly believe that he took them away from him for a pretence, and to blind the world, that no one might think that he knew any thing of the affair or of the treason, rather than for any other cause: and yet I know not whether he was at all acquainted with it;° but I am quite sure that he and Sir Thomas Percy, who had been steward to the king, that is to say in French, “Grand Maistre d’ostel,” set out from the port of Milford, and carried off his men and his property, in consequence of which, as I told you before, they were robbed in

allusion to what has been recorded by Froissart,¹ of the earl’s previous refusal to accompany the king into Ireland, and of Richard’s having consequently pronounced him a traitor, confiscated his estates, and sentenced him to banishment. It might be supposed that, as his character is brought so much into question, some such allusion would very naturally be made;² and the absence of it induces me to suspect that statement, which, I apprehend, rests solely upon the authority of the above historian, to be erroneous.

° This is a singular instance of hesitation, after what he has said of the Earl of Rutland, pp. 24, 45, 55, 99.

¹ Chronicles, XII. c. 16.

² The king when he sees the earl with so many followers, expresses an opinion of his disloyalty for the first time: see p. 146, and afterwards, more pointedly, p. 148; but never alludes to any thing that had occurred to bring it into suspicion before.

Wales;^p and they went over to the duke, as it appeared; for they came the very first to the castle of Flint, bearing the order of Duke Henry, not the hart. The archbishop entered first, and the others after him; they went up to the donjon. Then the king came down from the walls, to whom they made very great obeisance, kneeling on the ground. The king caused them to rise, and drew the archbishop aside; and they talked together a very long while. What they said I know not;^q but the Earl of Salisbury afterwards told me, that he had comforted the king in a very gentle manner, telling him not to be alarmed, and that no harm should happen to his person. The Earl of Rutland at that time said nothing to the king, but kept at as great a distance as he

^p He is rather guarded in speaking of the conduct of Sir Thomas, whose reputation stood high; and, perhaps for this reason, he never indulges in any expressions personally derogatory to him. Carte says, "The Earl of Worcester was really concerned for the king; but seeing no remedy, broke his rod in the great hall of Flint castle, and dissolved the household."¹ He did it, according to Walsingham, by desire of Richard, bidding them reserve themselves for better times.²

In going over to the duke, he came into contact with the archbishop, and his nephew the young Earl of Arundel; and must have been awkwardly situated, as, in quality of lay proctor for the bishops and clergy, he had given judgment for the banishment of the former, and had joined with the temporal lords in sentencing the father of the latter.³ Revolutions draw men into strange associations. The families of Lancaster and Arundel had themselves, not long before, been at mortal variance.⁴ As to Sir Thomas Percy, he had been much connected with that of Lancaster; had been trustee to the estates of Henry when he went into Prussia; and was one of the executors of John of Gant.⁵

Since the writer has not hinted at what afterwards befel Sir Thomas Percy, it is plain that the history must have been composed some time before the battle of Shrewsbury, and while the whole was fresh in his recollection.

^q This is the first conference that Richard has with the archbishop after his return from exile; and it might have been upon this occasion, that some proposition was made respecting abdication; see p. 138, note ^t; but the author was, naturally enough, only informed by Salisbury concerning the part that related to the security of the king's person.

¹ Hist. of Eng. II. p. 634.

² Hist. Angl. p. 358.

³ Cotton, p. 352. Parl. Hist. pp. 451, 452, 469.

⁴ Rymer, Fœdera, VII. p. 691.

⁵ Dugdale, Baronage, II. p. 119.

could from him, just as though he had been ashamed to see himself in his presence. They mounted their horses again, and returned to Duke Henry, who was drawing very nigh: for between the city of Chester and the castle, there are but ten little miles, which are equal to five French leagues, or thereabout. And there is neither hedge nor bush between them; nothing but the sea-shore, and on the other side lofty rocks and mountains. And be assured that he made a fine shew with them as they came; for they were right well marshalled, and their numbers were such, that, for mine own part, I never saw so many people together. I think that the chief captain of all the duke's army was Sir Henry Percy, whom they hold to be the best knight in England.^r

^r Henry, eldest son of Henry Percy first Earl of Northumberland, by Margaret his first wife, daughter to Ralph Lord Nevill; who, from an age in which valour, in the popular estimation, may be almost said to have been the "chiefest virtue," has transmitted a character for chivalrous achievement superior to most of the warriors of his time. He was as much the hope of England, in this respect, as the Black Prince before him, or Sir Philip Sidney in later days. Historians rarely mention him without admiration; his name is celebrated in ballads; and before his death he was referred to by pretended seers as the restorer of the fortunes of his country. Educated in the Marches, he acquired all the intrepidity and enterprise of a border chieftain, and the energy he displayed against the Scots occasioned them to give him very early the ironical appellation of *Hotspur*.

The bard of the battle of Otterbourne tells us,

He had been a march-man all his dayes,
And kepte Barwyke upon Twede:¹

which will fully appear. He was knighted soon after the coronation of Richard II. and one of the first notices of him that occurs in the public Acts of Scotland is as follows. Liliat Cross in the Marches of Scotland was a place at which the English and Scotch used to decide their personal quarrels by single combat.² John Chattowe, a Scotch squire, had challenged William de Badby, an Englishman, to fight there on the feast of Saint Catherine, Nov. 25, 1381. Such formal duels took place before a judge of the combat; and, as the Duke of Lancaster, then king's lieutenant in that district, was absent in attendance upon parliament, Henry Percy, the eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland, with John eldest

son

¹ Percy, *Reliques of Ancient Engl. Poetry*, I. p. 23.

² *Rotuli Scotie*, II. p. 29.

The king went up again upon the walls, and saw that the army was

son of John de Nevill of Raby, and two knights, were directed to attend in his stead.¹ In 7 Ric. II. Henry was nominated one of the commissioners for receiving a payment of money sent by the king of Scotland; and 8 Ric. II. joint warden of the Marches towards Scotland, with his father, the Bishop of Durham, John Nevill, and Roger de Clifford. 9 Ric. II. he was made governor of Berwick upon Tweed and the Eastern Marches; and appointed with others to superintend the repair of Roxburgh castle.² It may be conjectured that he was now a better fighter than disciplinarian. The farmers of the fishery at Berwick made formal complaint to the king, that his soldiers poached in the Tweed; and the townsmen, that they took by force their victuals and their goods;³ but with these disorderly bands he scoured the borders so vigilantly, that it gave rise to the *nom de guerre* already mentioned, which Walsingham is careful to explain, for the benefit, no doubt, of foreign rather than English readers, by the phrase, *quod calidum calcar sonat*.⁴ In this year he was sent to the defence of Calais; but finding no employment equal to his ardour, he soon returned into England. 11 Ric. II. he undertook, with a very inadequate force, to act against the French by sea, upon expectation of an invasion, and acquitted himself with honour. And when the Scots about the same time invaded the East Marches, and committed great devastation, he met them near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, slew the Earl of Douglas with his own hand, and wounded the Earl of Murrey; but pressing too far among the enemy, was taken prisoner with his brother Ralph, and carried into Scotland. However he soon obtained his release. In 12 Ric. II. he was again appointed Warden of the East March. 13 Ric. II. he was at Calais, made several excursions towards Boulogne, and raised the siege of Brest, demolishing some part of the works, and repairing others. In this year he was also made Warden of the West and East Marches, and Governor of Carlisle, with power of granting safe conduct to persons going to, or coming out of Scotland. A trifling business of a very different nature from any of the preceding, in which he was at this time an agent, is deserving observation, as it shews that the high born ladies of Scotland interested themselves in concerns worthy of the pastoral age. He solicited and obtained permission from the king on behalf of the Scotch Countess of March, and Maria Heryng, that two flocks of one thousand and six hundred sheep, their respective

¹ Rotuli Scotie, II. p. 39 b.

² Ibid. pp. 56 a. 65 a. 78 a. 79 b.

³ Ibid. pp. 76 b. 87 b. The garrison were very irregular in their conduct under Sir John Stanley. 13 Ric. II. p. 96 b.

⁴ Hist. Angl. p. 322. In time of hostility the march-man's spur was seldom allowed to be cold. By the regulations of the barony of Gililand, at an after period, every tenant by the border service was obliged "to have such a nagge as is able at any tyme to beare a manne twentie miles within Scotland and backe agalne, without a baite. Lysons's Cumberland, p. xii. note.

two bow-shots from the castle: then he, together with those who were with him, began anew great lamentation; bewailing most piteously his

respective property, with two shepherds attached to each of them, might have safe conduct, and leave to pasture at Colbrandspath and within five miles in circumference, for three years. The king by writ of privy seal, dated at Westminster, July 12, 1389, takes them under his special protection.¹

He was now retained to serve the king in peace and war, with a pension out of the exchequer, of a hundred pounds per annum, during his life. 14 Ric. II. he was in the commission for keeping the peace with Scotland; and 16 Ric. II. was again at Calais, whence he was recalled to his former post at Berwick and in the East March; besides which he was made governor of Bourdeaux. 17 Ric. II. he was one of the commissioners to treat of peace with the Scots. 19 Ric. II. he was employed in France, and had a renewal of his appointment at Berwick and in the East March; and this was repeated in 22 Ric. II. when he was constituted conservator of the truce with Scotland. By his warden's commission he had full power to punish all offenders against the peace, and all who held correspondence with the enemy; and to call out the able men of Northumberland and the Marches, within the liberties, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and to see that they were properly armed and arrayed.² What proportion of force he brought to the Duke of Lancaster does not appear. Henry could not have selected a better captain to command under him. He continued him in his situation at Berwick; 1 Hen. IV. made him governor of Roxburgh castle, sheriff of Northumberland, with a grant of the castle and lordship of Bamborough, for his life, justice of Chester, North-Wales, and Flintshire, and constable of the castles of Chester, Flint, Conway, and Caernarvon. Dugdale, quoting the Patent Rolls, has assigned these latter appointments of justice and constable both to the father and the son; but no notice of them is to be found in the published calendar; there is, however, an entry of a grant of the county and lordship of Anglesey with the castle of Beaumaris for life. 3 Hen. IV. he was with his father at the victorious battle of Halidon-hill. In the spring of this year he laid in, for the consumption of the town and castle of Berwick, 2,900 quarters of beans, peas, and oats, and 800 quarters of corn, and *mixtillion* (miscellane). These he had license to purchase in the counties of Cambridge, Lincoln, and Norfolk, and to ship for Berwick;³ and under proper distribution of his store, and attention to the conduct of his garrison, now at least the townsmen should have had no reason to complain.

The next year saw him in opposition to Henry IV. Under colour of advancing into Scotland, he raised and trained a force in the Marches, and drew southward, probably
over

¹ Rotuli Scotiæ, II. p. 99 b.

² Id. p. 146 b.

³ Id. p. 161 b.

consort, Isabel of France, and calling upon our Lord Jesus Christ, saying, "Good Lord God! I commend myself into thy holy keeping,

over the very ground he had traced in 1399 with the captive king, through Cheshire to Lichfield, and thence to Shrewsbury. His uncle Sir Thomas Percy joined him, and the fatal issue of their attempt is familiar to every reader. Never for the time was field more severely contested than that of Shrewsbury. They were upon the point of assaulting the town when Henry IV. came in sight, and, after a fruitless attempt at negotiation, brought them to action. But all his efforts and military skill in throwing himself between Owen Glyndwr and his associates, and preventing them from effecting a junction, would apparently have little availed, had not a single arrow saved his crown, and deprived "the best knight in England" of the victory. Henry Percy the younger died, as he had lived, in arms; and his last words to his soldiers before the battle were these; "Stand to it valiantly; for this day will either advance us all, if we conquer; or free us from the king's power, if we be overcome; since it is more honourable to fall in battle for the public good, than after the fight to die by the sentence of an enemy."

Henry IV. took a most unworthy revenge upon his corpse, after permitting it to be honourably interred; and he was deservedly reminded of this in Scroope's manifesto: "*Henricum Percy non solum semel occidit, sed quantum in ipso est bis et ter interfecit. Quia postquam semel fuit occisus, et Domino de Furnyvale ad sepeliendum traditus et liberatus, qui ipsum ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ, prout moris erat christianorum, cum honore quo tunc potuit tradidit, et cum suffragiis mortuorum, missarum, et aliarum orationum, ipsius animam apud Deum commendavit; idem Dominus Henricus, ut cruenta bestia, ejus sanguinem denuo sitiens, et ejus corpus de tumulo exhumari et extrahi præcepit, et inter duas molas asinarias in quodam vico de Shrewsbury juxta collistrigium reponi et sedere fecit, ac cum armatis hominibus custodiri, postmodum decollari, et membratim dividi et quarterisari, et caput et ejus quarterias ad regni certas civitates transmitti jussit.*"¹

I have seen no date whereby to fix his age; but it appears to me that the general impression respecting it, which the "Young Harry" of the dramatic poet has helped to fix in our minds, does not carry it far enough. His parents were married in 32 Edw. III. and he was the eldest child of that marriage.

By his wife Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edmund Mortimer Earl of March, he left one son and one daughter. The former was concealed for some time in Scotland; but was afterwards sought out and educated under the compassionate attentions of Henry V. who restored him to his hereditary estates and honours.²

¹ Artic. Ric. Scrope, *Anglia Sacra*, pars secunda, p. 366.

² Dugdale, *Baronage*, l. pp. 279, 280, in the article Henry Percy.

and cry thee mercy, that thou mayest pardon all my sins ; since it is thy pleasure that I should be delivered into the hands of mine enemies ; and if they cause me to die, I will take death patiently as thou didst take it for us all." While he thus spake the host approached the castle and entirely surrounded it, even to the sea, in very fair array. Then the Earl of Northumberland went to Duke Henry, who was drawn up with his men at the foot of the mountains.* They talked together rather a long while, and concluded that he should not enter the castle till such time as the king had dined, because he was fasting. So the earl returned to the castle. The table being laid, the king sat down to dinner, and caused the Bishop of Carlisle, the Earl of Salisbury, and the two knights, Sir Stephen Scroope and Ferriby, to be seated, saying, thus, " My good, true, and loyal friends, being in peril of death for maintaining loyalty, sit ye down with me." In the mean time a great number of knights, squires, and archers, quitted the host of Duke Henry and came to the said castle, desiring to behold their king ; not for any good will that they bore him, but for the great thirst that they had to ruin him, and to put him to death. They went to see him at dinner, and published throughout the castle, that as soon as the duke should be come, all those that were with him, without any exception, would have their heads cut off. And they moreover said, that it was not at all certain whether the king would escape. At the

* The castle itself stands upon a rock in a marsh : but the mountains of which he speaks must be the rising grounds to the westward, which after various undulations terminate in the Clwydian mountains. These hills conceal Flint from the view of the spectator at the top even of Moel Famma, one of the loftiest of the Clwydian range. From that point the eye penetrates far beyond over the estuaries of the Dee and the Mersey to Liverpool, but can discern neither the town nor castle of Flint.

Some light may be thrown upon their numerical distribution of force in marshalling an army from the commission granted to Hotspur seven months before. He was ordered to array his muster on the borders, men at arms, hoblers and archers, in thousands, hundreds, and twenties.¹

¹ Rotuli Scoticæ, II. p. 146 b.

hearing of this news every one had great fear and dread at heart for himself. Because nature teacheth every creature to fear and dread death more than any thing besides. For my own part I do not think that I ever was so much afraid as I was at that time ; considering their great contempt; and how unwilling they were to listen to right reason or loyalty. And forasmuch as nature constrained me to dread death, my companion and myself consulted Lancaster[†] the herald, who with a great number of persons had come into the said castle to the king : so I besought him that for the love of our Lord he would help us to save our lives, and that he would be pleased to bring us to Duke Henry his master. Then he answered us, that he would do it right willingly. The king was a very long time at table ; not for any thing at all that he ate ; but because he well knew that as soon as he had dined the duke would come for him, to carry him off, or put him to death. They also let him remain a long time at table, because he was fasting.[‡] After he had dined, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Northum-

[†] They probably recognised this herald from having seen him in the suite of the duke at Paris. His style was " Lancaster, King at Arms del North ;" his name Richard del Brugge; and by writ addressed to the sheriff of Lincoln, bearing date Nov. 2, 1399, he had a pension assigned him for life, out of the revenues of the county of Lincoln.¹ Henry IV. also appointed Antelope, pursuivant. Only two heralds with the title of Lancaster appear in the catalogue given by Dallaway.²

Richard del Brugge. Hen. IV.

John Ashwell. Hen. VI.

[‡] In the original *il jeunoit les marseces* ; the precise import of which phrase I am unable to determine. But it appears as though his fast had been of a Lenten kind, or of a stricter nature than ordinary ; and that this specious indulgence was grounded upon it. *Marsece* or *Marseche* signifies Lady-day, and also Lenten-grain ; and the word is said to be still used in some parts of France to express barley. Whatever might have been the immediate application of the term, it seems intended to imply some severer course of mortification, to which the humbled monarch might have subjected himself under a sense of his misfortune. He could not correctly be said to be keeping Lenten fast in the month of August.

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 100.

² *Inquiries*, Appendix, p. lvi. No. III.

berland went in quest of the Duke of Lancaster. He quitted his men, who were drawn up in very fair array before the castle, and with nine or eleven of the greatest lords who were with him,^u came to the king. At the entrance of the castle, Lancaster, the herald, brought us before the duke, kneeling on the ground; and the herald told him in the English language that we were of France, and that the king had sent us with King Richard into Ireland for recreation, and to see the country, ^v and earnestly entreated him to save our lives.

^u He brought over with him the Archbishop of Canterbury, the young Earl of Arundel, and Lord Cobham; and had been joined at different places on his march by the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Henry Percy, the Earls of Worcester, Rutland, and Westmorland, Lords Bardolph, Beaumont, Berkeley, Carleton, Darcy, Lovell, Ross, Scales, Willoughby, Sir John Stanley, and Sir Edmund Mortimer. These are more than sufficient to make up the train by which he was attended into the court of the castle. Lord Berkeley was certainly one of them.^a

^w To visit foreign courts and countries was one of the duties of knighthood, to which Christina of Pisa has assigned a prominent place in her spirited ballad on the qualities and accomplishments of the chivalrous character. The insertion of the whole of this, as it exists only in MS. may gratify the reader, who will be compensated for the length of it by the liveliness of its expression, and the sentiments, which form a summary of the virtues of the *preux chevalier* in that age.

Gentil homme, qui veulx proece acq'rre;
Escoutes ci; entens qu'il te faut faire.
Armes suivre; d'estout en muinte terre;
Estre loyal contre ton adversaire;
De bataille ne fuyr, n'en sus traire;
Et doubter dieu; parole avoir tardive;
En fait d'assault trouver voye soubtive.
Ne soit ton cuer de lachete repria.
Des tours d'armes duit dois estre et appris;
Amer ton prince; et a ton chevetaine
Estre loyal; avoir ferme courage;

Croire

¹ Vita Ric. II. p. 154. Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 358. Baker, pp. 154. 155. Carte, II. p. 634.

^a Dugdale, Baronage, I. p. 360.

And then the duke made answer in French,¹ " My young men, fear

Croire conseil; promesse avoir certaine.
S' ainsi le fais tu seras preux et sage.

Te gouverner par grât advis en guerre;
A voyager souvent te doit moult plaire;
Princes et cours estranges tu dois querre,
Tout enquerir leur estat et affaire;
Des bons parler, et a toy les attraire.
Contre raison ta parole n'estrive;
Ne mesdire de personne qui vive;
Porter honneur aux vaillans ou appris;
Hanter les bons; n'avoir povre en despris;
Pour acquerir honneur ne plaindre peine;
Trop convoiteux n'estre, mais du tien large;
Et ta parole soit vraye et non pas vaine.
S' ainsi le fais tu seras preux et sage.

Sans bon conseil de faire armes requerre
Ne dois autrui, et s'il n'est necessaire
Pour ton honneur: ta bouche et tes dens serre,
Qu'il n'en ysse chose qui face a taire:
L'autrui bien fait dois volentiers retraire,
Taïre le tien; ne t'entendre oïse;
Estre attrempé; n'avoir teste hastive;
Ffouyr tout vice, et avoir en mepris;
Tost achever ce que tu as empris;
N'avoir orgueil, ne parole haultaine;
Ta contenance seure et non sauvage
Par bel maintien en tous lieux te demaine.
S' ainsi le fais, &c.

Prince gentil! ceste voye est certaine
Pour acquerir de hault honneur la targe.
Homme noble! suis la ie ta certaine.
S' ainsi le fais, &c.¹

The

¹ MSS. Harl. 4481. f. 47. a, b. in *Cent bulades*.

ILLUMINATION XIV.



not, neither be dismayed at any thing that you behold, and keep close to me, and I will answer for your lives." This reply was a most joyful hearing for us. After this the duke entered the castle, armed at all points, except his basinet, as you may see in this history. Then they made the king, who had dined in the donjon, come down to meet Duke Henry, who, as soon as he perceived him at a distance, bowed very low to the ground; and as they approached each other he bowed a second time, with his cap in his hand; and then the king took off his bonnet, and spake first in this manner:

(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE XIV.)

"Fair cousin of Lancaster, you be right welcome." Then Duke Henry replied, bowing very low to the ground, "My Lord, I am come sooner than you sent for me: the reason wherefore I will tell you. The common report of your people is such, that you have, for the space of twenty or two and twenty years, governed them very badly and very rigorously, and in so much that they are not well contented therewith. But if it please our Lord, I will help you to govern them better than

The expedition into Ireland must have proved a strong excitement to such foreign knights as were at liberty to join it; since the more savage the countries that were the theatre of war, the more interesting they would become to men who cherished the love of adventure. Hence the fashionable rage for travelling into Prussia, that had subsisted for so many years. That country, inhabited partly by idolaters, had long attracted the curiosity and exercised the valour of the gentlemen of England, Scotland, and France. Many of the English nobility had been there; among whom were the Earl of Salisbury and young Thomas Percy. Henry of Lancaster went thither in 1390, with a very numerous retinue, and served a campaign with great applause.¹ If Froissart may be credited, he had also visited the Holy Sepulchre, Cairo, and Saint Catherine's.²

¹ Respecting Henry's skill in the French tongue, see Ypod. Neustr. p. 566.

¹ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 343.

² XII. c. 6.

they have been governed in time past.”^y King Richard then answered him, “Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth us well.” And be assured that these are the very words that they two spake together, without taking away or adding any thing : for I heard and understood them very well. And the Earl of Salisbury also rehearsed them to me in French, and another aged knight who was one of the council of Duke Henry. He told me, as we rode to Chester, that ^z Merlin and Bede had, from the time in which they lived, prophesied of the taking

^y Language of the same kind Richard was made to employ in two orders speedily issued for the purpose of keeping the peace and repressing any attempt of his own friends; one dated at Chester August 20th; and another at Lichfield August 24th. They both speak of the duke in these words; “qui jam idem regnum nostrum pro regimine et gubernatione ejusdem, ac diversis defectibus, in eodem regno existentibus, emendandis, aliisque de causis est ingressus.”¹

If the date laid down by our historian in page 151 be correct, and those of the writs given in Rymer equally so, it would follow that the former of these instruments would seem to have been framed by anticipation upon Henry’s authority, and set forth in the king’s name before his arrival; since, according to the text, Richard was not brought into the city of Chester till Tuesday, the twenty-second of August. But there appears strong reason to suspect that the writer may not have been accurate as to the day of the month on which the king was taken from Flint castle, though there may be no doubt that he is right as to the day of the week. I am inclined, with Carte,² to place this event on August 19; which I find by calculation to have fallen on Tuesday in that year, and then the dates of the documents in Rymer will follow in their right course. The king would be on Wednesday, August 20, at Chester, where the first writ was issued; and after remaining there three days, and setting out on the fourth from his leaving Flint, inclusive, might be at Lichfield on his way to London, on Sunday, the twenty-fourth of the same month; where the second writ was issued. Indeed the Monk of Evesham³ asserts that they halted at Lichfield the whole of Sunday, being the festival of Saint Bartholomew the apostle, which by the calendar corresponds to August 24, and accords with the indisputable authority in Rymer.

^z Some observations, too long for insertion in notes, upon Merlin and the ensuing passages respecting the prophecy will be found in APPENDIX, No. IV.

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. pp. 84, 85.

² *Hist. of Engl.* II. p. 634.

³ *Vita Ric.* II. p. 156.

and ruin of the king, and that if I were in his castle he would shew it me in form and manner as I had seen it come to pass, saying thus :

“ There shall be a king in Albion, who shall reign for the space of twenty or two and twenty years in great honour and in great power, and shall be allied and united with those of Gaul ; which king shall be undone in the parts of the north in a triangular place.” Thus the knight told me it was written in a book belonging to him. The triangular place he applied to the town of Conway ; and for this he had a very good reason ; for I can assure you that it is in a triangle,^a as though it had been so laid down by a true and exact measurement. In the said town of Conway was the king sufficiently undone ; for the Earl of

^a The triangular shape of the town of Conway may be well distinguished from the small terrace or rampart at the western entrance, which commands the whole of the walls. Edward I. by whom it was laid down and fortified, had his choice of the form : it has been thought to bear reference to that of a Welsh harp ; but this is too visionary a conjecture. No doubt it was adapted to the nature of the site, and the exigencies of the situation. Such was clearly the case from the outline of it ; and I must take leave to correct the author's assertion, as to it's being exactly triangular ; a little variation to the left, owing to the cast of the bank, being visible from the point already mentioned. The opinion of Daines Barrington seems entitled to some attention, that Edward I. in constructing the castles of this district, borrowed many hints from those which he had visited in the Holy land, where the Christians and Saracens had improved and carried to a high pitch of perfection the arts of attack and defence, which they had borrowed from each other. The castle commanded the port and passage over the river ; and protected a frequented entrance into the interior of Wales. The position was admirably selected, and the work capitally executed. The masonry of the whole of the walls is of a very superior kind, as to strength and beauty ; and much of it promises, unless disturbed by violence, to resist the efforts of time for centuries to come. Here Richard, with proper precautions and a moderate force, might have felt himself secure : or, as a last resource, might have found means of escaping by sea. Conway must have been neglected, or very ill defended after the king was enticed out of it. Gwilym ap Tudor and Rhys, his brother, received a pardon 2 Henry IV. for having, with many of their people, taken the castle and burnt the town.¹ This fortress had been or was afterwards used as a prison. John Claydon, a Lollard of London, was confined in it for two years, when Braybrook, who died in 1404, was Bishop of London.²

¹ Cal. Rot. Pat. 3. p. 2 Hen. IV. No. 24, p. 244 a.

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² Concilia, III. p. 372. Godwin in Braybrook.

Northumberland drew him forth, as you have already heard by the treaty which he made with him; and from that time he had no power. Thus the knight held this prophecy to be true, and attached thereunto great faith and credit; for such is the nature of them in their country that they very thoroughly believe in prophecies,^b phantoms, and witchcraft, and employ (have recourse to) them right willingly. Yet in my opinion this is not right; but is a great want of faith.

Thus, as you have heard, came Duke Henry to the castle and spake unto the king, to the Bishop of Carlisle, and the two knights, Sir Stephen Scroope, and Ferriby; howbeit unto the Earl of Salisbury he

^b Richard and his council had listened with approbation to the visions of Robert the hermit.¹ In the course of the king's dissension with the Duke of Gloucester, some of his favourites told him, that it had been discovered by calculation and necromancy, that he would be ruined unless certain lords were put to death; and this, the commons asserted in the parliament that deposed him, was the cause of the death of that duke.² Henry was a believer in art magic. In his reply to the challenge of the Duke of Orleans in 1403, he solemnly accuses him of having used sorcery towards his father Charles VI. and thereby brought on his distemper.³ On January 2, 1406, a writ was addressed to the Bishop of Lincoln for the suppression, in his diocese, of those who had recourse to such practices for stirring up the people; and they are thus variously enumerated; "Sortilegi, Magici, Incantatores, Nigromantici, Divinatores, Arioli et Phitones."⁴ (Pythones?) But the charge of credulity on this head was not exclusively applicable to the people of England. France had her prodigies and spectres, prophets and necromancers.⁵ Montfaucon, quoting Juvenal des Ursins, has recorded of the inhabitants of the capital, "Il y avoit à Paris grant nombre de gens qui faisoient metier de sorcellerie, et invoquoient les diables."⁶

The oath of champions, according to the form of duel in the marshal's court, set forth by the Duke of Gloucester, during this reign, shew the reliance that was placed in charms. The parties are to swear that they have no other weapons about them, save those assigned by the court, "nec lapidem potentem, nec herbam, nec carmen, nec experimentum, nec characterem, nec ullam aliam incantationem juxta te aut pro te, per quam speres quod facilius vincas C. de B. adversarium tuum."⁷

¹ Froissart, XI. c. 25. ² MSS. Bodl. 2376. p. 212. ³ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 310. ⁴ Ibid. p. 497.

⁵ See, for instance, the prodigies that were said to have occurred in France during the year of Richard's marriage with Isabel. Mezeray, I. p. 345. The Spectre of the Forest of Mans, Ibid. p. 540. The Spirit Orthon, Froiss. VII. c. 40. The prediction of Thomas de Pisan, credited by Charles VI. Id. V. c. 39. The story of the necromancer and the Duke of Anjou, Id. VI. c. 8.

⁶ *Mém. de la Monar. Française*, III. p. 131.

⁷ Spelman, *Gloss. v. Campus*.

spake not at all, but sent word to him by a knight in this manner, "Earl of Salisbury, be assured that no more than you deigned to speak to my lord the Duke of Lancaster, when he and you were in Paris at Christmas last past, will he speak unto you."^c Then was the earl

^c One of the readings suggests the following sense; "Were it for no other reason than that you deigned not to speak to my lord the Duke of Lancaster," &c. The cutting insinuation conveyed in this message can only be thoroughly understood by reference to what had occurred at Paris during the Christmas of 1398. The Earl of Derby in his banishment had repaired to the court of Charles VI. where he was received with the most marked hospitality and attention.¹ During his stay he offered his hand to Marie, youngest daughter of the Duke of Berry, who had lately lost her second husband Philip of Artois, Count of Eu, and Constable of France, who perished in Turkey.² This intelligence awakened the jealousy of Richard, who apprehended that it might defeat the advantages that he expected from his union with a daughter of France. He therefore charged the Earl of Salisbury to go to Paris, and set aside the match. This is what John of Gant, in Shakespeare, calls

"The prevention of poor Bolingbroke

About his marriage."³

Salisbury was as averse to the mission as his master was to their union. However he executed his charge most effectually: but the French were scandalised at the employment of the term "traitor" against their visitor; and Salisbury's behaviour towards him highly offended him. "He knew," says Froissart, "of the Earl of Salisbury being at Paris; but they never saw each other; and the Earl of Salisbury returned to Calais without speaking to him." And again, "The Earl of Derby was much displeased that the Earl of Salisbury should leave Paris without seeing him." He afterwards put these expressions into the mouth of Henry's friends; "The Earl of Salisbury has done very wrong to carry such a message to France, and make so heavy a charge against the most honourable man in the world. The day will come when he shall repent of this, and say; "It weighs heavily on me that I ever carried a message to France against the Earl of Derby."⁴

Carte⁵ offers a reason for the facility with which Richard interrupted the match between Henry and Marie. "This was the easier done, because, according to the feudal law, received both in France and England, the principal nobility of each kingdom could

not

¹ He received from the French treasury every week five hundred golden crowns for his expenses, which his people were most punctually paid. Froiss. XII. c. 12.

² Ibid. c. 14. Her first husband was Louis de Blois, who died in his youth. Marie was not more than twenty-three years old.

³ Ric. II. Act ii. Sc. I.

⁴ Froiss. XII. c. 15.

⁵ Hist. of Engl. II. p. 630.

much abashed, and had great fear and dread at heart, for he saw plainly that the duke mortally hated him. The said Duke Henry called aloud with a stern and savage voice, "Bring out the king's horses;" and then they brought him two little horses^d that were not worth forty

not marry in the other without leave of their sovereign, on pain of forfeiture of their honours and estates." His statement throws some light upon the origin of Richard's extraordinary conduct towards Bolingbroke, after the gracious manner in which he had dismissed him into temporary exile; but it is not generally adverted to by historians; and the Rolls, which announce the abrupt and tyrannical revocation of the king's indulgence, are silent upon this exciting cause. It is indeed rather matter of private history than public record, and could not have been inserted to any advantage. But had Henry actually married in opposition to him, Richard could then only have proceeded against him as he did; when he might have had some shew of justification. The duke's sole offence in this case was, that he had not previously asked his sovereign's consent, when he placed his affection on a foreign lady; and, notwithstanding the defence attempted by Hume, it seems no slight exertion of arbitrary authority, that such an omission should have been visited with the confiscation of all his estates. Richard, however, was glad of a pretext to inflict additional chastisement upon one whom he had long regarded with aversion; and, having called him traitor, his next step, right or wrong, was to deal with him as such. These provocations were fresh in Henry's mind; the sight of the king and Salisbury appear to have revived his irritation; and in his demeanour towards the helpless offenders, he leaned not so much, perhaps, to the public feeling as to his own resentment. It is less difficult to give the reasons than the vindication of his behaviour on this occasion.

^d This studied mortification was particularly addressed to the feelings of Richard, whose taste for fine horses has already been noticed; see page 99, note ⁿ. It might, besides, be maliciously designed to keep up for a time their fears for their personal safety; because, in the instance of criminals of high rank, to mount them upon the most miserable jades that could be found, was usually one of the final acts of degradation before execution. Thus the Duke of Lancaster in 1322,¹ and Archbishop Scroope in 1405, were led to the places where they suffered death. As to the latter, "*adductus est super equum valoris XL denariorum sine sella; et gratias agens dixit, quod nunquam placuit mihi melius equus quam iste placet.*"²

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, III. p. 956.

² *Anglia Sacra*, pars II. p. 370. The celebrated Judge Gascoigne firmly refused to obey the orders of Henry in passing judgment upon Scroope. "Neither you, my lord king, nor any of your lieges in your name, can legally, according to the laws of the kingdom, sentence any archbishop to death." Fulthorpe, however, was more complying.

franks :^c the king mounted one, and the Earl of Salisbury the other. Every one got on horseback, and we set out from the said castle of Flint, about two hours after mid-day.

In form and manner as you have heard, did Duke Henry take King Richard, his lord; and he brought him with great joy and satisfaction to Chester which he had quitted in the morning. And know, that with great difficulty could the thunder of heaven have been heard,^f for the loud bruit and sound of their instruments, horns, buisines, and trumpets; insomuch that they made all the sea shore resound with them. Thus the duke entered the city of Chester to whom the common people paid great reverence, praising our Lord and shouting after their king, as it were in mockery. The duke led him straight to the castle, which is right fair and strong, and caused him to be lodged in the donjon. And then he gave him in keeping to the son of the Duke of Gloucester,^g and the son of the Earl of Arundel,^h who hated him more

^c Barnes gives the value of a frank at two shillings in 1352;¹ and Anderson says, that a gold frank was at this time worth three shillings and fourpence sterling.² But he must here be speaking of silver money; otherwise might not the price have warranted a less contemptible article? Much of the gold and silver coin of France and Flanders was current in England.³

^f A proverbial expression, familiar to the old French writers. Thus in *Le Roman de Garcin*, quoted by Du Cange:⁴

Li Loherans a nostre Dame vint,
Et la Roine moult grant joie li fist;
Li seint sonnerent tost contreval Paris
Nes Dex tonant n'i poit on oir.

Another instance occurs in *Le Roman de la Prise de Jerusalem*:

Moult part font grant noise en l'ost li oliphant,
Li cors, et li bocines, et li tymbres sonant,
Que on ne oïst pas ne'is Dant Diex tonant.⁵

^g Humphrey Plantagenet, son of the late Duke of Gloucester by Eleanor, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford.⁶ Upon the murder of his father in 1397, Richard took him

¹ Hist. of Edw. III. p. 517.

² Hist. of Commerce, I. p. 372.

³ Stat. 2 Hen. IV. c. 6.

⁴ Gloss. v. Campanarum pulsatio.

⁵ Roquefort, p. 129.

⁶ Dugdale, Baronage, I. p. 187.

than any men in the world; because King Richard had put their fathers to death. There he saw his brother the Duke of Exeter; but neither durst nor was able to speak to him. Presently after the duke sat down to dinner, and made the Archbishop of Canterbury sit above him, and at some distance below him the Duke of Exeter, brother of King Richard, the Earl of Westmorland, the Earl of Rutland,

him in ward, made him reside with him, and appropriated his estates to his own use.¹ When the king went into Ireland, he obliged his cousin to attend him, and, at his departure for England, left him with young Henry of Lancaster shut up in Trim castle.² Duke Henry lost no time in sending for them; and his commands must have met with little opposition in Ireland, since Humphrey was able so soon to join the army. Froissart affirms, that he made his escape to Henry with the young Earl of Arundel. In this he must have been misinformed. His death happened in this year; but the accounts of it differ; some reporting that he was drowned on his passage, others that he died of a fever at Beaumaris, in Anglesey, on his return. Neither of these representations can be correct. His illness must have occurred either on the march or after he reached London. The event occasioned the death of his mother on the third of October ensuing.³ A violent fever prevailed this year in some parts of England. Henry IV. was urged by parliament, that, in consideration of the great plague in the north, it would please him to lie in the midst of the realm. The disease continued its ravages during the ensuing summer.⁴

^h Thomas Fitz Alan, son of Richard Earl of Arundel, beheaded in 1397. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of William de Bohun Earl of Northampton. He had been consigned to the care of the Duke of Exeter during his minority, and was kept at his castle of Ryegate, in Surrey, under the custody of Sir John Shelly; but he contrived to elude him by the assistance of one John Scot, and went over to Duke Henry in France.⁵

In 1 Hen. IV. the judgment of his father was reversed, and he was restored in blood. He was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation; and 6 Hen. IV. married Beatrix, illegitimate daughter of the King of Portugal. 12 Hen. IV. he went with a force to the aid of the Duke of Burgundy against the Duke of Orleans; and 1 Hen. V. was appointed Constable of Dover Castle, Warden of the Cinque-ports, and Lord Treasurer of England. He died October 13, 1415, without issue.⁶

When Henry gave the king in charge to these young men, he said to them; "Here is the murderer of your father; you must be answerable for him."⁷

¹ Froissart, XII. c. 3.

² Id. XI. c. 23. Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 357f Otterbourne, p. 206.

³ Dugdale, Baronage, II. p. 172.

⁴ Cotton's Abridgement, p. 394. Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 364.

⁵ Leland, Collectanea, II. p. 483. MS. Chronic. Petri de Ickham. MSS. Harl. 4323. p. 67. Holinshed.

⁶ Dugdale, Baronage, I. pp. 320, 321.

⁷ Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 225.

the Earl of Northumberland, and Sir Thomas Percy: all these were seated at Duke Henry's table. And the king abode in the tower with his good friends, the Earl of Salisbury, the Bishop of Carlisle, and the two knights; and from thenceforth we could never see him, unless it were abroad on the journey; and we were forbidden to speak any more to him, or to any of the others.

Duke Henry staid three days at Chester, and held a very great council: they determined that they had too great a number of people, since the king was taken; and that thirty or forty thousand men would be sufficient to take the said king to London; and that otherwise the country would be too much distressed; seeing that it had been very greatly wastedⁱ as they came. So the duke sent back the greater part of his people; and set out from the city of Chester the fourth day after the taking (*of the king*), and took the direct road to London. He arrived at Lichfield, a very fair little city; and there poor King Richard thought to escape from them by night,^k and let himself down into a garden

ⁱ The king professed, see page 139, that he would assign this as a reason for separating from Henry and taking a different road through Wales. Great mischief had certainly been done in the country. Among the petitions in the first parliament of Henry IV. is one from the commons requesting that every man may pursue his remedy for all havock and spoils made since the king's coming; and another from the commons of Salop, that enquiries may be made touching great losses by them sustained by the king's late army there. ¹

^k How must the recollection of what had passed a few months back in this city have affected the wretched king! Lichfield seems to have been a favourite spot with him. Here, on his way to Shrewsbury, he had kept the Christmas of 1398, accompanied by foreign noblemen and the pope's nuncio, with magnificent tournaments and feasting. The monk of Evesham states the daily consumption to have been twenty-six or twenty-eight oxen and three hundred sheep. ² He had also been here during the spring ³ and autumn of the same year, at the installation of Bishop Burghill, his confessor; and previously at that of Bishop Scroope in 1386. ⁴ From these frequent visits he may be supposed to have been well acquainted with the place, which sufficiently accounts for his attempt to escape.

The

¹ Cotton's Abridgement, pp. 394, 396. ² Vita Ric. II. p. 148. ³ MSS. Cotton. Julius, B. VI. 27.

⁴ Anglia Sacra, p. I. pp. 450, 451. Godwin, p. 343.

through a window of a large tower in which they had lodged him. But I believe it was not our Lord's pleasure that he should escape ; and he was perceived, and was most villainously thrust back into the tower ; and from that time forth, at all hours of the night, he had ten or twelve armed men who guarded him, without his being able to sleep.¹

Now it came to pass that they of London heard the news of the taking of their rightful lord King Richard, who set out in a very fair company, to wit, five or six of the greatest burgesses, governors of the said city. They came upon the spur to meet Duke Henry ; and know, that I heard it related by many knights and squires, that, as soon as they were arrived in presence of the duke, they requested of him, on the part of the commons of London, that he would cut off the head^m

The anecdote related by Hall of another effort of this kind at Flint, to which allusion has been made in page 147, note ^a, gravely and circumstantially as it is delivered, is little better than a fable. He says, that Richard, " by counsell of Ihon Pallet and Richarde Seimer his assured servauntes, departed out of the castell (*of Flint*), and toke the sandes by the ryver of Dee, trusting to escape to Chester, and there to have refuge and succour ; but, or he had far passed he was forelayed and taken and brought to the duke, who sent him secretly to the tower of London."¹ This is probably made up out of what occurred at Lichfield, where the parties above-named might have endeavoured to aid him in regaining his liberty.

¹ " Guarded as a thief or a murderer. Of his wailings and complaints no one knew any thing, except those who guarded him."² MS. Ambassades. According to Otterbourne he was watched every night by a thousand men : but that writer gives too favourable an account of the duke's treatment of him. The king requested that he might not be intruded upon nor insulted by the common people at meals on his journey ; and his friends were permitted to sup and pass the night with him.³

^m The Londoners had not forgotten the quarrel they had with him in 1392, when, upon their refusal to lend him money, he threatened to deprive them of their rights and privileges, and fleeced them of ten thousand pounds.⁴ Froissart enlarges upon their disaffection.

¹ Union of the families of Lancaster and York. Introduction, f. 6. b.

² P 142. Mr. Allen's Extracts. Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 225.

³ Otterbourne, p. 208.

⁴ Hist. Angl. p. 347, et seq.

of their rightful lord King Richard, and of all those who were taken with him, without bringing him any farther : which request Duke Henry would not grant nor allow ; and he excused himself as prudently as he could, saying, “ Fair Sirs, it would be a very great disgrace to us for ever, if we should thus put him to death ; but we will bring him to London, and there he shall be judged by the parliament.” The duke ^a set out from Lichfield, and rode on with all his host till he came to Coventry, which is a very good city ; but, before he could come there, the Welsh did him much harm and despite, and slew and robbed a great number of his people ; sometimes they came to set fire to the lodgings of the English : and, certes, I was right glad of it ; and, besides, it was not in the power of the English to take any of them, except by

tion. They had laid a plot, in conjunction with the Duke of Gloucester, to seize his person, and that of the queen, and set up another king.¹ These political animosities were not likely to be expressed in any way short of extremity by a set of persons who are represented at this period to have been disorderly in their morals and manners. The spirit of insubordination, which had manifested itself in the great insurrection, had infected the lower classes ; and the merchants in their hatred of foreign competition had been known to proceed to such outrage as to hire ruffians in 1377 to assassinate a Genoese trader before the door of his house, whose speculation would have interfered with their monopoly of spices.² The clergy complained of their neglect or violation of religious usages and ordinances.³ Walsingham gives them a very bad character ; he says that the account of their iniquities would be sufficient to fill a volume.⁴

^a The route of the army is thus laid down by the Evesham historian ; and the line he has given seems right ; but it might easily be shewn that he is mistaken in allotting a day to every stage :—After the capture, to Chester, Leycester, ⁵ Nantwich, ⁶ Newcastle, Stafford, Lichfield, Coventry, Daventry, Northampton, Dunstable, Saint Alban's, London.—The king never changed his clothes during the whole of the way.⁷

¹ Froiss. XII. c. 14.

² Hist. Angl. pp. 227, 228.

³ Concilia, III. pp. 195, 218, 230.

⁴ Hist. Angl. p. 348, in 1392.

⁵ This is not an error, Chester and Leycester being formerly synonymous, Thus in Scroope's manifesto ; “ Eundem usque ad Leicestriam secum tanquam proditorem duxit. Anglia Sacra, p. II. p. 364. Chester was of old called Legaceaster. Pennant, Tour in Wales. pp. 119, 121. Camden.

⁶ Hither the old Earl of Warwick, who had been banished to the Isle of Man, and was afterwards imprisoned in the Tower, came to upbraid him with his severity. Complete Hist. of Engl. I. p. 285. Dugdale, Baronage, I. p. 237.

⁷ Vita Ric. II. p. 156.

chance. And, when they could catch any, they tied them by cords to their horses' tails, and dragged them through the roads full of stones; thus did they put them to an evil death. And with great difficulty the duke passed their mountains ° as quickly and as well as he could, and arrived in the said city of Coventry; and there he sojourned two days. He next went to Saint Alban's, where there is a very good town and a fair abbey; and thence straight to London. When he drew nigh, within five or six miles of the said city, the mayor,^p accompanied by a very great number of the commons, marshalled and clad, each trade by itself, in different garments, drawn up in rows and armed, came to meet Duke Henry with a great quantity of instruments and of trumpets, shewing great joy and great satisfaction. The sword was there borne before the said mayor, as before the king. When they came together they saluted him (*the king*), and Duke Henry afterwards, to whom they paid much greater respect^q than they had done to the king, shouting, in their language, with a loud and fearful voice, "Long live the good Duke of Lancaster:" and they said, one to the other, that God had shewn them a fine miracle, when he sent the said duke to them; and how that he had conquered the whole kingdom of England in less than a month; and that he well deserved to be king, who thus knew

° There is either an unintentional dislocation in the introduction of this passage respecting the Welsh mountains, or an error in his geographical recollections of the country between Lichfield and Coventry.

^p Sir Drew Baretyn or Barentin, Goldsmith,¹ who lent Henry, soon after, fifteen hundred pounds.² The civil authorities and companies went out in the same sort of array to meet the Black Prince when he brought over his prisoner, the King of France, from Poitiers.³

^q "The Earl of Derby was a hundred times more beloved than King Richard." The mayor and principal citizens had attended him to Dartford, on his departure into banishment.⁴

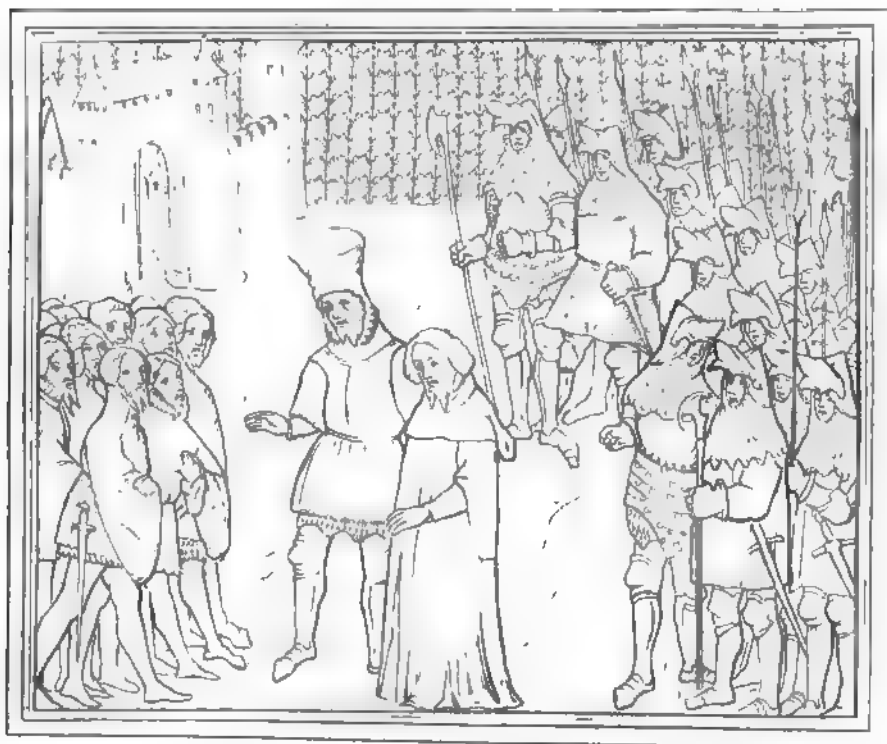
¹ Arnold's Chronicle, p. xxx. Stow's Survey, fol. 31 b.

² Cal. Rot. Pat. 2. p. 2 Hen. IV. p. 357 a.

³ Froiss. II. c. 170.

⁴ Id. XII. c. 13. Ibid. c. 7.

ILLUMINATION XV.



how to conquer. And they most devoutly gave laud and thanks to our Lord for it, saying that it was his will, and that otherwise he could not have done it. Moreover the simple and over-credulous people said, that he would conquer one of the great portions of the world, and compared him even to Alexander the Great. Thus, talking and plotting, they approached, as it were, within two miles of the city. And there the whole host halted, on the one part and on the other. Then spake Duke Henry quite aloud to the commons of the said city, "Fair Sirs, behold your king! consider what you will do with him!" And they made answer with a loud voice, "We will have him taken to Westminster." And so he delivered him unto them. At this hour did he remind me of Pilate, who caused our Lord Jesus Christ to be scourged at the stake, and afterwards had him brought before the multitude of the Jews, saying, "Fair Sirs, behold your king!" who replied, "let him be crucified!" Then Pilate washed his hands of it, saying, "I am innocent of the just blood." And so he delivered our Lord unto them. Much in the like manner did Duke Henry, when he gave up his rightful lord to the rabble of London, in order that, if they should put him to death, he might say, "I am innocent of this deed."

(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE XV.)

¹ "The duke then sent for the king, who arrived with his face bathed in tears, and delivered him in charge to the mayor and commons of the city, who carried him to Westminster."

"Next day the king was carried through the city from Westminster on a sorry horse, with an open space around him, that all might see him, and lodged in the Tower. Some had pity of him, but others expressed great joy, abusing him, and saying, "Now are we avenged of this little bastard, who has governed us so ill." Froissart² explains the origin of this charge of illegitimacy.

Several citizens had contrived to kill him as he passed through the city; but the mayor and aldermen, having timely notice of their design, prevented it by their vigilance.³

¹ MS. Ambassades, pp. 143, 144. MS. No. 635, p. 23. Mr. Allen's Extracts.

² Vol. XII. c. 26.

³ Complete Hist. of Engl. I. p. 285.

Thus the commons and the rabble of London took their king to Westminster, and the duke made a turn about the city to enter by the chief gate* of London, to the end that he might pass through the great street, that they call Cheap-street (*Cheapside*). He entered the city at the hour of vespers, and came straight to Saint Paul's.[†] There the people shouted after him through the streets, "Long live the good Duke of Lancaster," and blessed him in their language, with great shew of joy and pleasure; insomuch that I think if our Lord had come down among them they could not have shewn more. He alighted at Saint Paul's, and went all armed before the high altar to make his orisons. Afterwards he returned by the tomb of his father,[‡] which is very nigh

* Aldgate. "This is one, and the first, of the four principal gates." Stow's Survey, f. 31, b. His turning aside to this gate was evidently done for the sake of a public entry through Cornhill and Cheapside, for which Cripplegate, Moorgate, or Bishopsgate would not so well have answered.

† The church of Saint Paul had been in a very neglected state during part of the reign of Richard II. People had stalls there for selling various articles of trade. Filth was suffered to accumulate about the doors and in the cemeteries; and the beautiful windows and images were injured by stones and arrows, aimed at the daws and pigeons that roosted and made their nests about the building; and they played at fives both within and without the church. This is set forth in the letter of Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London, dated November 9, 1365, published for the reformation of these abuses. He threatens offenders with pain of the greater excommunication, by bell ringing, candle lighting, and elevation of the cross.¹

The dean and residentiaries had lately had a dispute concerning superfluous expenses and residence, which Richard had settled; but Henry in the first year of his reign set aside the late king's decision.²

‡ John Plantagenet, fourth son of Edward III. by his queen Philippa, surnamed of Gant or Ghent, from the place of his birth; whose posterity swayed the sceptres of Spain and Portugal, and from whom so many of our nobility are descended. He died February 4, 1398-9, either at his castle of Leicester, or at Ely-house in Holborn, for the accounts vary;
and

¹ Concilia, III. p. 195.

² Cal. Rot. Pat. 3. p. 1 Hen. IV. m. 1. p. 237 b.

to the said altar. And you must know that it is a very costly monument. There he wept very much; for he had never seen it since his father had been laid there. He remained at St. Paul's five or six days. Then he set out and went to Saint John^v of Jerusalem, an hospital of the Templars, which is without the city of London.

Having seen and considered these matters, which caused me much

and was buried in saint Paul's cathedral; where a costly monument of freestone was erected to his memory, and that of Blanch his first wife, between two pillars on the north side of the high altar,¹ which remained till the great fire.² His lance and target were suspended upon it.

His son founded a chapel and chantry opposite to the tomb, 4 Hen. IV.; and in the tenth year of his reign gave divers messuages and lands to the dean and chapter, for the celebration of masses on the anniversaries of the death of his father and mother, at which the mayor and sheriffs of London were to attend. Eight large tapers were to be lighted around the tomb on these days of exequies, and on the morrow, and on every great festival and Sundays, at the procession, mass, and second vespers for ever.³

Henry seems not to have been deficient in filial respect. When in exile at Paris he sent to ask his father's advice and permission to make a campaign against the Turks in Hungary.⁴ The old duke dissuaded him from the undertaking, recommending him to visit his sisters in Portugal and Spain.

Froissart speaks thus of his death: "It happened, that about Christmas-tide, Duke John of Lancaster fell dangerously ill of a disorder which ended his life, to the great grief of all his friends. He had been sometime very low-spirited, on account of the banishment of his son, whom his nephew King Richard had forced out of England for a trifling cause, and also for the manner in which the kingdom was governed, which, if persevered in, he foresaw must be it's ruin."⁵

^v Saint John's, Clerkenwell. It must have been lately rebuilt: both this and the Temple had been burnt in May 1381, by the rebels under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw.⁶ The priory of Saint John's was burning for seven days, and no one was suffered to quench it.⁷

¹ Stow, Survey, f. 360. Collins, Life of John of Gant, p. 71. But the inscription which they give is of a later age, and states, erroneously, that his second wife Constantia was buried there. She was interred at Leicester. Dugdale, Baronage, II. p. 118. The original epitaph was probably destroyed in the civil wars of York and Lancaster.

² See a print of it in Sandford, Genealogic. Hist. p. 255.

³ Dugdale, Hist. of Saint Paul's, p. 38.

⁴ Froiss. XII. c. 12.

⁵ Ibid. c. 13.

⁶ Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 249.

⁷ Stow, f. 484.

harm and sorrow at heart, and being also desirous to quit their country, we went to Duke Henry, my companion and myself, beseeching him to grant us safe conduct to return to France, which he readily gave us. And then, a little while after my return to France, considering the rebellions, wrongs, treasons, and contumelies which they had shewn to their rightful lord King Richard, I made a ballad thereof, which beginneth in this manner.

I.

"O thou, Henry, who hast at present under thy rule the territory and country of King Richard, who had so much power, whom thou hast driven out and put down; and hast appropriated and taken to thyself

* A comparison of this with part of the "Balade of Johan Gower unto the worthy and noble Kynge Henry the Fourthe," exhibits a striking contrast.

O noble worthy kyng Henry the ferthe,
In whom the glad fortune is befall
The people to governe here upon erthe;
God hath the chosen in comferte of us all.
The worship of this lande, which was down fal,
Now stant uprizt thurgh grace of thy goodnesse
Which every man is holde for to blesse.

The hygh God of his iustice alone
The ryght whych longeth to thy regaly
Declared hath to stand in thy persone;
And more than God may no man justifie.
Thy tytel is knowe upon thyne auncestrye;
The landes folke hath eke thy right affirmed:
So stante thy reygne of God and man conformed.

There is no man may saye in otherwyse
That God hymselfe he hath the ryght declared;
Wherof the lande is bounde to thy servyce,
Whych for defaute of helpe hath longe cared;
But nowe there is no mannes herte spared
To love, and serve, and worche thy plesaunce;
And all this is through Goddes purveyaunce.¹ &c.

¹ See Thynne's Chaucer, ad finem.

all his goods; thou, who art the mirror of treasons. Now knoweth every one, that never was man so falsely betrayed, as thou hast betrayed thy king. Conceal it thou canst not: thou hast caused him to be sentenced by a shameful judgment. For this thou wilt at last come to perdition, body and soul.

II.

For falsely, without sending defiance, by stealth hast thou, who wert banished, robbed him of his land. Certes, methinks, thou hast no great valour. Seeing he had gone abroad against his enemies in Ireland; where from the Irish, who are bold as lions, he received many a hard blow. There he made thine eldest son a knight. Alas! thou hast forgotten to render him recompence. All the world blame thee for this great sin: for it thou wilt at last come to perdition, body and soul.

III.

For thou hast kept with him neither faith nor treaty, as thou hadst sworn and promised; when falsely, and under pretence of security, Northumberland * was sent to him from thee, promising upon the sacra-

* It is but justice to the character of Northumberland, after the account that has been given of his behaviour, to offer some remarks upon the probable nature of his designs as to Richard and his successor: they will help to explain why the cordiality which seemed at first to subsist between him and Henry was of such short continuance.

It would be worse than vain to attempt any defence of the means he employed to get the king into his hands. That he grossly deceived him as to his liberty by an impious artifice when he drew him forth from Conway, is a fact that must stand among the truths of history; and it seems as unquestionable that he did it for the purpose of correcting his misrule and abridging his power: but in the face of appearances calculated to mislead us, it would be well to pause before we conclude that Northumberland had at that moment fully determined that he should be dethroned. For it should not pass unnoticed, that, though all the Percys appeared to be agents in this business, they strenuously denied that they at first entertained any such design. In their challenge sent to Henry IV. before the battle of Shrewsbury, they reminded him, that they had originally associated under an agreement that he was to be restored to his rights, and that Richard was still to reign under certain
restrictions

ment that thou wouldst be his friend, and that all was right. So the king untimely quitted his castles, and journeyed towards thee, alas!

restrictions for the term of his life.¹ It is a satisfaction to reflect in behalf of Sir Thomas Percy in particular, that he might understand this to have been the plan of reform to which his brother and nephew, and the Duke of Lancaster, had mutually agreed. Henry, on his part, as we have already seen, confirmed his assurance to them with a solemn oath that he would lay claim to nothing but his own. And this was the state of affairs when they were all at Chester, and the king was at Conway; and when they concluded that nothing could be done unless they got possession of his person.

If the violation which Northumberland has offered to the reader's feelings will permit him to look impartially into what the earl professed to Richard at their first interview, and he can at the same time sufficiently believe the declaration just alluded to of that nobleman and the other members of his family; he will, perhaps, see that so much falsehood was not designedly introduced into the negotiation as subsequent events would induce him to believe; and that Northumberland did not actually at first intend that the king should be deposed. He, for one, laid the sole blame of the deposition upon Henry and his other advisers; the latter never thought proper to deny it; he replied to the accusation only by force of arms.

But whether it may be considered that the earl himself was clear in his motives on this point or otherwise, it must not be imagined that, because he had lent his aid to redress the duke's grievances, and unintentionally or designedly, to the deposition of Richard, he therefore purposed that Henry should be set up in his stead. We are not without proof, that when he saw that Henry was likely to outwit him; that those who had the upper hand were determined Richard should be set aside, and that the popular clamour was for setting the duke on the throne; his object with regard to the succession was, that it should have continued in the line in which it had been settled by declaration of parliament.

In the biographical notice of Northumberland, page 128, note, it is observed that he placed Henry upon the throne: and truly he was more instrumental, upon the whole, than any one in preparing the means of his ascent to that eminence. But it should now be added, that he appears in this matter to have been urged beyond his intentions. For it is in the same place remarked that his union with Glyndwr is reported to have been in favour of the young Earl of March, the rightful heir to the crown. The challenge sets forth the superior claim of that individual, and Northumberland's recognition of it; and what has been recorded by Hardyng in the body of his Chronicle, as well as in the prose additions, which contain a regular vindication of the earl's ground of dispute with Henry, is sufficient evidence that he had never wavered in this opinion. It must be allowed that Hardyng had naturally a bias in favour of Northumberland. Under his son Hotspur, according to the
usages

¹ Hardyng, Chronicle, by Ellis, pp. 352, 353.

most humbly. Shamefully didst thou carry him off in disgrace. For this thou wilt at last come to perdition, body and soul.

usages of chivalry, he had been trained up from childhood, had followed him to the wars, and was with him when he was slain at Shrewsbury.¹ But I cannot see that this circumstance, or any other that might be alleged, will at all affect his testimony in the cause, which is offered in the firmest and most interesting manner.

From this author it is manifest that, when the deposition was resolved upon, Northumberland's views were directed towards the Earl of March; that he exerted himself to keep Henry to his oath, and crossed his attempts to prove his immediate pretensions by surreptitious means. Strong traces of their dissention and altercation are visible in his homely narrative. The matter could not have been settled without much debate between them. Henry's ambition, and those who sided with his aspiring designs, however, prevailed; the Percys had at his instigation dismissed their force, and the numbers were on the usurper's side. But the struggle for Edmund Mortimer continued to the very evening of the day preceding that on which Henry challenged the crown.

These are the words of Hardyng :

¶ Then went they to a free election,
Seyng the youth then of the Mortimer,
That Erle of the Marche by trewe direccion
Was then, and heire of Englonde then most nere
To king Richarde, as well then did appere,
Consydred also the might of Duke Henry,
They chose him kyng, there durst none it deny.

¶ Therle of Northumberlande then had sent
His power home by counsell of Duke Henry,
So did his sonne Henry that truly ment,
Supposyng well the duke wolde not vary
From his othe, ne in no wyse contrary,
And he and hys kepte all theyr power,
Tyll he was crowned kyng, as it did appere.

¶ Therles two then of Northumberlande,
Of Worcester, and syr Henry Percy,
And therle also of Westmerlande
Councelled hym then fro his oth not to varye;
And though at eve he did to theim applie,
On the morowe by a pryve counsayl,
He would be crowned kyng without fayle.²

Again,

¹ "I had been afore at Homylton, Cokelawe, and at divers rodes and feeldes wyth hym." Hardyng, p. 351.

² Hardyng, p. 351.

IV.

Princes and kings, knights and barons, French, Flemish, Germans,

Again, upon the oral testimony of Northumberland, he exposes the arts of Henry, grounded on those of his father, and shews the manner in which the earl resisted them while opposition could at all avail.

"For asmuche as many men have been merred and yit stonde in grete erreure and contraversy, holdyng oppynyon frowarde how that Edmonde erle of Lancastre, Leicestre, and Derby, wase the elder sonne of Kynge Henry the thride, croukebacked, unable to have been kynge, for the whiche Edward his yonger brother was made kynge be his assente, as some men have alleged, be an untrew cronycle, feyned in the tyme of kynge Richarde the seconde be John of Gaunte duke of Lancastre, to make Henry his sonne kynge, whan' he sawe he myght not be chose for heyr apparaunt to kynge Richarde.

"For I John Hardyng, the maker of this booke, herde the erle of Northumberlande, that was slayne at Bramham More in the tyme of King Henry the Fourth, saie, how the same kyng Henry, vpon saynt Mathee daye afore he wase made kinge, put forth that ilke cronycle claymyng his title to the crowne be the seide Edmonde, upon whiche all the Cronycles of Westminstre and of all other notable monasteries were hade in the counsell at Westmynstre, and examyned amonge the lordes, and proued well be all their cronycles, that the kinge Edward wase the older brother, and the seide Edmonde the yonger brother, and not croukebacked, nother maymed, but the semeliest person of Engelande except his brother Edward. Wherefore that Chronycle which kynge Henry so put furth was adnulled and reproved.

"And than I herde the seide erle saie, that the seid kynge Henry made kynge Richard vnder duresse of prison in the Toure of London in fere of his life to make a resignation of his right to hym. And upon that a renunciation of the seide right. And tho two declared in the counsell and in the parlement at Westmynster, on the morowe of seynt Michell than next followynge, what of his myght and his wilfulness, and what be certeyne lordes and strength of the commons, he was crounde ayenst his oth made in the White Ffreres at Doncastre to the seid erle of Northumberlande and other lordes, ayenst the wille and counsell of the seide erle and of his sonne, and of sir Thomas Percy earl of Worcestre, for which cause they died after, as I knew well, for that tyme I was in the feelde at Shrewsbury with Sir Henry Percy, of the age of xxvth yere, armed, and afore brought up in his house of xij yere of age.

"Also I herde the seide erle of Northumberlande saie divers tymes, that he herde duke John of Lancastre, amonge the lordes in counsels and in parlementes and in the common house, amonge the knyghtes chosyn' for the comons, aske be bille forto beene admytte heire apparaunte to king Richarde, considerynge howe the kynge was like to have no issue of his bodie. To the which the lordes spirituall and temporell and the commons in the
common

Bretons, should speedily assault thee ;⁷ for thou hast done the most horrible deed that ever man committed. It is a foul report for thee. For this thou wilt at last come to perdition, body and soul.*

common house, be hoole aduyse, seide, that the erle of Marche, Roger Mortymere, was his next heire to the croun, of full discent of blode, and they wolde have noone other ; and axed a question upon it, who durst disable the kynge of issue, he beyng yonge and able to have children ; for which when the duke of Lancastre wase so putt bie, he and his counsell feyned and forged the seid Cronycle that Edmonde shuld be the elder brother, to make his son Henry a title to the croun, and wold have hade the seide erle of Northumberland, and sir Thomas Percy his brother, of counsaile thereof, for cause thei were discent of the seid Edmonde be a suster ; *but they refused it.*

" Whiche Cronycle, so forged, the duke dide put in divers abbaies and in freres, as *I herde the seid erle ofte tymes saie and recorde to divers persouns*, for to be kepte for the inheritance of his sonne to the croun, whiche title he put furste furth after he hade kynge Richarde in the Toure, *but that title the erle Percy put aside.*"¹

As to the Percys, it will scarcely be objected that their opposition to the inclinations of Henry upon so vital a point is irreconcilable with their acceptance of office under him. It is true that their consistency had been less compromised had they declined at an early period to receive his favours ; but for their individual security, or to further their common ends, they temporised with him till both parties could bear each other no longer. The demeanour of Northumberland in his quarrel with John of Gant many years before (see p. 126, note ^b) shews how violently he could act under any offence given to his pride. The deceit and falsehood of Henry had defeated his schemes, and wounded his feelings ; and from the above quotations it would appear that he made no secret of disclosing them among those who were around him. It was not probable, after all this, that they would continue long to agree ; nor were farther causes of animosity wanting to bring on the rupture, which involved the whole family in ruin. These causes have been already more than once adverted to ; and various opinions have been adduced as to the uncertain grounds of their open quarrel. But their dislike to him began from the hour that he commenced his reign. That ancient grudge, out of which all subsequent bickerings might partly have arisen, is here disclosed, having been unavoidably reserved to this point of investigation. Springs of action in matters of remote history are not easy of detection ; but it is hoped, that in the present instance, if the proof is not clearly established, it is not altogether obscure.²

Thus

¹ Hardyng, pp. 355, 356.

² The Earl of Worcester's opinion of Henry is given from Carte, see p. 15, note. I had not then, nor till a late period, seen the statements of Hardyng. Shakspeare's masterly view of the characters and politics of all the parties is very near the truth.

When I had made an end of my ballad² I was eased of my former wrath for the great evil that I had seen them commit, in thus undoing

Thus much it seemed needful to observe finally with respect to Northumberland: seeing he has hitherto appeared under every disadvantage, it was right that his views in acting against Richard, and forwarding the cause of Henry of Lancaster, should claim some share of consideration. It is from these alone, as he himself has explained them, that we can learn how far he truly sided with the latter, and where he ceased to accord with him. From the whole of which it appears, that, like many who have attempted to effect violent political changes, he was hurried beyond his original designs; and being engaged with turbulent spirits whom he could not control, was compelled by force of circumstances to yield to Henry's arts, and finally to fall before his superior power.

² This may be considered an exhortation, not only to general hostilities, which the French would, perhaps, have begun immediately, had not Isabel been in Henry's power; but to those individual defiances in which the nobility of that country were never backward. Some such arose out of this quarrel. Louis Duke of Orleans twice challenged Henry, upon the ground of rebellion, usurpation, and murder, to fight with a hundred knights on a side, in the Marches of Guienne; and Waleran earl of Saint Paul sent him a cartel of defiance. To the former Henry replied that he was ready to meet him; but it may be doubted if he was sincere.¹ It might suit him better to negotiate than fight with the French at that time. Waleran's provocation he treated with contempt. The challenge of the Percys has been mentioned in the preceding note.

In the manifesto attributed to Scroope the whole people of England were afterwards called upon to avenge the injuries offered to Richard; and threatened with the divine chastisement on the part of foreign nations and of their neighbours, the Welsh, Scotch, and Irish, if they should refuse. "Surge, Anglia, in causam, sanguinem, injuriam et mortem regis tui, et injuriam in tua persona celeriter vindicare! Quod si non feceris, scito quodd verus Deus et justus per alias gentes et extraneas nationes, puta Wallicanas, Scoticas, et Hibernicanas, destruet tuam linguam et gentem; et sic in ira sua vindicabit se de te pro hac nefanda re."³

² But it is not the only ballad that the author of this metrical History composed upon the

¹ Yet, according to the monk of Saint Denys, in the History of Charles VI. the cartel was ill received; the herald, who brought it, sent back without presents, contrary to the noble custom of arms; and the combat rejected as unequal, on account of the inequality of the parties, since Lancaster was mounted on the throne of England. Saint Palaye, *Mem. on Anc. Chivalry*, transl. by Dobson, p. 228.

³ *Anglia Sacra*, p. II. p. 365.

their lord, like traitors and persecutors. I heartily wish that each of them were drawing nigh to his own destruction. I think it would

the subject of King Richard, exciting his countrymen to arm in his favour. And here though late, and long after the preliminary observations and preceding notes were committed to the press, I feel great pleasure in being able to announce the name of the writer. This I owe to the favour of Henry Petrie, Esq. That gentleman informs me, that there are three copies of the "*Histoire de Richart*," in the Royal Library at Paris, and that a fourth has been recently purchased at an auction for the same collection.

MSS. François, Nos. 7532, 7656, are both on paper of the fifteenth century, and are anonymous. But MS. No. 275, Fonds de St. Victor, where the Harleian copy ends, has this sentence in conclusion. "Explicit l'ystoire du roy Richart d'Engleterre composée p CRETON." Then follows, fol. 132 b. "Epistre fet par le dit Creton. Ainsi come vraye amour requiert a tres noble prince et vraye catholique Richart d'Engleterre, je, Creton ton liege serviteur te renvoye ceste epistre," &c. The writer goes on to express his joy at Richard's escape, and his astonishment that he should have been able to survive the wretched condition to which he had been traitorously reduced; &c. Following this, fol. 133, is a "*Balade par le dit Creton*."

"O vous seignors de sang royal de France
Mettez la main aux armes vistement,
Et vous avez certaine cognoissance
Du roy qui tant a souffert de tourment
Par faulx Anglois qui traiteusement
Lui ont tollu la domination,
Et puis de mort fait condemnation.
Mais Dieu, qui est le vray juge es sainz cieulx,
Lui a sauvé la vie. Main et tart
Chascun le dit par tut, jeunes et vieulx.
C'est d'Albion le noble roy Richart."

There are four more stanzas, the last of which has only six lines, all ending with "*C'est d' Albion*," &c. Several other *Balades* follow, one of which is assigned to Creton, and, perhaps, they all belong to him: but of these I have no particulars. The MS. lately added to the library also mentions Creton. It is on vellum with illuminations.

It may fairly be conjectured that the above epistle and ballad were composed about the time when the French armament was preparing, that effected a landing in Wales, joined Owen Glyndwr, and advanced to Worcester. This outfit must have been early in 1405.

We shall have occasion hereafter to shew that the report of Richard's being in existence was frequently revived during the reign of Henry, and sincerely believed by the great body of the people.

redound to the salvation of all who with a hearty will would attack them ; for they are so far gone in falsehood and outrage, in deed and word, that, certes, I firmly do believe there is no race like unto them under heaven. This is my opinion, considering that their actions are neither loyal nor right, according to reason and justice. But if I am wrong in saying so, pardon me. For their evil doings which I beheld, have caused me thus to speak out respecting them.

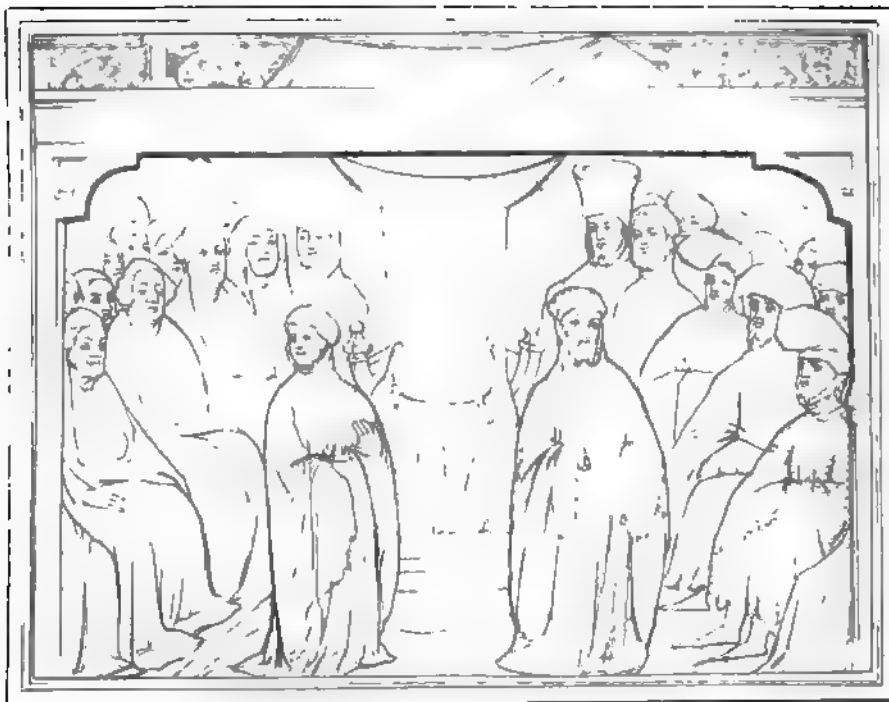
Thus, as you have heard related, I returned from their country bare enough of money and clothes ; and I often thought within myself, that I must by some means learn the end of their affair, and how they would finish their enterprise respecting their king, whom, like a vile wretch, they kept prisoner at Westminster. This was much to their shame, and ever shall be whilst they live. Never shall they have honour, at least among loyal men, because of their very great offences.

So I abode long time at Paris without knowing what they did with the king their lord, whom with shame and sorrow they wrongfully detained a very long time in prison ; till a clerk, whom Duke Henry had taken with him when he departed from Paris, came back sad and afflicted at the great evil that he had seen, and very well remembered ; for upon his return he related it to me, telling me that he would not have all the wealth of England, were it upon condition that he must pass his life there ; such hatred have they of the French. He then told me how they had most unrighteously taken the king to Westminster and shut him up. When Duke Henry was newly arrived at London he went straight to Saint Paul's, and thence to Saint John's, which is hard by without the walls ; it is an hospital of the Templars.* The duke

* He calls it in both places, see p. 181, an hospital of the Templars. But that order had ceased to exist since 1312, and their estates and houses, particularly the Temple, which was now let out to lawyers, had been granted to their successors, the knights Hospitalers. Saint John's of Jerusalem in Clerkenwell was founded for the latter, and never appertained to the Templars. The influence of the lord prior here was very great ; he had precedence of all the lay barons in parliament : his friendship and assistance were therefore of high importance. See Dugdale, *Monastic*. II. p. 550. Tanner, *Notit. Monast. Middlesex*, VIII. 11, 13.



ILLUMINATION XVI.



staid there right willingly full fifteen days, after which he departed and went into his county of Hertford.^b Such was the account given me by the clerk, who right well noted the whole of their deeds, and their unjust behaviour.

He stayed three weeks in the said county, and then returned to London, for he had received a message from the commons. There he was commanded to appoint a day for the parliament. This greatly delighted Duke Henry, and he was heartily willing to attend to it without delay. Nothing could have pleased him more. Because he knew of a truth, that the king would be therein undone, and that he should be made king.

Accordingly he assembled his people, who were very obedient to his command and counsel. Certes, it is to me most marvellous how God could endure the evil, which each of them had in his thoughts. It was, as I heard, the first Wednesday in October that they all assembled. Alas! few friends had King Richard in that company; for they had all a desire right briefly to undo him. They did so: but of a truth I believe they will dearly pay for it. For the just and true Judge, who is in heaven above, knowing their deeds and their sayings, if they have no other punishment, will punish them hereafter.

(ILLUMINATION. See PLATE XVI.)

So they all assembled with evil intention at Westminster, without the city of London. This is the truth. First (*came*) all the prelates, archbishops and bishops. Alas, what was their thought! what their resolution! They must have had wrath in their hearts, to agree to

^b John of Gant usually resided in the castle of Hertford. He was there during his last illness.¹ My friend, Mr. H. Ellis, suggests that it should be read *Hereford*: for the two names are indiscriminately used by Chroniclers, at times when Hereford only is intended. It is so all through the history of the Bohuns; and not unfrequently occurs in charters and documents where more literal care ought to have been taken.

¹ Froissart, VII. c. 33. XII. c. 12.

such a parliament. Next came the dukes foremost, marquesses, earls and knights, squires, varlets and archers, with many sorts of folk who were neither noble nor gentle, but all false and traitors. There they were in such great heaps, that, I dare say, the officers who went before them could scarcely enter the hall. These had already prepared the king's seat in very fair array, for they hoped to elect another king. So they did most wrongfully, as you shall hereafter be told. The prelates were seated close to the seat around it, whereof much was said (or, *whereof he said much, i. e.* the informant). On the other side, all the lords, of all degrees and conditions, (great, middling, little, and less,) were seated in the fairest order I ever heard of.

First sat Duke Henry, and next to him the Duke of York,^c his fair cousin, whose heart was not right faithful towards his nephew, King Richard. After him, on the same side, sat the Duke of Aumarle, the son of the Duke of York; and then the Duke of Surrey, who was ever loyal and true. After him sat the Duke of Exeter, who had no reason to rejoice, for he saw before him preparation made for the ruin of the king, his brother. Early and late this was the wish of them all. Then came another on that side, who was called the Marquess,^d lord of a

^c Edmund Plantagenet, Duke of York, fifth son of Edward III. He had been left in charge of the government by Richard II. during his absence in Ireland. He joined Henry at Berkeley, but seems to have taken no share in the military operations against the king after the capture of Bristol castle. He was born in 1341, and died August 3, 1402, and was buried at Langley.¹

^d John Beaufort, eldest son of John of Gant by Catherine Swinford, created, 20 Ric. II., Earl of Somerset, and afterwards in the same year, and by separate patent on the same day, Marquess of Dorset and of Somerset. In 1 Hen. IV. his right to the latter title was made void; but restored by parliament in 4 Hen. IV. Upon which occasion he petitioned against the appellation of Marquess, as it had been recently introduced into the kingdom: but he afterwards accepted it. No one in England had borne it before him, but Robert Vere, whom Richard II. in 1385 had made Marquess of Dublin.²

From

¹ Ypod. Neustrie, p. 558.

² Dugdale, Baronage, II. pp. 121, 122.

great country. And next the Earl of Arundel, who is right young and active. The Earl of Norvic^e next, was not forgotten in the account, neither he of la Marche.^f There was one who was Earl of Stamford,^g

From the singularity of this title, contemporaries called him simply "the Marquess." His attachment to Henry is thus noticed in MS. Ambassades: "The Duke of York made his peace with Henry; and the Marquess, brother of Henry, also made his peace with him; and when the Percys objected to receiving the latter, at last the duke pulled out some letters from his velvet pouch (*gibesiere de velours*), and said, 'He is my brother, and has always been my friend. See the letters he sent to me in France.'"¹

His wife was Margaret, daughter of Thomas Holand Earl of Kent. He died in 1409.

^e *Norvic* is no doubt an error of the reporter or transcriber. It should, perhaps, be Warwick. There was no Earl of Norwich till the 2d Charles I. The person here spoken of might be Thomas, son of Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick by Catherine, daughter of Roger Mortimer first Earl of March. Richard II. had arrested him at the same time that he seized the Duke of Gloucester; and sent him to the castle of Tintagel, in Cornwall;² he then banished him to the Isle of Man, and afterwards confined him in the Tower of London. His attainder was reversed October 12, 1399. He was a knight of the Garter. He died at an advanced age, April 8, 1401, and is buried in the south part of the Collegiate Church at Warwick. His wife was Margaret, daughter of William Lord Ferrers of Groby.³

^f Here it is probable Creton's informant was mistaken. Edmund Mortimer, son of Roger Earl of March and Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Holand Earl of Kent, could not have been more than seven years of age. As he was the next heir to the crown, even if his age had permitted him to be a spectator in such an assembly, it might have been dangerous to have brought him into sight at a time, when so many opinions were in his favour. Henry IV. kept him out of the way with his younger brother in the castle of Windsor, and gave him in ward to his son Henry Prince of Wales.⁴

^g Q. Earl of Stafford? Edmund, son of Hugh Earl of Stafford by Philippa, daughter of Thomas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, was about twenty-four years of age. He had lately married, by special licence, Anne, daughter of the late Duke of Gloucester, the widow of his elder brother Thomas. He was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Henry IV. He was slain fighting for the king at the battle of Shrewsbury, and was buried in the choir of the Augustin Friars at Stafford before the high altar.⁵

¹ MS. Ambassades, p. 129. Mr. Allen's Extracts.

² Rot. Parl. III. p. 436.

³ Dugdale, Baronage, I. pp. 237, 238.

⁴ Ibid. p. 151.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 163, 164.

and never would agree with his lord King Richard; on this side also sat one whom I heard called Earl of Pembroke,^b and a baron. And close to him was seated the Earl of Salisbury, who so faithfully loved the king, that he was loyal to the last. The Earl of Devonshireⁱ was there as I heard. All other earls and lords, the greatest in the kingdom, were present at this assembly; their desire and intention being to choose another king. There in fair fashion stood the Earl of Northumberland, and the Earl of Westmorland,^j the whole of the day; and

^b This cannot be right. The earldom of Pembroke was now extinct in the family of Hastings; John, the last earl, a youth of great promise, having been killed in a tournament at Windsor, 13 Ric. II. to the great regret of his friends. Of this family it has been noted that, owing to premature deaths, no son, for several generations, ever saw his father, nor any father of them took delight in seeing his child.

A cause was at this time pending between Reginald Lord Grey of Ruthin, and Edward Hastings, as to the right of bearing the arms. This Edward in 4 Hen. IV. assumed the title; but it is not ascertained that he was ever created, or summoned to parliament. The title was afterwards revived, 18 Hen. VI. in favour of Jasper of Hatfield.¹

ⁱ Edward, son of Edward Courtney and Emmeline, daughter of Sir John D'Auney, knight, was grandson and heir of Hugh Earl of Devon. He served by sea and land during the reign of Richard II. under the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester; and in 7 Ric. II. was admiral of the king's fleet from the mouth of the Thames westward. In 8 Ric. II. he was Earl Marshal of England. He died December 5, 1419, and was buried in the abbey church of Forde in the county of Devon.²

^j Ralph, son of John, Lord Nevill of Raby by Maud, daughter of Henry Lord Percy, was advanced to the title of Earl of Westmorland in 21 Ric. II. He had been of the privy council to Richard II.; but was one of those who met Henry soon after his landing, and was present at the resignation in the Tower. He was very active in the cause of Henry IV. against the Percys; and suppressed the insurrection in Yorkshire, in which he made Archbishop Scroope prisoner. He died in 4 Hen. VI. and was buried in the choir of the collegiate church of Staindrope in the county of Durham, of which he had been the founder. He was married first to Margaret, daughter of Hugh Earl of Stafford, and afterwards to Joan, daughter of John of Gant.³

¹ Dugdale, Baronage, i. p. 578. III. p. 241. But Holinshed's account is, that John Hastings was accidentally killed, as he was learning to joust in the park at Woodstock, by Sir John Saint John. He adds, that the suit for the right of the lands, honours, and arms, began in 8 Hen. IV. and lasted till 5 Hen. V. if not longer. Chronicles, a. 1390.

² Ibid. I. p. 640.

³ Ibid. I. pp. 297. 298.

for the better discharge of their duty, they kneeled very often : wherefore, or how it was I cannot tell.

The Archbishop of Canterbury next arose, and preached^k before all the people in Latin. The whole of his sermon was (*upon this*), “*Habuit Jacob benedictionem a patre suo* :”—“How Jacob had gotten the blessing instead of Esau, although he were the eldest son.” This he set forth as true. Alas, what a text for a sermon ! He made it to prove, in conclusion, that King Richard ought to have no part in the Crown of England, and that the prince ought to have had the realm and territory. These were very ungrateful people ; after they had all held him to be rightful king and lord for two and twenty years, by a great error they ruined him with one accord.

When the archbishop had finished his sermon in the Latin language, a lawyer, who was a most sage doctor, and also a notary, arose and commanded silence. For he began to read aloud an instrument which contained how Richard, sometime King of England, had avowed and confessed, of his own will, without compulsion,^l that he was neither

^k In page 52, note w, it is observed that the archbishop preached at the coronation : but this is not correctly stated. It was upon the day of deposition and election. According to the Abridgement of the Rolls, he made at that time two short political discourses or collations, one at the opening of the business, and the other, when Henry was placed in the royal seat ;¹ in neither of which, as given in the above authority, does any thing occur relative to Jacob and Esau. Another of his collations occurs in Cotton, at the assembling of the parliament in Gloucester, 9 Hen. IV.²

^l The instrument which he signed is worded in a style of the most voluntary and entire self-abasement. The following expressions occur. “I do purely of my own accord renounce and totally resign all kingly dignity and majesty, &c. purely, voluntarily, simply, and absolutely, I do renounce and them do totally resign. And I do confess, acknowledge, repute, and truly and out of certain knowledge do judge myself to have been and to be utterly insufficient and unuseful for the rule and government of the said kingdoms and dominions, with all their appurtenances ; and that for my notorious demerits I deserve to be deposed.”³ The

¹ Cotton's Abridgement, pp. 384, 389.

² Id. p. 464.

³ Life and Reign of Richard II. pp. 195, et seq. from Knighton.

capable nor worthy, wise nor prudent, nor gentle (*enough*) to bear the crown ; and that it was his wish to resign it into the hand of another worthy man (*prudomme*) of noble birth and greater wisdom than himself.—

The artful language, in which the account of his accompanying words and gestures is given in the Rolls, has been pointed out in page 139, note ¹. His opponents would have it believed that the surrender of his dignity was attended by a levity unworthy of his situation and the solemnity of the occasion ; and it may be suspected that, in these representations of his readiness and “ merry countenance,” they had it in view to render him contemptible. It may, however, not be deemed improbable by many, who have formed no high opinion of his personal character, that in the presence of those who extorted his compliance, and whom he could neither propitiate nor resist, he summoned resolution to go through the task with a firmness that became him. In any case it is clear that the means by which he was driven to it, had been of the harshest kind. Northumberland, who ought to have known what had past, asserted, in the hearing of Hardyng, that he was forced to it under fear of death ; and he scrupled not to publish it to Henry’s face. “ Tu ipsum dominum tuum et regem nostrum imprisonasti infra turrim London quousque resignaverat metu mortis regna Angliæ et Franciæ.”¹

The prose MSS. in the library of the King of France will help us to follow Richard into the Tower, and view the irritated condition of his mind during the earlier part of his confinement. They relate that, when the Dukes of Lancaster and York went to the Tower to see the king, Lancaster desired the Earl of Arundel to send the king to them. When this message was delivered to Richard, he replied, “ Tell Henry of Lancaster from me, that I will do no such thing, and that, if he wishes to speak with me, he must come to me.” On their entering, none shewed any respect to the king, except Lancaster, who took off his hat and saluted him respectfully, and said to him ; “ Here is our cousin, the Duke of Aumarle, and our uncle, the Duke of York, who wish to speak with you ;” to which Richard answered, “ Cousin, they are not fit to speak to me.” “ But have the goodness to hear them,” replied Lancaster : upon which Richard uttered an oath, and turning to York, “ Thou villain, what wouldst thou say to me ? and thou, traitor of Rutland, thou art neither good nor worthy enough to speak to me, nor to bear the name of duke, earl, or knight ; thou, and the villain thy father, have both of you foully betrayed me ; in a cursed hour were ye born ; by your false counsel was my uncle of Gloucester put to death.” The Earl of Rutland replied to the king that, in what he said, he lied ; and threw down his bonnet at his feet ; on which the king said, “ I am king, and thy lord ; and will still continue king ; and will be a greater lord than I ever was, in spite of all my enemies.”

¹ *Chronicle*, pp. 352, 353.

Thus right or wrong, they by agreement caused King Richard to make a declaration in the Tower of London, in a most wicked manner; and then in this parliament read the instrument before all. It's witnesses were bishops^m (*and*) abbots, who affirmed and testified that the instru-

enemies." Upon this Lancaster imposed silence on Rutland. Richard, turning then with a fierce countenance to Lancaster, asked why he was in confinement; and why under a guard of armed men. "Am I your servant or your king? What mean you to do with me?" Lancaster replied, "You are my king and lord, but the council of the realm have ordered that you should be kept in confinement till full decision (*jugement*) in parliament. The king again swore; and desired he might see his wife. "Excuse me," replied the duke, "it is forbidden by the council." Then the king in great wrath walked about the room; and at length broke out into passionate exclamations, and appeals to heaven; called them "false traitors," and offered to fight any four of them; boasted of his father and grandfather, his reign of twenty-two years; and ended by throwing down his bonnet. Lancaster then fell on his knees, and besought him to be quiet till the meeting of parliament, and there every one would bring forward his reason.

At the conclusion of this interview Richard is made to say, "At least, fair Sirs, let me come in judgment (*on trial*), that I may be heard in my reasons; and that I may answer to all that they would say and bring forward against me and my regal majesty." Then said the Duke of Lancaster, "Sire, be not afraid; for nothing unreasonable shall be done to you." And so he took leave of the king; and not a lord who was there durst utter a word.¹

This is the scene to which allusion has been made in the biographical account of the Earl of Rutland, page 23, note ¹, and of which Galliard has given the substance very imperfectly.² The principal part of it is derived from the MS. Ambassades, the other MSS. contributing only a few particulars.

Another conference between Richard and Henry in the Tower, at the solicitation of the former, is given by Froissart, XII. c. 26. in which Richard, in a very different temper, humbly acknowledges his errors, offers to resign; and listens with patience to reproofs of his conduct, and rumours of his illegitimacy from the mouth of his rival.

^m The Archbishops of York and Canterbury, the Bishop of Hereford, the Prior of Canterbury,

¹ Mr. Allen's MS. Extracts from MS. Ambassades, pp. 144, 145, 146. MS. No. 1128, p. 306. MS. No. 10212. MS. No. ¹⁰²¹²₃ B, p. 216. The MS. of Lebeau, No. ²⁷⁴⁵₃, makes Richard still more violent against the Duke of York and his son. But this is a production of a later date, and drawn almost entirely from MS. Ambassades.

² Accounts and Extracts, II. pp. 226, 227.

ment was entirely true. Now consider this testimony : never was such an outrage heard of.

When the reading of the instrument was ended, all kept silence, and the archbishop then rose and took up anew his discourse, laying his foundation upon the instrument aforesaid, and speaking so loud that he was plainly heard of the people. " Forasmuch as it is thus, and that Richard, sometime King of England, hath by his words and of his own good will acknowledged and confessed that he is not sufficiently able, worthy, or well skilled to govern the kingdom, it were right good to advise and chuse another king." Alas ! fair sirs, what an evil deed ! There were they judge and party accusing. It was not a thing justly divided nor of legal right ; because there was no man in that place for the old king, save three or four who durst upon no account gainsay them.^a All

terbury, and Abbot of Westminster, were witnesses to the formal act of resignation ; and the Bishop of Saint Asaph and Abbot of Glastonbury among the Commissioners in the sentence of deprivation.¹

^a In his description of the proceedings of this day, no hint is given concerning the speech of Merks, Bishop of Carlisle, whose loyalty and attachment to the person of Richard II. he so highly applauds. If this speech had ever been made at this time, it must either have been heard by Creton's friend, who appears to have been present ; or it would have been so notorious that he must have received intelligence of it, and could not have passed it over in relating his story ; and then we may be persuaded that it must have been so consonant to the feelings of Creton, that he could not have omitted the insertion of it. Great diversity of opinion exists as to the day upon which it was delivered : but this part of the text is selected for observation upon the point, because the writer positively informs us of an entire silence upon the part of Richard's friends.

Hall seems to have been the first who gave it in an English dress. The ambition of Hayward to rival Livy in his orations, or his zeal for the doctrines maintained in this speech, prompted him to amplify it ; and in this state it was handed down by the generality of our historians without reference to the source from which it was derived. Carte knew it ; but the whole accorded too closely with his sentiments to permit him to doubt its authenticity. That doubt was, however, expressed by Kennett.² It is his opinion that Merks himself

¹ Life and Reign of Ric. II. pp. 196, 194, 223.

² Third letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle.

that they said or did was the greatest mockery ; for, great and small, they all agreed, without any dividing, that they would have a king who better knew how to discharge his duty than Richard had done. And when

himself was not present when the speech is said to have been made,¹ and he urges that there is no intimation of it in the records of parliament, which refer to many other hot words and speeches. But he traced it no higher than Hall, who, he says, died a hundred and fifty years after the occurrence. Yet Hall was not the fabricator of it. Its prototype is to be found in the contemporary author of the MS. Ambassadors. Had Kennett been aware of this he might have drawn additional arguments from it in proof of his point. For the situation in which the original author just mentioned, and the writers of the other prose MSS. his copyists have inserted it, and the manner in which they describe the proceedings among which it is placed, render its authenticity questionable. Mr. Allen, in his notes on these MSS. judiciously observes ; "The French accounts with respect to the parliamentary transactions of this period are very confused. All the MSS. make the judgment of parliament concerning the person of Richard, and consequently the speech of the Bishop of Carlisle, prior to the coronation of Henry. But the records of parliament, and other public acts, prove that it was not till after his coronation that Henry referred to his parliament to determine in what manner his predecessor should be disposed of. The same MSS. agree in relating three meetings of the parliament on three different days before Henry's coronation ; on the first of which he was saluted king by acclamation ; on the second was the speech of the Bishop of Carlisle ; and on the third, the mutual challenges and defiances of nobles, and the punishment of the Duke of Gloucester's murderers. But the Rolls of Parliament are in flat contradiction to this account. On the first day Richard was deposed, the articles of accusation against him read and approved, and Henry proclaimed king. Before the second day he was crowned ; and the other occurrences took place some days after."

These disorderly and imperfect statements, and the total omission of any interference by Merks in the text, greatly confirm the assertions of Kennett.² The testimony of the
prose

¹ Our author nowhere says that he was present ; but as the Dukes of Exeter and Surrey, and the Earl of Salisbury were there, it need not be questioned. Froissart, XII. c. 27, says, that Salisbury was in close confinement. But the Rolls shew that those lay lords were all cited, and appeared in parliament ; and there can be no doubt that Merks was there also. It has been conjectured that he is represented in the Illumination as the second from behind on the bench of Bishops.

² The anger and contempt with which Hearne visits Kennett for his discoveries respecting Merks, would favour the supposition that his antagonists felt he had the better of the argument. "Nec quidem quis unquam authenticam (sc. orationem) esse dubitaverit, perduelles aliquot si excipias, in quibus Proteum illum nuperum, (Kennett. Episc. Petrob.) qui, fabellas aniles pueriliter consecutus, de hac oratione libellos aliquot conscribavit ediditque, numerandum esse judicemus." Præfat. in Hist. Vitæ et Regni Ric. II.

the Archbishop had completely made an end in the English language of declaring his will and his evil intention, and the people had replied according to that which they had heard, he began to interrogate and question each man by himself.^o "Will you that the Duke of York be your king?" All in good order answered, "No." — "Will you then have his eldest son, who is Duke of Aumarle?" They answered aloud, "Let no one speak to us of him." Once more again he asked, "Will you then have his youngest son?" They said, "Nay, truly." He asked them concerning many others, but the people stopped at none of those that he had named. And then the archbishop ceased to say much. He next enquired aloud, "Will you have the Duke of Lancaster?" They all at once replied with so loud a voice, that the account which I heard appears marvellous to me, "Yea; we will have no other." Then they praised Jesus Christ.

prose MSS. above alluded to, is on this head certainly suspicious, not to say of very little account. And that the writer of the MS. Ambassades was imperfectly acquainted with what occurred in parliament is evident from his having totally passed over¹ the leading fact that Richard had signed a deed of abdication which was then publicly produced and acted upon. These remarks need not, however, be applied to shake the credit of other portions of that lively and curious narrative, which seems to have been penned by one who was either present at a great part of what he relates, or had immediate intercourse with many of the actors.

The original of this speech has never, I believe, been printed. It is given in the APPENDIX No. V. from the MS. in question, with collations from the other MSS. described in the prefatory observations, and will present a fair specimen of the manner in which they have all copied that earlier production; by this it will be seen how little their respective claims to originality merit attention. The extract commences with the proceedings in parliament of the first day.

^o The value of this history is considerably diminished in point of accuracy from the termination of the author's personal narrative. Not only is the business of the day distorted, but the whole is made to assume the air of an election: whereas, immediately after the throne was declared vacant, the duke rose from his seat and challenged the realm and crown of England; and then the prelates, lords, and commons were severally asked their opinion as to his claim.

¹ Accounts and Extracts, II. p. 227.

When the bishops and prelates, weary of the unsettled state of things, with the greatest lords, who lost many honours on the day of this election, had agreed to the question without contradiction, like traitors false and full of wrath; as also all the other knights, squires, villains, and archers, and all the commonalty; the whole of them cruelly declared that he who would not consent to this, was right worthy of death. And thus three times was this counterfeit, false and malicious interrogation made: it will be a scandal to them for ever.

They next made instruments thereof, letters, charters, and bulls, in presence of all who were in the hall, which was most richly decked in a well-ordered manner. The two archbishops arose together, and went to the duke, who was now elected king by the common people, and both of them kneeled down saying thus, "The sovereign princes here present, and the prelates in goodly sort (manner) elect thee, and call thee king; consider if thou thyself consent thereto." Then did Duke Henry, who at that time was upon his knees, most solemnly rise, and declare before all, ^p that he accepted of the regal power, since it was (*thus*) ordained of God; he himself afterwards questioned them all, and asked them if it was their will. With a marvellously loud voice they answered "Yea." This so quickened him, (put such a flea in his ear) that without farther delay he accepted and took possession of the Crown of England. The archbishops, who were both upon their

^p But he had previously obtained his own consent without any solicitation, and had advanced his claim.

The very words in which he preferred it were carefully recorded. "In the name of Fader, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster, chalenge this Rewme of Yndlonde, and the Croun, with all the Members and the Appurtenances, als I that am descendit, be right line of the Blode, comy'g fro the Gude Lord King Henry Therde, and thorghe that right, that God of eis Grace hath sent me, with helpe of my Kyn, and of my Frendes to recover it; the which Rewme was in point to be ondone for defaut of Governance, and undoyng of the Gude Lawes."¹

These expressions, uncouth as they may now appear, were doubtless thoroughly digested

¹ *Life and Reign of Ric. II.* p. 226.

knees, most carefully read the service, and the whole of that which the new king was bound to observe; and with many ceremonies, offices, and rites, according to their custom, put the cross upon his head and the whole of his body, in great pomp. He then kissed both the archbishops, and they took the costly ring^q of the realm, wherewith they are wont to espouse their kings, which is, say they, their peculiar right. They bare it between them to the constable, whom they esteem a notable knight, Lord Percy; and when he had taken the ring he shewed it openly to all who were there present; then he kneeled down, and put it upon the king's right hand by way of espousal. But I would not give a farthing for it; because this office was performed without right or justice. I do not say that it might not be a worthy thing, were it done as such a thing should have been. For the better accomplishment of their business the king kissed the constable on the mouth, a ceremony, the meaning of which I know not. The two archbishops returned towards the king, and led him straight by the arms to the royal seat, which was at hand, richly decked. The king knelt before it, and made his orisons in it. Then, like a wise man, he spake generally to all; ^r especially to

gested and arranged before the ceremony; and the mode of delivering them was probably a studied piece of acting, which, however, did not produce the desired impression upon all the beholders. The authorised account represents him "rising up from his place, and standing so erected as he might conveniently be seen by the people, and humbly¹ fortifying himself with the sign of the cross on his forehead and on his breast."² The manifesto of Scroope on the other hand describes him "coram parlamento surgens superbe et pompaticè."³

^q He confounds the ceremony of the ring at the coronation, with Henry's exhibiting the signet of Richard, delivered to him by that king as a token of his will that he should succeed him.⁴

^r "The said Lord King Henry, to appease the minds of his subjects, did then and there

¹ "In reverend manner." Holinshed.

² Life and Reign of Ric. II. p. 325.

³ Anglia Sacra, P. II. p. 364.

⁴ Life and Reign of Ric. II. pp. 198, 226.

the prelates ; and afterwards to the chief lords, both in the Latin and English tongue ; and having finished his speech without any gainsaying, he sat down upon the royal seat. There, alas ! was king Richard deprived of it for the whole of his life : such was the grudge they had against him. But, if it please God, they will deal the same by him whom they have placed thereon.

On the said seat he remained a long while without any discourse or noise ; for each person was in the mean time devoutly praying for the good success, government, peace, and health of the new king whom they had made. And when every one there had made an end of his orisons, the constable, who was not as yet established or confirmed in the aforesaid office, in which he ought not to have been employed, was publicly called for. He knelt down humbly before Henry and the lords ; there was he chosen constable by (or from) the grandees without opposition, and Henry gave into the hand of the aforesaid constable the golden rod, which should daily move him to prowess, if he were willing rightly to discharge his duty.

In the next place they all chose a new marshal,^a and then in right fair array they swore firm fealty and affiance, in doing homage to Henry. Then they chose a very wise man who was made chancellor ;^b and after this appointed a keeper of the privy seal ;^c in fine they made

there utter these words. "Sirs, I thank God and zowe Spiritual and Temporel, and all the Astates of the lond ; and do zowe to wyte, it es noght my will that no man thynke that be way of conquest I wold disherit any man of his Heritage, Franches, or other Ryghts that hym aght to have, no put hym out of that that he has, and has had by the gude laws and customs of the Rewme : Except those persons that has ben agan the gude purpose and the commune profit of the Rewme."^d

^a Ralph Nevill Earl of Westmorland, Marshal for life.

^b Sir John de Searle, Clerk.

^c Sir Richard Clifford.

^d Life and Reign of Ric. II. p. 230.

a great many other officers. ^v Then the archbishop arose and repeated to them many mysteries (forms) in Latin, exhorting them sincerely to pray for the prosperity of the king and of his royal estate. He then spake to them in English, and when he had finished his saying the whole of them sat down.

Then arose Duke Henry: his eldest son, who humbly knelt before him, he made Prince of Wales, and gave him the land; but I think that he must conquer it, if he would have it; ^w for, in my opinion, the Welsh would on no account allow him to be their Lord, for the sorrow, evil, and disgrace which the English, together with his father, had brought upon king Richard. Each separately sware to the said prince, faith, loyalty, aid, assistance, fealty, as they had done to the duke. His second son he made Duke of Lancaster, without reserve (or as vassal), with the approbation of all. Then the whole of the prelates, dukes, earls, and all the common people, finally saluted him. The duke bowed with very great reverence in token of obedience, and then with one

^v William de Lodyngton, King's Attorney. John Godmanston, Clerk, Chamberlain of the Exchequer. John Norbury, Esquire, Treasurer of the Exchequer. John Cassy, Chief Baron, Laurence Allerthorp, Thomas Ferryby, Clerk, William Ford, Clerk, Barons of the Exchequer. Thomas Stanley, Clerk, Keeper of the Rolls in Chancery. John Nottingham, Clerk, Chancellor of the Exchequer. John Hill, Hugo Hulls, John Markham, William Haukforde, William Brenchisle, William Rickhil, Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, and William Thyrnyng, Chief Justice "de communi Banco."

In APPENDIX, No. VI. is given a succinct account of the coronation and principal proceedings in the ensuing parliament; from an inedited document in the Bodleian Library. It agrees in substance with the Rolls and the narrative of Holinshed; but contains some marks of originality which warrant its insertion; and it supplies a chasm in the text between the coronation and the rising of the nobles.

^w This sagacious observation upon the character and feelings of the nation was sufficiently verified by Owen Glyndwr's formidable resistance; and the service that Henry Prince of Wales was obliged to perform in person against him. Owen caused himself to be proclaimed Prince of Wales, September 30, 1400.*

* Cal. Rot. Pat. 1. pat. 1. Hen. IV. m. 18, 32, pp. 236 b. 237 a.

* Thomas, Mem. of O. Glyndwr, p. 65.

accord they all appointed, as I have heard, Saint Edward's day, the eighth of October, for the coronation of Duke Henry. They had now staid till it was very late ; on that day they did no more, save only that in conclusion they declared, that whoso did not rejoice at this election would be likely to lose his head.

Thus, as you have heard, and as he who heard the whole of the matter, and (*was present at*) the parliament, has related to me, was the old king undone, contrary to right, law, moderation, reason, or true justice. It will be a foul reproach to them for ever. And having done this, and ruined good Richard, and shut him in their prison, * which was a great

* Here most of the historians lose sight of Richard till his death at Pontefract. Some facts will, however, shew the treatment to which he was exposed, the jealousy with which he was guarded, and the many prisons to which he was shifted.

"On the Eve of All Saints Henry sent a black horse and black suit of clothes to Richard, before he was conveyed to the prison where he was to pass the rest of his days. When the king saw the black clothes and black spurs, he asked for whom they were intended ; the servant replied. He then asked who were to accompany him. 'The men of Kent, Sir.'—'Alas! they are the worst enemies I have: but tell Henry of Lancaster from me, that I am a loyal knight ; that I never forfeited my knighthood; and that he must send me a knight's spurs, otherwise I shall not mount a horse.' Then the servant brought him gilt spurs, a great coronet (*collar*) for his neck, and a sword: and thus accoutred, he was conducted from London to Gravesend under a guard; and there kept in confinement."

This was his first removal from the Tower, when it is generally understood he was taken to Leeds castle. Hardyng speaks of others.

"¶ Howe the kyng Henry removed kyng Richard from place to place by night in prevy wise; &c.

The kyng thē sent kyng Richard to Ledis,
There to be kept surely in previtee,
Fro thēs after to Pykeryng wēt he nedes,
And to Knavesburgh after led was he,
But to Pountfrete last were he did die."

He had a guard of thirty men at arms, at twelve pence per day. 2

¹ Mr. Allen's Extracts from MS. Ambassades, p. 150.

² Chronicle, p. 356.

³ Cal. Rot. Pat. 1. pat. 1 Hen. IV. m. 11. p. 236 b.

crime, on the Sunday next before the coronation Henry sent orders under his hand to the court of London, for assembling the greatest lords of England. And for obtaining praise and honour, he made, in the presence of all, a great quantity of knights.^y Thus he told me who was present, and affirmed that the number of them was forty and five; his youngest son, as he said, was the first. He afterwards, on the same day, rode through London, without stopping any longer at court, attended by all his new knights in fair array. Thus passed this day. When the afore-named Wednesday came on which he was to be crowned; to grace, and the higher to honour the said coronation, four dukes with ceremony and pomp supported over his head a rich pall of cloth of gold (*a or bastu*). The Duke of York was the first, and next the good Duke of Surrey, who did it not with a good will, for he loved King Richard, and so was always on his side, let them do what they would to him. The Duke of Aumarle was the third in performing the ceremony; he did the business willingly, for he was not right loyal, as you will learn hereafter. The fourth knew well how to behave himself, and was named the duke of Gloucester. These four dukes, right or wrong, with one accord supported the pall over their king, who made a very fair shew. And when he was crowned king they returned to the court, where dinner was most sumptuously prepared. This was the manner of it. The archbishop of Canterbury was seated first at the royal table. Duke Henry then took possession of the middle of the table, which, in notable state, was raised two feet and a half higher than both ends; so he who was present told me: according to his account it was two ells long or more. He also told me that many new bishops, who were neither true nor loyal, but made without right or reason, were seated at the king's table. His eldest son, who was made Prince

^y Among these was his eldest son:—though young Henry had already been knighted by Richard in Ireland. This may look like an oblique insult to Richard, when Henry IV. held his having knighted his son so cheaply that he thought it necessary to dub him again. But by the former ceremony he was made a knight banneret; by this a knight of the Bath.

of Wales, held in his hand a sword for tourney,² but I never heard what this ceremony signifieth. He was at the right hand of his father, and close to him was a knight who held the sceptre of the cross. On his left, I believe, was the new constable bearing before the table the sword^a of his office for the establishment of justice; but at that season they wrought it not; for without measure or rule, like people full of iniquity, evil, and disloyalty, they persevered in their work.

There stood the new marshal, the Earl of Westmorland, holding the royal sceptre before Henry; next to him, the Earl of Warwick, whom they highly esteem; one who was Earl of Arundel, young and active, was baker and grand butler on that day. The marquess carved at dinner; such was the order of it. The Duke of Aumarle served him with wine, but before he had done, there came on horseback into the hall, the seneschal, the marshal, and the constable; they placed themselves before the table as long as their services were required. And a knight named Thomas de Noth (Sir Thomas Dymock^b), well armed as

² The principal sword called Curtana. "S. Edwardi Confessoris Angl. regis gladius, vel ensis, qui in regum Anglorum coronatione a Cestrensi Comite præfertur, cuspidē acieque retusus, in signum misericordiæ populis a rege præstandæ, unde nomen." ¹ Reginald Lord Grey of Ruthin, heir to Hastings, bare the second, and the Earl of Warwick the third sword by right of inheritance. Holinshed and Carte.

^a This was the Lancaster sword, then first introduced at the coronation by Henry IV. being that which he wore on his landing. See two articles respecting it, and the Earl of Northumberland holding the Isle of Man by bearing it, Rymer, VIII. pp. 90, 91, 95.

^b The Champion. The origin of the Champions of England is derived by Camden from the Kilpecks, of Kilpec in Herefordshire, who held that office "in the beginning of the Normans."¹ This noble family became extinct in the male line by the death of Hugh Kilpec about 9 John; and his second daughter Joan married Philip Marmion.² Philip was a celebrated warrior under Henry III. and in his time I find the first mention of the manor of Scrivelsby in the county of Lincoln, held in that family by Barony.³ It is probable that this was a grant made to him by Henry III. on account of his great fidelity and
eminent

¹ Du Cange, Gloss. v. Curtana.

² Camden, I. f. 686.

³ Dugdale, Baronage, I. p. 597.

⁴ Ibid. p. 377.

for combat in battle, entered the hall upon a mailed horse, saying, "If there were any one, little or great, who would maintain or affirm that King Henry was not lord and rightful King of all England, he would

eminent services; and that the office of Champion, vacant by the decease of the Kilpeck, was revived in that individual, and attached to the manor. Philip died in 20 Edw. I. without heirs male; his estates were divided between co-heiresses; and Scrivelsby ceased to belong to a Marmion. Who acted as Champion at the coronations of Edward II. and III. does not appear; for the earliest public notice of this service upon record, according to Rapin, is at Richard the Second's coronation, which was performed with great attention to splendour. But even then the right to it was not ascertained; which looks as though it had been passed over upon some previous occasions. Two competitors started up for it. Baldwin de Freville claimed by reason of the tenure of the Castle of Tamworth, which castle had descended to him from Joan, his great-grandmother, wife of Richard Freville, and daughter of Mazere, second daughter of Philip Marmion aforesaid. John Dymock also claimed in regard of the lordship of Scrivelsby, which, by better authority than Freville could produce, appeared to be held by that service; and he asserted that the Marmions enjoyed that office as owners thereof, and not as lords of Tamworth Castle. The lordship of Scrivelsby had descended to Dymock by an heir female of Sir Thomas Ludlow, knight, husband of Joan, youngest daughter to the said Sir Philip Marmion.¹ To him it was adjudged, and in his posterity it has continued to the present day. I know not whether the Dymocks trace their claim so high as the Kilpecks. In the collection of the late Doctor Plott was their pedigree from the year 1141 till within memory, with all their arms and those of their matches.²

The ignorance of this Sir John Dymock in the exact punctilio of his duty, when Richard II. was crowned, may give additional weight to the supposition that the ceremony might not have been performed at the coronations of Edward the Second and his successor; or that he was the first of the name of Dymock who threw down the gauntlet. Instead of entering at the banquet, he was about to present himself before the king as he came out of the church; but the marshal, seneschal, and constable reminded him that he was wrong. Walsingham, who has described the service and privileges of the champion, is very minute upon this mistake. "*Interea præparavit se quidam miles dominus Johannes cognomento Dimmock, qui clamabat se habere jus ad defendendum jura regis illo die, et etiamsi opus esset duello configendum, si aliquis præsumeret affirmare regem non habere jus in regno Angliæ; quanquam per ante dominus Baldwinus Frevill idem officium calumniasset, sed minime obtinisset. Iste ergo dominus Joannes memoratus circa finem Missæ incessit ad*

valvas

¹ Dugdale, Baronage, II. p. 103.

² Dallaway's Inquiry, p. 266, note.

challenge him at all arms to the utterance." No man present made the least reply; so he rode three or four turns round the hall, seeking the combat, as he proved by what he declared. After dinner all the greatest lords of England, without exception, did homage to Duke Henry; but some of them did it not heartily and truly; for they had already in secret plotted his death; since he had on this day forcibly and wrongfully caused himself to be crowned. They all agreed that a great feast should be held at the ensuing Christmas in the strong and fair castle of Windsor.

So the feast was appointed. But those who had thought to accom-

valvas ecclesiæ armatus decentissime, insidens dextrarium pulcherrime phaleratum, caput etiam et pectus armatum, quem idem dominus Joannes assumpsit de stabulo regio, utens videlicet avita consuetudine tam in equo quam in armis eligendis de thesauro regis. Nam et optimum equum præter unum, et præter unam præcipuam armaturam facturus dictum officium elegit ad vota sua. Veniens igitur ad ostium monasterii, præequitantibus duobus, qui ejus lanceam et clypeum portaverunt, expectavit ibidem finem Missæ. Mareschallus autem Dominus Henricus Percy facturus viam coram Rege cum Seneschallo Angliæ, scilicet Duce (*Lancastriæ*), et Constabulario Domino Thoma Wodstock, atque fratre ejusdem Mareschalli Domino Thoma Percy, qui omnes magnos inequitavere dextrarios, venit ad dictum militem, dicens non debere eum ea hora venire, sed quod usque ad prandium regis differret adventum suum. Quapropter monuit, ut rediret, et deposito tanto onere armorum, quiesceret ad illud tempus. Miles vero juxta consilium Mareschalli facturus abscessit."¹

Sir John Dymock² died not long after, and his widow was obliged to petition the king for the fees due to her late husband for his service upon that occasion.³

The present champion, Thomas Dymock, son of the above, was one of the newly made knights of the Bath. He claimed in right of his mother Margaret, and his suit was granted in opposition to Baldwin Freville, son of the afore-mentioned Baldwin, who renewed his application.⁴

¹ Hist. Angl. p. 197.

² One of this name went with Richard II. into Ireland. Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 78. Johnes, in a note upon Froissart, XII. c. 12. suggests that the knight whom the Earl of Derby sent to his father to ask his permission to accompany Marshal Boucicaut into Hungary, and whom the historian calls *Del north*, was a Dymock. He was more probably Richard del Brugge, Lancaster King at Arms *Del North*. Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 100.

³ The petition is in Bibl. Cotton MSS. Vitellius, c. xiv. 49.

⁴ Holinsbed. in a. 1399.

plish their work would make an emprise of jousting against all comers. The good Duke of Surrey, ever loyal and true to his lord King Richard, together with Salisbury, undertook this jousting, that under cover of this feast they might bring in a number of armed men to accomplish their purpose: for they had the greatest desire to kill Duke Henry. But they were afterwards taken and villainously put to death for it. For they were falsely betrayed by the Duke of Aumarle, which was very wrong in him, seeing he was of accord with them, and that he had sworn to be faithful and loyal, and to aid them in all places to accomplish their work. Moreover the Duke of Exeter knew the whole of this business, and was in league with them. He had very good reason for it, because he was brother of the good old King Richard, whom they had undone, and deprived of the good crown of England. Wherefore none need marvel that these should desire to do their duty in restoring to his kingdom and territory King Richard, who ought to be King of England, in his kingdom and territory, all his life. But the better to work in secret, you shall hear how the Duke of Surrey and the Earl of Salisbury reckoned to bring this business to perfection. They caused large wagons to be made, in which they purposed to put a great number of men well armed, who were to be brought under cover to the place where they were to prepare their harness (*for the lists,*) the better to gain entrance into the castle of Windsor, where the duke was to be. Strict orders were also given them, that as soon as they could see their lords, each should do his duty by killing all the porters who guarded the fortress, and so while they were doing this business, their lords would run to attack Duke Henry, and put him to death without delay.

Thus stood the matter till the approach of Christmas, when the duke went to Windsor to be judge of the approaching tournament (*feste*). Then the Duke of Surrey and the Earl of Salisbury, who reckoned upon nothing but accomplishing their work, wrote a letter, which they sent to London by a person who was in the secret, to the Earl of

Rutland, who was at that time ^c Duke of Aumarle, beseeching him that he would be ready to come to them in person for the fulfilment of their purpose, and of the vows that they promised together; and that he would bring all his people with him, in order that if any should oppose them, they might slay them, or take and put them immediately to death. But when the Duke of Aumarle saw the summons and the contents of the letter, in which he was holden by his promise and faith that he pledged, he feigned a shew of great desire to set out with all haste to obey the message of the lords. Alas! he was not sincere. Never will there be his equal; for the letter of the lords he carried straight to the old duke his father, neither favoured he them at all. He also knew for certain that the duke his father neither loved them nor King Richard in the least, but was entirely bound by liege homage to the side of Duke Henry. And when he saw the language of the letter, and the whole manner (*of it*), he maliciously spoiled the sport; and assembling many of his people said to them, "Bring my son with all speed to the king, that he may relate to him the mischief that is designed against him. I think their business is a bad one."^d

^c Not at that time; for he had been degraded in the session of parliament immediately preceding, and was only Earl of Rutland.¹

^d This is the best account of Rutland's disclosure of the conspiracy: the other, derived by our historians apparently from MS. Ambassadors, makes the discovery accidental on the part of the Duke of York, who saw the letter which his son attempted, or rather pretended to conceal, at the same time that he brought it under his eye, when he was at dinner with him. Ritson, in an historical introduction to the old satirical ballad, entitled, "A Requiem to the Conspirators,"² as well as in his note on Shakespeare, is very anxious to acquit Rutland of all concern in the transaction. But his proof that the treachery of that nobleman to his former

¹ Cotton's Abridgement, p. 399.

² Ancient Songs, p. 51, et seq. I almost doubt whether the ballad immediately refers to the affair in question. It begins with, "In the moneth of May," whereas the conspirators were all put to death in the month of January. Many persons are mentioned as taking a share in it, who were never supposed to be concerned; and several who were chief actors are never mentioned. Ritson has not told us whether the title given in the MS. was conval with the copy of the ballad. It is taken from Bibl. Cotton. MS. Vespasian, B. xvi.

The Duke of Aumarle quitted his father in such haste that he alighted not till he came to Windsor, gave the letter to Duke Henry, and declared to him the whole affair. But the duke believed it not; till on the self-same day, in great haste came the mayor of London without

former friends is without foundation, only amounts to this, that he found means to extricate himself from the affair. The way in which he mentions the MS. of the text, while he points it out as the source of the imputation, shews that he perversely misinterpreted, or had never read it with any attention, though he speaks of it with much confidence. "The charge," he says, "seems to have originated with the author of a MS. narrative in French rime, now in the Harleian Library (No. 1319), of which Stow has evidently had a copy, and which has so much the air of romance as to make it probable that the writer has only personated the author of the preceding History of King Richard, which is, indeed, a curious and authentic piece." If he had consulted it with any accuracy, he must have seen that both parts of the History, beyond all controversy, proceeded from the same pen, though the latter portion was furnished by a second observer. The confirmation of this anecdote of the Duke of York and his son in the MS. Ambassades, differing from Creton only in a few unimportant particulars, may be received as equally strong evidence that Rutland betrayed his associates under colour of accidental disclosure; and we need not hesitate to conclude from these joint testimonies that such was the belief of the day.

The MS. Ambassades sends the duke post haste to Windsor; but this does not seem very well to agree with his character and age, though his alarm at the discovery is very natural. Nothing could be more opposite than the dispositions of the father and the son; the latter ever embroiling himself in political troubles, the former a lover of tranquillity and retirement. "He resided at his own castle," says Froissart (XII. c. 25), "with his people, and interfered not in what was passing in the country, nor had done so for a long time, but taking all things as they happened, although he was very much vexed that there should be such great differences between his nephew, the king, and his relations." And the portrait given of him by Hardyng at an earlier period accords with this, and is pleasingly touched.

—Edmonde hyght of Langley of good chere,
 Glad and mery and of his owne ay lyved
 Without wrong as chronicles have breved.
 When all the lordes to counsell and parlyament
 Went, he wolde to hunte and also to hawekyng,
 All gentyll disporte as to a lorde appent,
 He used aye, and to the pore supportyng,
 Where ever he was in any place bidyng,
 Without suppryse, or any extorcyon
 Of the porayle, or any oppressyon. Chronicle. c. CLXXXIX. p. 340.

stopping, who informed him anew of the whole matter from beginning to end.^e And when Duke Henry heard it, on no account would he abide there longer; to horse he went right soon; for fear that he should be overcome of his enemies upon that very day. He took the road to London where the mayor also with his people made diligent speed; but ere they could reach London, those who greatly desired to put him to death were already in the castle of Windsor to accomplish their business. But when they knew that the duke was gone forth, they were sore troubled that they had not caught him, and that he had thus escaped.^f

From Windsor they withdrew to Cirencester, a town hard by, where they had a very great quantity of their men at arms, all most desirous to restore to possession King Richard, who, so long as he lived, ought in reason to be king. They caused their people to be put into good order for service. They had many archers with them. They said that good King Richard had left his prison, and was there with them. And to make this the more credible, they had brought a chaplain, who so exactly resembled good King Richard in face and person, in form and in speech, that every one who saw him certified and declared that he was the old king. He was called Maudelain. Many a time have I seen him in Ireland riding through the country with King Richard his master. I have not for a long time seen a fairer priest.^g

^e The Chronicle of Malmesbury gives a singular account of a collateral manner in which the conspiracy became known. ¹

^f Henry had not been long departed, before those who intended to put him to death came to Windsor, and entered the castle-gate, for there were none to oppose them. They searched the apartments of the castle, and the houses of the canons, in hopes of finding the king, but were disappointed. ²

^g This striking resemblance may have been one cause of Richard's attachment to him, which Maudelain, as we have shewn, returned by zealous services and unshaken loyalty. It would be satisfactory to learn that his other qualities were worthy the confidence of a king.

¹ Leland, *Collectanea*, II. p. 310.

² Froissart, XII. c. 30.

They armed the aforesaid as king, and set a very rich crown upon his helm, that it might be believed of a truth that the king was out of prison. It was their intention to ride through the country^b to assemble all the friends and adherents of King Richard. Alas! they did it too late, for Duke Henry without delayⁱ sent thither speedily such a

king. Too many circumstances lead us to observe, without invidious application to this person in particular, that Richard was not scrupulous as to the principles of any of his clerical or lay attendants, provided they suited his humour; and their indulgence of it seems to have been much to his disadvantage. Of his dignified clergy, Merks, and Tide-man Bishop of Worcester, were the companions of his late hours,¹ which, even by Carte's confession, were not distinguished by habits of temperance. And the picture drawn of the priests and others at his court, conveys no favourable impressions of the virtues exercised within its walls. See Hardyng, c. cxiii. p. 347. The Earl of Salisbury and Sir Thomas Percy appear to have been the most respectable laymen about him.

^b They drew off, according to Walsingham,² as rapidly as possible to Sunning, where they visited the young queen, and thence passed through Wallingford and Abingdon to Cirencester. Froissart³ speaks of them at Colnbrook, Brentford, Saint Alban's, and Berkhamstead. The route of the main body, as pointed out in the instrument issued for the pardon of Merks, lay through Wantage and Farringdon; though it mentions them at Bampton and divers other places. They marched in military array, with banners displayed, and proclaimed Richard king. It charges them with being in league with the enemy of France for the purpose of introducing him into England to destroy the realm. But, besides carrying off Sir Walter Hungerford, and robbing him of his collar, valued at twenty pounds, the whole of the mischief that they did to the goods and chattels of the king's liege subjects is estimated at no more than two hundred pounds.⁴ Carte sets their numbers collectively at five hundred lances and six thousand archers; and accounts for them thus: The Earls of Surrey and Salisbury marched by Sunning, Wallingford, and Abingdon, with two hundred horse; the Earl of Gloucester and Ralph Lord Lumley, who had with them three hundred horse, proceeded towards South Wales, in hopes of being joined by Lord Berkeley in Gloucestershire. A thousand men, chiefly archers, were collected on the evening of January 6, in the neighbourhood of Cirencester.⁵

ⁱ Henry must have had very prompt intelligence of their rising; because the order for arresting the Earls of Kent and Huntingdon is dated Jan. 5; and another was directed on the following day to the captain of Calais to detain them if they got over. Huntingdon was committed to the Tower, January 10, with the Bishop of Carlisle, and Roger Walden.⁶

¹ Vita Ric. II. p. 168.

² Hist. Angl. p. 363.

³ Chronicles, XII. c. 30.

⁴ Rymer, Fœdera, VIII. pp. 166, 167.

⁵ Hist. of Engl. II. 645.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 120, 121.

number of people, that none of those whom they wished to take escaped. So they did their duty well by defending themselves for a long time; but I have heard say they were ten against a hundred or more.^k Like felons false and full of wrath these so wrought that they had the mastery, and that they took them all by force. Pity and harm it was thereof; for there were they compelled to endure the pangs (*passage*) of bitter death, as shall be told. First of all, they beheaded the Duke of Exeter,^l next the good Duke of Surrey, ever loyal and

^k Three hundred fought in the market-place at Cirencester against two thousand.¹ The women distinguished themselves in this conflict; * and all the parties were rewarded. The men were allowed the whole of the booty, except gold and silver in mass, money, plate, and jewels; and they had an annual grant of four does in season from the forest of Bradon (q. Bredon?), and one cask of wine from the port of Bristol; the women had a grant of four bucks and a cask of wine.² Henry gave Thomas Cousyn of Cirencester, who, I suppose, was the bailiff that headed the assailants, one hundred marks annually out of the Exchequer, for his good service in making manful resistance.⁴

^l It is generally understood that Exeter was not present: certainly he was not beheaded there. The Earls of Kent and Salisbury were made prisoners in the town, and would have been sent to Henry, had not a priest, who was chaplain to one of them, set fire to some houses, with the hope of rescuing them. This so irritated the townsmen, that they dragged them out of the Abbey, and struck off their heads in the market-place.⁵ The Earl of Gloucester escaped for a time; but was taken and put to death at Bristol. More than twenty others of the principal conspirators fled to Oxford, where they were seized and beheaded in the Greenditch.⁶ Here died Ralph Lord Lumley, Thomas Blount, and Benedict Sely (or Shelly), knights, and John Walsh and Baldwin of Kent, esquires. In the shocking relation of the execution of Blount, given in MS. Ambassades,⁷ our astonishment is divided between the unshaken constancy of the sufferer, the barbarity of the punishment, and the ungenerous taunts of Sir Thomas Erpingham in the midst of his torments. Sir Bernard Brocas and Sir John Shelly, Maudelain, and Ferriby, were executed in London. The uncertainty as to the place where Huntingdon met his fate has been mentioned before. See page 81, note x.

¹ Froiss. ut sup.

² So they did afterwards in 1404 at Dartmouth, when that place was attacked

by the Bretons. Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 370.

³ Rymer, Fœdera, VIII. pp. 130, 150, 151.

⁴ Id. Donat. MSS. I. 459 b. pp. 100, 110.

⁵ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 363.

⁶ Vita Ric. II. p. 166. and Ant. a Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. I. p. 201. He refers to the Rolls of the Chamberlain of Oxford. But he cannot be right as to the execution of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury. See the petition of Thomas Earl of Salisbury. Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. V.

⁷ Accounts and Extracts, II. pp. 232, 233.

true ; and then they forgot not in this reckoning the Earl of Salisbury. These three they foully (villainously) and wrongfully put to death ; they afterwards brought their heads to London,^m where great rejoicings were made for it. There they set them aloft upon the bridge, fixed upon lances, at such a height that they might be well seen. But to tell you the truth of it, they did not leave the head of the Duke of Exeter long there ; because he had married the sister of the duke : it remained no longer than a day and a night. Now may God, who suffered death to ransom sinners from the infernal pains of hell, take them to heaven ; for they were ever loyal, valiant, and bold, in deed, in thought, and in word, so that three such knights could not now be found in all England, for they kept their integrity and loyalty until death ; but if they have obtained mercy from God, and (*the benefit of*) his passion, I trust, according to my notion, that they are in heaven above ; because their blood was shedⁿ like martyrs, for maintaining right and loyalty every where.*

^m They were sent, somewhat in the Turkish style, “ on two panniers, as fish is carried, by a varlet on horseback.”¹

ⁿ A singular clause in Richard's will probably stirred up several of these noblemen to the undertaking which ended in so fatal a manner. “ Item, we will that the residue of our gold (the true debts of our household, chamber, and wardrobe, being paid, for payment whereof we bequeath twenty thousand marks ; which we will by them to be expended towards the more plentiful maintainance of the lepers, and chaplains to celebrate before them, by us founded at Westminster and Bermondsey), shall remain to our successor, provided always that he approve, ratify, and confirm, and hold and cause to be holden, and firmly observed, all and singular, the statutes, ordinances, and judgments, made, given, and rendered in our parliament, begun at Westminster, the 17th day of the month September, in the one and twentieth year of our reign, and in the same parliament, continued at Shrewsbury, and there holden, and also all the ordinances, judgments, and establishments, the 16th day of September, in the twenty-second year of our reign, at Coventry, and afterwards at Westminster the 18th day of March, in the year aforesaid, by the authority of the said parliament. And likewise all other ordinances and judgments, which shall hereafter happen to be made by authority of the said parliament. But otherwise, if our
said

¹ Froiss. XII. c. 30.

Soon after they made good King Richard acquainted with the whole truth of this melancholy business, which was piteous for him to hear ;

said successor shall refuse to do the premises (which we do not believe), then we will that Thomas Duke of Surrey, Edward Duke of Aumarle, John Duke of Exeter, and William le Scroope Earl of Wiltshire (paying first the debts of our household, our chamber, and our wardrobe, and reserving five or six thousand marks, as abovesaid), shall have and hold all the said residue above-mentioned, for to support and defend the said statutes, establishments, ordinances and judgments, to their utmost power, *even unto death, if it be necessary ; upon all which, and every part, we do hereby charge and burden their consciences as they will answer in the day of judgment.*"¹

◦ Galliard has very briefly dismissed the rise and progress of this insurrection. Mr. Allen's MS. Extracts convey some interesting additional particulars : but many of them are very questionable.

" The Abbot of Westminster became surety for three lords² of Richard's party, who had been seven weeks in prison : upon which they were delivered up to him and lodged in his abbey.

" Dec. 18. The Dukes of Exeter, Surrey, and Aumarle, the Earl of Gloucester, the Sire de Falsis,³ Archbishop Walden, the Bishop of Carlisle, Maudelain, and Master Pol, King Richard's physician, and a wise knight called Sir Thomas Blount, dined with the Abbot of Westminster. There an agreement was entered into to restore Richard. Six indented writings with their seals appended were prepared and executed on this occasion, containing their mutual engagements ; and a resolution was taken to surprise Henry and his sons at the tournament to be held on Twelfth day ; for which purpose they were to assemble at Quinsæton,⁴ ten leagues from London, on the first Sunday in the year. Maudelain was to ride with them to represent King Richard.

" Jan. 1. A petition was presented to the king by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of York, the Earls of Northumberland, Westmorland, Arundel, and Warwick, Sir Thomas d'Arpchen,⁵ Sir Henry Percy, and two Londoners, requesting him to put Richard
to

¹ Articles of Accusation, XXXI.

² I do not apprehend that any of the adverse lords were imprisoned ; except, perhaps, Salisbury and Merks, on the way to London. All the lords of Richard's party were regularly summoned to parliament, and attended. See p. 199, note 1. And I see no sufficient proof of any one but Merks being placed in arrest previous to this conspiracy. When it is said of the challengers in the parliamentary disputes that they were arrested, it surely does not mean any more than that they were stayed, or bound to appearance if required.

³ Walsh.

⁴ Kingston upon Thames.

⁵ Erpingham. It is hardly necessary to remark upon the improbability of this application to Henry. It seems only an echo of that made by the citizens of London. See p. 176.

and it was no great wonder (*that it should be so*). Then he wept and said, "Make ready, death, and assault me; no one can aid me more,

to death, which he refused, saying, that Richard had been condemned by parliament to perpetual imprisonment, and to be put to death only in case of an insurrection in his favour;¹ and that he wondered much they should apply to him to act in opposition to the decision of the parliament.

"This dinner appears to have been given at Windsor; and in the morning the king had been attended by the Dukes of Surrey, Exeter, and Aumarle, but they are not said to have been present, or to have had any share in the petition.

"Jan. 2. The lords left Windsor, and went to London, on pretence of preparing arms and horses for the tournament; but in reality to collect their friends for the rendezvous at Quinsæton. The Duke of Exeter took leave of his wife, who remained in great affliction between her fears for King Henry, her brother, and the duke, her husband.

"On the first Sunday of the year 1399-1400, the Dukes of Exeter and Surrey, and the Earl of Salisbury met at Quinsæton, with eight thousand archers and three hundred lances of men at arms; and, on setting off from Quinsæton, sent letters to the Duke of Aumarle in London, urging him not to fail to be at Caitrebourg on the night² of the kings. The Duke of Aumarle was dining that day with his father the Duke of York in London; and during dinner he put the letter relating to their design upon the table. 'What letter is that?' said the Duke of York. 'It is not for you, sir,' replied Aumarle, taking off his hat to his father. 'Shew it me,' said the Duke of York, 'I wish to see it.' Aumarle then gave it to him; and when he had seen the six seals and read the letter he broke out into bitter reproaches against his son; and, ordering his horses, set off to Windsor to inform King Henry of the plot. But Aumarle got the start of him, and was the first to communicate the intelligence, which Henry could hardly credit, till his uncle arrived with the sealed indentures. Henry immediately mounted on horseback, and reached London at nine o'clock at night; on his road he met the Mayor, who was coming to him with information that the lords had taken the field with six thousand followers. A proclamation was immediately issued, calling on all those who were willing to serve their king, to repair to the council-house, and enrol their names, promising for fifteen days eighteen pence per day for every lance, and nine pence for every archer. Sixteen thousand enrolled themselves.

"Next morning Henry set out to meet his enemies with only fifty lances and six thousand archers; and, drawing up his men without the city, waited three hours for his reinforcements.

¹ This will be found repeated in the sequel to the speech of Merks; but no notice of it occurs in the Rolls as given by Cotton, p. 391. Nor have I seen it elsewhere upon any indisputable authority. If such had been the will of parliament, Henry might have pleaded it in explanation or justification of the imputation cast upon him at Richard's decease. The Rolls inform us, that the lords would by all means that the life of the king should be saved.

² Vigil of Twelfth Day.

since I have lost my friends. Gracious Lord, who wast crucified, deign to have mercy on me, for I can live thus no longer.”

Then was the king so vexed at heart by this evil news, that he neither ate nor drank from that hour : and thus, as they say, it came to pass that he died.^p But, indeed, I do not believe it ; for some declare

inforcements. Here he was reproached by the Earl of Warwick for his lenity, which had brought him into this danger ; but he vindicated himself for his past conduct, adding that if he should meet Richard now, one of them should die. Then he sent back the Mayor of London with orders that none should be permitted to cross the sea to carry intelligence of these disturbances to foreign parts ; and he despatched Sir Piers Exton to rid him of his rival ; which he executed in the manner commonly related.

“ At four o'clock the *Sieur de Fouacre*¹ arrived, and joined him with eight thousand men on horseback from London. Next came the Earl of Arundel ; and the king, having drawn up his army, advanced against his enemies, sending Rutland before to spy what they were about. Rutland found them at Corbonnel ;² and giving them a false account of the king's strength persuaded them to advance four leagues, and pass the bridge of Mendeult ;³ but when Henry's advanced guard came near, he deserted to them. Some skirmishing then followed, in which the Duke of Surrey distinguished himself, and drew off his troops without loss, maintaining the bridge till the main body under the Duke of Exeter was in safety. Having made good their retreat to Cirencester, the lords quartered their troops in the fields, and took up their lodgings in the town ; where they were assailed by the townsmen. The Duke of Surrey and Earl of Salisbury were killed ; many were taken ; some escaped ; and their army had dispersed when they saw the town on fire.

“ The prisoners were carried to Oxford, and most cruelly put to death. The Earl of Rutland and Sir Thomas d'Arpchen were sent in pursuit of the Earl of Gloucester, whom they took and beheaded.

“ Jan. 16. The heads and quarters of the conspirators arrived in London, where they were received by the archbishop, clergy, and citizens, singing ‘ Te Deum.’

“ Jan. 17. Henry returned to London amidst great rejoicings.

“ Jan. 18. Procession ; thanks and promises to the citizens. He made them a speech, in which he undertook to rival his uncle, the Black Prince, in military glory.”⁴

^p For the death of Richard, see APPENDIX, No. VII.

¹ Walter Lord Fitz-walter, constable of Baynard's Castle, hereditary standard-bearer of London. Carte.

² Q. Colnbrook ? Froissart places some of them there.

³ Q. Maidenhead ? But I much doubt whether there was any skirmishing on the left bank of the Thames ; or whether any of them were at all molested till they reached Cirencester. Compare Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 166.

⁴ Mr. Allen's Extracts from MS. Ambassades, p. 151, et seq.

for certain that he is still alive and well,¹ shut up in their prison ;—it is a great error in them ;—although they caused a dead man to be openly carried through the city of London in such pomp and ceremony as becometh a deceased king, saying that it was the body of the deceased King Richard. Duke Henry there made a shew of mourning, holding the pall after him, followed by all those of his blood in fair array, without regarding him, or the evils that they had done unto him. This will be a great burden to them before God at the latter day, when he will sentence the wicked to the everlasting flame of hell.

¹ The general impression respecting Richard, that he was still alive, and the reports of this kind that were frequently renewed, were a serious source of annoyance to Henry IV. during a great part of his reign. The avidity with which they were received, is a proof that the fickle tide of popular affection returned towards Richard after he had disappeared; or that, though they had resisted his unconstitutional measures while he was in authority, they were dissatisfied with the treatment he had experienced. Henry's anxiety to put down such rumours, and chastise the authors of them, may have given them an importance that they otherwise might not have acquired. Still it is plain that they existed to a considerable extent from his proclamations in 1402, and afterwards.² They were industriously propagated by the Franciscan friars, the only order of religious that seem to have taken up the late king's cause.³ Many of them suffered death for this. False Richards also presented themselves after Maudelain. All who wished to stir up the people made use of the argument of his existence, whether they believed it or not, well knowing that it was one of the readiest modes of excitement. The Percys in 1403 caused it to be twice proclaimed in Chester, and in every market town in the county, that Richard was alive, and might be seen at the castle of Chester, by all such as should repair thither.⁴ Again, in 1406, Northumberland, in his letter to the Duke of Orleans, affects to consider it possible, though he had accused Henry three years before with his murder. He professes that he had levied war against Henry of Lancaster, the ruler of England, to support the quarrel of his sovereign lord King Richard, if he is alive, and to revenge his death, if he is dead.⁵ But the most extraordinary proof of pertinacity in the opinion of Richard's existence occurs in Sir John Oldcastle. When he was making his defence before the parliament, Dec. 14, 1418, he protested that he never would acknowledge the authority of that court, so long as his liege lord, King Richard II. was alive in Scotland.⁶

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. pp. 255, 261, 353.

² When Owen Glyndwr burnt Cardiff in 1409, he spared the street in which the house of the Franciscans stood, on account of their attachment to Richard II. See Pennant, *Tour in Wales*, I. p. 316.

³ Harl. MSS. No. 1989. Lysons, *Britannia*, Cheshire, II. p. 307.

⁴ Rot. Parl. VIII. p. 605, in Lingard, III. p. 298.

⁵ Walsing. Hist. Angl. p. 400.

Thus, as you shall hear, did they carry the dead body to Saint Paul's in London,^r honourably and as of right appertaineth to a king. But I certainly do not believe that it was the old king; but I think it was Maudelain, his chaplain, who in face, size, height, and make, so exactly resembled him, that every one firmly thought it was good King Richard. And if it were he, morn and night I heartily make my prayer to the merciful and holy God, that he will take his soul to heaven, for, in my opinion, he hated all manner of blame, and every vice. Never did I see any thing in him save catholic faith and justice. I served him seven months in such service as I could render him to merit in any way the benefits that he had promised me. And, certes, the only reason why he was deposed and betrayed, was because he loyally loved his father-in-law, the King of France, with a love as true and sincere as any man alive.*

^r "In the year 1399-1400, on the 12th day of March, was brought to the church of Saint Paul of London, in the state of a gentleman, the body of the noble King Richard. And true it is, that it was in a carriage that was covered with a black cloth, having four banners thereupon; whereof two were the arms of Saint George, and the other two the arms of Saint Edward; to wit, Azure, over all a cross Or;¹ and there were a hundred men all clad in black; and each bore a torch. And the Londoners had thirty torches and thirty men, who were all clad in white; and they went to meet the noble King Richard; and he was brought to Saint Paul the head (*maitresse*) church of London. There he was two days above ground, to shew him to those of the said city, that they might believe for certain that he was dead; for they required no other thing."²

* "True it is that this King Richard, of very great desire and content, allied himself to the French, and greatly loved and honoured his father-in-law, the King of France; he also greatly loved the young lady, his wife, as you shall hereafter hear, which is a most piteous thing to hear; and he had a good intention of keeping his kingdom in peace, and of being friends with his neighbours, and especially with the sweet and good country of France, to which he was allied."³

"He was delighted whenever he heard the King of France or the French spoken well of."⁴

¹ This is not correct. The arms of Saint Edward the Confessor are thus blazoned: The field is Jupiter, a cross patonce between five martlets Sol. Kent's Guillim, I. p. 507.

² MS. Ambassades, p. 168. Mr. Allen's MS. Extracts.

³ Bibl. du Roy. MS. Lebeau, 9745. Mr. Allen's MS. Extracts.

⁴ Froiss. XI. c. 40.

This was the root (*of the matter*), and (*hence*) the envy ; (or, it was ill-humour and envy ;) although they charged him with having by his evil-outrage caused the death of the dukes his uncles, ^t and of being neither prudent nor wise (*enough*) to govern the realm. Many other things of common report I could relate to you ; but, certes, I think that, as far as I could learn it, I have told you the truth ; and were I to die I should remain in this opinion ; for, evil and unreasonable people as they are, they mortally hate the French, if they dared to shew how.

When Duke Henry had for the most part accomplished his purpose, and deposed good King Richard, the people caused him to be crowned ; and then he appointed as ambassadors and solemn messengers, right sage persons both of the clergy and the laity ; and these he sent to Calais to bear letters credential to the King of France. I have heard that there was the Bishop of Durham, ^u and Sir Thomas Percy, who was unwearied in doing the will of his master ; together with one, who is called Sir William Heron, ^v who knew well how to behave himself.

^t See Articles of Accusation, IV. and XXXII.

^u The ambassadors were, Walter ¹ Bishop of Durham, Thomas Earl of Worcester, Sir William Heron Lord Say, and Master Richard Holm, Canon of York. ²

^v Sir William Heron or Hairun, of a younger branch of the Herons, one of the most ancient families in Northumberland, ³ married Elizabeth, cousin and heir to Joan, sister and heir to Thomas de Brewose, also one of the daughters and coheirs of William, Lord Say ; whence he obtained the title of Lord Say. He was ambassador to France in 2 Hen. IV. ; and two years after steward of the king's household. He was several times officially employed in the adjustment of important pecuniary matters ; and his tender sense of justice may be inferred from the following singular clause in his will, bearing date October 30, 1404. He directed his executors, that in regard he had been a soldier, and taken wages of King Richard, and the realm, as well by land as by water, and peradventure received more than his desert, they would pay six score marks to the most needful men unto whom King Richard was a debtor, in discharge of his soul. Also, that having
been

¹ Walter Skirlaw, Godwin, p. 664,

² Rymer, *Foedera*, VIII. p. 142, dated May 18, 1400.

³ Percy, *Reliques of Anc. Poetry*, I. p. 35, note. He spells the name Hearn.

All these passed over, to excuse the outrage that their new king had committed against the King of France; who had so honourably received him, when he was sorrowfully banished from the realm of England. These messengers then sent with good speed a sage, subtle, and wary herald to Paris for their safe conduct; for thus were they instructed at parting by their master. But the herald was briefly sent back from Paris without reply, safe conduct, or summons; for the king would not endure that they should come to present themselves.^w But he sent Master Peter Blanch and Henart, called by some de Cambernart,^x to meet them at Calais, and know their wishes. These two

been a soldier under the Earl of Arundel, and peradventure received more than he was worthy of, he farther desired his executors to pay ten pounds to the executors of that earl, or the poorest men to whom they knew any debt to be owing by the same earl. And having likewise been a soldier with the Earl of Northumberland, and received more than he deserved, he appointed his said executors to pay to the said earl twenty pounds. He was summoned to parliament from 17 Ric. II. to 5 Hen. IV. inclusive.¹

^w All the royal family of France were personally offended with Henry. The king had received and maintained him though he had been banished by his own son-in-law. The Duke of Orleans brother of Charles VI. and the other princes of the blood, had vied with each other in acts of kindness towards him, because they thought he had been injuriously treated.² Such was his situation that he could not with safety throw out even a hint of his intention to return. But their mortification may be well imagined, when they found that, after leaving Paris under pretence of a visit to the Duke of Brittany,³ he had landed in England and deposed Richard. It snapt asunder the tie from which they had expected so much benefit would have accrued to their country. The court refused to acknowledge his title of King of England; and in public acts styled him Henry of Lancaster, our adversary of England, or successor of the late King Richard.⁴ Creton's unsparing severity towards him and the English manifests that desire for hostilities, in which the whole nation sympathised, and which was only repressed by the presence of Isabel in England.

^x The names of the French ambassadors appear in a passport dated October 31, 1399.
P. Evesque de Meaux.
Johan de Hangest, Chivaler, Sire de Henqueville, Chambellan, Conseillers.
Hennart de Campbernart, Huisshier d'armes.⁴

¹ Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. p. 730.

² Froiss. XII. c. 8, 1, 14.

³ Ibid. c. 19.

³ Carte, II. p. 656.

⁴ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 58.

went thither: the English messengers, it seems, shewed them great respect and honour; saying, that there had been a great change in their country; and that by common consent of the people of England, they had, without any opposition, made a new king, of which king he was unable to declare what affection and great warmth of sincere love he had for his cousin, the King of France; so loyally and truly he loved him, and would ever love him: and that so long as he lived he should hold himself greatly bound to him, for having received him right honourably in his country: and for the preservation of the love, tranquillity, sound peace, alliance and prosperity of the two countries, he desired, it seems, that marriage might be made in France,^y as he said, between the queen and the prince his son; and between himself and a lady of the blood royal whom he loved;^z thus would great pleasure and abundance of benefits, such as all christians in the world could desire, arise to the two realms; and that peace should be proclaimed in every part of the two kingdoms. When they had related the whole to the French, they returned for answer, that they must depart, saying, "God forbid, Sirs, that we should give any reply to this matter; it is too great a thing. We have no farther charge than to report the whole of your request, and to speak to the King of France, our master."

^y Full powers were granted to the Bishop of London, and Earl of Worcester, to treat of a marriage between the Prince of Wales and one of the daughters of France, dated November 9, 1399. And again, February 19, 1399-1400, to treat of peace and perpetual alliance and reciprocal marriages of the princes and princesses of the two royal families.¹ But the French council were too indignant to listen to the proposals; or, as Du Tillet observes, they doubted the precarious tenure of Henry's crown.² In reply they demanded the restitution of Isabel, with her fortune and jewels.

^z He may here allude to Marie of Berry. Henry's first wife, Mary de Bohun, died in 1394.³ In 1402 he married Blanche of Navarre, widow of John of Montfort, Duke of Brittany, who had always been attached to the interests of England.⁴

¹ Ibid. pp. 108, 128, 129.

² Carte, II. p. 673.

³ Ypod. Neustr. p. 547.

⁴ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. pp. 280, 288, 290.

Thus without farther parley they departed from the English, who again payed them great honour and respect. They returned straight into France^a to Paris, where the king was, who greatly desired to know what the English had done, and how they had deposed King Richard, and put him to death. They reported their message before the king in full council, relating, in fair order, how the English had behaved, and that they humbly desired safe conduct. Then the council ably and wisely agreed, it appears, to send messengers of equal rank to hear their opinion, and know their request; and take pains to enquire into their business and disposition, and (*demand*) that they speedily give up the queen, as they are bound in honour and by sealed instruments made at the marriage of the king and his consort.^b And (*they were told*) that should any of them fail to remind them of it often, they would be false, perjured, and disloyal; and that many evils might arise to both countries from it. They were to attend to no other matters, save to this, and not to abstain from asserting any thing that was right. They were to go with all speed straight to Boulogne to hear, know, and understand what the English wished to propose. Then departed from Paris without delay in the month of February, first the Bishop of Chartres and my Lord of Hugueville, nor stopped by the way, in country or town, till they came to Boulogne. Master Peter Blanchet and Master Walter Col^c were there. These endured many difficulties

^a They quitted the English pale.

^b For the treaty of marriage between Richard II. and Isabel, see Rymer, *Foedera*, VII. pp. 802—805, 811—830, 834—837, 845—847, 848. Walsing. Hist. Angl. pp. 352, 353.

^c A negotiator, and man of letters, who had been deputed in 1395 to Pope Benedict to settle the peace of the church.¹ He had been a friend and pupil of the famous Jean de Meun, author of a great part of the Romance of the Rose. In a controversy respecting

¹ Henault, *Abregé*, &c. I. p. 355.

(much of the rough and the smooth) before they could get the queen again; for the English kept no truth with them, seeing the suit lasted for the space of twenty months, ere they restored the young queen. Still they waited till she had accomplished the term of twelve years, that nothing that she had done or said, or that they had caused her to do, might ever be undone. But they were so often requested and put in mind by the French, who shewed that they were keeping her most wrongfully, considering the agreement that had been made at her marriage, that they ordered her passage. On Tuesday the twenty-fifth day of July, about (*the hour of*) prime, the queen of the English passed from Dover to Calais, in the year one thousand four hundred and one.^d I understand she was most grandly attended,^e for she had in her company some of the greatest ladies of England.^f When they had landed,

the merits of that writer, Christina of Pisa was engaged on one side, and Goutier Col and Peter his brother on the other. She styles Goutier Col, secretary of the king, and Provost of Lisle, and inserts two of his letters.¹

^d The negotiations were protracted from the end of November 1399, to May 27, 1401, when the treaty for Isabel's return was signed at Leulinghen. The delays arose from Henry's reluctance to refund part of her dowry, which had been paid, and was by agreement to be returned, if she should become a widow before she had completed her twelfth year. Henry met the demand of payment by a counter demand of the residue of the late King John's ransom, which had never been discharged. Various articles appertaining to this subject are to be found in Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. pp. 108, 109, 128, 142, 152, 164, 186, 194, 196, 203, 205, 217, 218, 219, 315.

^e She had five hundred persons appointed to attend her. Rymer, *ut supra*, p. 195.

^f When she came over she had brought with her twelve carriages full of ladies and damsels.² But these were not natives of France, if we may believe Froissart, who tells us, that "of all the French ladies only the Lady De Coucy went with her;" afterwards all her household was broken up at the deposition, and neither French nor English were left with her who were attached to King Richard. A new one was formed of ladies,
damsels

¹ Bibl. Harl. MSS. 4431. *Epitres du Debats sur le Romant de la Rose*, f. 239 a. 240 a. 243 b. He calls De Meun, *mon maître enseigneur et familier*.

² Walsing. *Hist. Angl.* p. 353.

Hugueville, ^ε who had come over with her, wrote presently of the matter to the ambassadors at Boulogne, how she had made the passage,

damsels, officers and varlets, who were strictly enjoined never to mention the name of King Richard in their conversations with her.¹ As to the Lady de Coucy, who, according to the MS. Ambassades, was discharged by Richard himself before his departure for Ireland, Froissart declares, that she was dismissed at this time, and was the first who carried any regular intelligence of the proceedings of the Duke of Lancaster to Paris.² I find that Ingelram and Isabella de Coucy were both dead in 22 Richard II.³ and my conjecture respecting this lady, see page 118, note 4, that she was the daughter of Edward III. must be wrong. Philippa, only daughter of the said Ingelram and Isabella, born at Eltham in Kent, was alive; but there were two Ladies de Coucy in France; both of whom lost their husbands, father and son-in-law, in consequence of the unfortunate expedition against Bajazet.⁴

^ε Sir John de Hangest, Lord of Henqueville, or Hengueville. He was afterwards ambassador in 1404;⁵ and master of the cross-bows, and second in command of the French army that invaded Wales in 1405, where, owing to the age and infirmities of his superior, John of Rieux, marshal of France, he appeared as acting general throughout the campaign. He sold to the church of Paris his fine estate of Agencourt, near Montdidier, in order to furnish himself with a magnificent equipage. The military operations of a French general and army in Wales are a rarity that deserves notice; and they are thus collected by Pennant.

After a favourable passage, in which, however, most of the horses on board died for want of water; the landing of the forces was effected without loss at Milford Haven. He thence marched to Caermarthen, which he took by capitulation. On Pembroke he declined making any attempt, owing to the strength of the castle; but he sat down before Haverford-west; which was so gallantly defended by the Earl of Arundel that the French were obliged to raise the siege with considerable loss. At Tenby he was joined by Owen Glyndwr, with ten thousand men; and as soon as they had made the necessary preparations, they marched through Glamorganshire, penetrated to Worcester, burnt the suburbs, and ravaged the country round.

In the mean time a part of their fleet at anchor at Milford Haven, and a reinforcement on its way from France, were burnt or captured by Lord Berkeley, Sir Henry Pay, and Sir

¹ Chronicles, XI. c. 40. XII. c. 24.

² Ibid. c. 28. But he is quite confused upon this head. He tells us again, c. 29, that when the council of France, by permission of Henry, sent over persons to visit Isabel at Havering Bower, she was attended by the Duchess of Ireland, daughter to the Lord de Coucy.

³ Cal. Rol. pat. p. 240 b. 7. p. 1 Hen. IV. m. 40.

⁴ Froiss. XI. c. 49. XII. c. 1.

⁵ Bibl. Cotton. MSS. Nero. B. 1.

and that they all purposed to restore her, as they had given him to understand.^b

On the following Sunday, being the last day of July, the queen set out from Calais without farther delay, together with the English, who could find no right reason for detaining her longer, so often were they reminded by the French. But they brought her straight to Lollinghehen, whither those who had heard the news of it went to meet her; these were the upright Count of Saint Pol,ⁱ as every one calls him, and

Sir Thomas Swinborn; and in August Henry marched in person to oppose them. On his approach they retreated, and took post on a high hill, about three leagues from Worcester. Hither he pursued them: both armies were separated by a deep valley, and either party drew out in order of battle for eight successive days; but Henry found it impossible to bring on a general action, though he cut off their supplies, and forced them on the midnight of the eighth day to decamp and retire into Wales. The king then gave up the pursuit, and returned to Worcester.

After this effort the French army withdrew into winter quarters, where many of them remained till the spring of 1406, when they went back to their own country.¹

The camp that the Welsh and French occupied is conjectured by Pennant to have been on Wobury hill, in the parish of Whitley, exactly nine miles north-west of Worcester; but tradition to this day points out the Herefordshire beacon on Malvern hill as a station of Glyndwr, which corresponds nearly as well as the former in point of distance.

^b The persons appointed to attend at the execution of this business were,
John Bishop of Chartres.

Sir J. de Poupaincourt, knight, first president,

Sir John de Hargest, knight, lord of Hengueville, } knights and counsellors;

Ambassadors and messengers on the part of France.

Walter Bishop of Durham,

Thomas Earl of Worcester,

William Heron Lord Say,

Master Richard de Holme,

Ambassadors and messengers on the part of England.²

¹ Waleran of Luxembourg, seventh Count of Saint Pol of that name, Count of Ligny, Castellan of Lille, and Lord of Bouchain, connected by marriage with the noblest blood of

¹ Pennant, *Tour in Wales*, I. p. 348, et seq.

² Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. pp. 194, 195. Dated May 27, 1401.

with him the ambassadors of France, who had used great diligence that they might behold her again.

of England, was the son of Guy of Luxembourg by Malhaut his wife. He was knighted at the siege of Pont de Remi; and at an early age, in 1371, lost his father in the battle of Beaugwieder, where he was himself made prisoner by Gilbert Lord of Viane, who with his ransom built a tower at Viane that was called after his name. In 1374, he was taken by the English in Picardy, and brought into England. Edward III. refused a large sum for his ransom, and wished to have exchanged him for the Captal de Buch; but this offer being rejected on the part of Charles VI. the count remained in England a prisoner at large. His handsome person, skill in martial exercises, and agreeable manners, backed by high birth and great possessions, recommended him to the notice of Matilda, widow of Peter Courtney, and uterine sister of Richard II. who was not unworthy of the beauty of her mother. They were contracted, and his ransom was fixed at 100,000 franks, half of which was to be remitted upon his marriage. In 1379 he was allowed to return to France to settle his affairs, and bring over the money in the course of that year. But he found difficulties in the displeasure of the King of France, who was offended at his having, as vassal of the crown, entered into an engagement with a foreign princess without his leave; and Waleran was, besides, accused of having agreed to surrender several of his fortresses in the Low Countries to the English. Fearing an arrest, he made his escape to England, where he was married on Easter 1380. Some time after he returned to France; but not daring to appear upon the lands of the king, who had seized his castles, he took refuge with his brother-in-law, the Count of Moriammez, till the death of Charles VI. He then solicited and obtained the favour of his successor, and made an ineffectual attempt to remove his adversary Bureau de la Riviere, chamberlain and confidential minister of the late king, who had been the cause of his disgrace. His next enterprise was against Wenceslaus, Duke of Bohemia, and afterwards emperor, who had incurred a debt to his father which he refused to pay. In 1391 Waleran entered the Luxembourg at the head of an army, and laid a hundred and twenty villages in ashes; but was driven out with great loss. In the following year he attended Charles VI. in his unfortunate expedition into Brittany, an undertaking which he had censured, and endeavoured to set aside. He came to London in 1396, as ambassador to treat of peace; and engaged Richard II. to meet the King of France at a conference between Ardres and Calais. On December 30th of the same year, he was named governor of the republic of Genoa, then under the dominion of France. He repaired thither in the March following; but staid only a short time; owing, as some have asserted, to the prevalence of the plague in the city; but, according to others, his retreat was occasioned by the discontents that arose from his licentious conduct.

Seventeen years after the death of his father he prepared to avenge it by making war against the Duke of Gueldres and Juliers. He appeared in the field with three hundred horse

The queen, indeed, alighted below Lolinghehen at a tent, that the English had handsomely pitched for her in the valley. She was met by

horse at the head of the united Brabanzons and Liegeois, and compelled the people of Juliers, in 1398, to pay an immense contribution as their ransom from fire and pillage. In August 1401, he came to Leulinghen to receive Isabel of France. In 1402 he was constituted Grand Master of the Waters and Forests, one of the highest appointments of the crown. Richard's deposition and death provoked him to send a challenge to Henry IV. dated February 10, 1402; and he made a descent upon the Isle of Wight, in which he was repulsed by the inhabitants. On his return he erected a gallows opposite to the gates of Calais, on which he hung the effigy of the Earl of Somerset, governour of the place, with his arms reversed; or, according to another account, of the Earl of Rutland suspended by the heels. A feverish truce subsisted at that time between England and France; and when the former demanded satisfaction for these hostilities and insults, the French ministry disavowed them. The English, however, in their turn ravaged the Boulonnais and the neighbourhood of Calais, pretending that these were the estates of Saint Pol; and that the truce might not be broken, he was allowed to defend himself; hence arose a petty warfare for two years, which closed with a serious reverse that he met with at the castle of Merk. In 1408 he assisted the Bishop of Liege in defeating a body of insurgents on the plain of Othey; and in 1409, was associated with the Counts of La Marche and Vendôme in an attempt to reform the finances, which afforded no relief to the people.

Being a partisan of the Duke of Burgundy, he received from him the appointment of governour of Paris, October 24, 1410; and in the following year organised in the capital that infamous militia of five hundred butchers or skimmers, headed by the proprietors of the great butchery at Paris, who were guilty of the most horrible atrocities. In 1412 the duke his patron took the post of constable from Charles D'Albret, and gave it to Waleran, who beat the Armagnacs in Lower Normandy, won the castle of Saint Remi-au-plain, and the city and castle of Domfront. When the duke was compelled to quit Paris in 1413, the Count of Saint Pol shared in his disgrace, though he at first refused to surrender his sword of office. He died in retirement at the castle of Ivoi in the Luxembourg, April 19, 1415; and had no children who survived him. His second wife, married in 1402, was Bonne, daughter of Robert Duke of Bar.¹

His connexion with the affairs of England, and with the family of Richard II. seemed to claim these biographical details. Froissart's account of his conference with that king respecting the peace of 1396, shews the great influence Waleran had over him, and his penetration

¹ *L'Art de verifier les dates*, 8vo. t. XII. p. 1. p. 396, et seq.

the ladies of France, who most heartily desired to see her. Soon after they set out, it seems, together, and took the queen to the chapel^k of Lollinghehen; what it is, every one knows, who has seen it. And when she had alighted, they made her enter attended by few persons, except the ambassadors of France and England, who had taken great pains to do this. When they were assembled in the chapel, a knight, who is highly esteemed of the English, Sir Thomas Percy, took up his discourse, saying thus, "King Henry, King of England, my sovereign lord on earth, desiring the fulfilment of his promise, hath, without reserve, and of right pure will, caused us to bring hither my lady, the Queen of England, to render and restore her to her father, loosed, quit, and free from all bonds of marriage, and of every other service, debt, or obligation; and declareth, moreover, that he would most solemnly pledge himself, as he took it (or so far as he understood it), that she was as pure and entire as on the day when she was brought in her litter to King Richard. And if there should be any where a king, duke, or earl, christian or otherwise, great or little, who would deny this, he would, without farther say or any long consultation, find a man of equal rank in England to maintain this quarrel, and expose his person before any competent judge, in support of all this." And when he

penetration and political sagacity in taking advantage of the Duke of Gloucester's avaricious failing to remove his opposition to the marriage with Isabel. In a subsequent part of his history he represents the count working upon the mind of the king to adopt those measures which led to his uncle's death.¹

^k At the meeting of the kings of England and France between Guisnes and Ardres, October 27, 1396, when Richard received his infant bride, "it was first, by mutual consent, ordered, that a chapel at both their equal charge, should in the place of their interview be erected, which should be called, The Chapel of our Lady of Peace."² Froissart says, "The spot where the two kings had met was marked, and a chapel in honour of the Virgin Mary was proposed to be erected on it; but I know not if it were ever put into execution."³

¹ Chronicles, XI. c. 37, 48.

² Life and Reign of Richard II. p. 155.

³ Froiss. ut supra. c. 40.

had most sagely declared his pleasure, the Count of Saint Pol told him that Jesus Christ should be praised therefore, and that they firmly believed it, without any scruple. Then Sir Thomas Percy, with many tears, took the young queen by the arms, and delivered her with good grace to the messengers there present, and received certain letters of acquittance,¹ which had been promised by the French. And know, that before the two parties separated they wept most piteously; but when they came to quit the chapel, the queen, whose heart is enlightened by goodness, brought all the English ladies, who made sore lamentation, to the French tents, where they purposed to dine together. So, it seems, they did. And after dinner the queen caused a great abundance of very fair jewels to be brought out, and presented them to the great ladies and lords of England, who wept mightily for sorrow; but the queen bade them be of good cheer; and when she was forced to part with them, they renewed their lamentation.

Thus the English and French parted; but I know of a truth that before the Queen of England had gone a league, she found my Lord of Burgundy,^m who had come from Boulogne, in secret ambush.

¹ These letters of acquittance from Charles VI. and Isabel may be seen in Rymer. 'The king of France, however, asserts that 200,000 franks still remain due to him, though every thing else has been restored.'

^m Philip Duke and Count of Burgundy, fourth son of John King of France and Bonne of Luxembourg, was born January 15, 1342 (N. S.), and at the age of fifteen fought at the battle of Poitiers, where he was wounded and made prisoner. The valour that he there displayed procured him the surname of *le Hardi*,ⁿ which he supported by his behaviour in after life. Being brought to London, and present at a banquet where he saw the King of

¹ *Fœdera*, VIII. pp. 196, et seq. 217, 218.

ⁿ Olivier de la Marche relates two other origins of this surname. One is, that he struck an English knight, during his captivity, for giving offence, as he thought, to his father in conversation. Another, that he quarrelled with the Black Prince about a move at chess, and would have fought with him, had not the bystanders interfered. Edward III. when he heard of it, generously threw the blame of the affair upon his own son: and, in the spirit of the times, regretted that they had not been suffered to fight it out. *Memoires*, Bruxelles, 1616, p. 32, et seq.

With him were present the Count of Nevers,^a his eldest son, as well

of England's butler serve his own master before his father, the captive King of France, he is said to have given him a box on the ear for preferring, in his opinion, the vassal to the lord. In October 1360 his father conferred upon him the Duchy of Touraine; and on June 27, 1365, made him lieutenant-general in Burgundy, and first Peer of France; which honours were ratified by Charles V. After the peace of Bretigni he was engaged in suppressing the roving bands of robbers and outlaws whose excesses would have been a disgrace to any age or country. In 1369 he married at Ghent, Marguerite, daughter of Louis le Male, Count of Flanders, widow of Philip de Rouvre, whom Edward III. designed to have united to the Black Prince. In 1375 he made a pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostella, and was received with great honours at Seville by Henry de Transtamare, King of Castille. In 1379 he relieved Troyes from the English, at the head of 20,000 men, and assisted his father-in-law in suppressing an insurrection in Flanders. His brother Charles V. dying in 1380, left the throne to his son, a minor; and Philip claimed a share in the government, and forced the Dukes of Orleans and Anjou to accept him as an associate. At the coronation of the young king he maintained the prerogative of his rank with the same haughty spirit. Seeing the Duke of Anjou take his seat, as regent, next the Duke of Orleans, he ran up to him hastily, drew him out by the arm, and thrust himself into his place. Anjou would have revenged the insult upon the spot; but the brothers were parted, and the council decided in favour of the Duke of Burgundy. In 1382 he served under Charles VI. in Flanders, and distinguished himself at the battle of Rosebecque. He was so gratified by the attachment that had been shown to him by the people of Dijon, that he granted them several privileges; and among others, permission to bear his arms, and adopt his war-cry, "*Moult me tarde.*" He also presented them with the largest clock that had then been made, which he brought from Courtrai, and set up in a tower of the church of Notre Dame at Dijon. It was surmounted by his crest, and had on either side a statue of a man and woman, which struck the hours. In right of his wife he succeeded his father-in-law in 1384 as Count of Burgundy, Flanders, Artois, Nevers, and Reithel; and increased his power in 1390, by purchasing Charolais of John Count of Armagnac. He was in Brittany with Charles VI. in 1392; and, after that monarch's misfortune, was joined with the Duke of Berri in the regency. But the preference given to him upon this occasion over the Duke of Orleans, gave rise to that mortal enmity which subsisted between the houses of Burgundy and Orleans.

Though in a dispute with the Archbishop of Besançon about temporalities, he had driven that prelate from his see by force of arms, he was so anxious for the general peace of the church, that he went, in 1395, to Anjou, in the vain hope of persuading Benedict XIII. to put an end to the papal schism by a voluntary resignation. On his return he was met at

Lyons

as my Lord Anthony, ° and a great lord, who is called my Lord the

Lyons by the ambassadors of Sigismund, King of Hungary, who came to solicit his aid against the Turks. He complied with their request; and in the following year sent out his son John of Nevers, attended by the flower of the Burgundian nobility. Their rashness marred the enterprise, which was most disastrous to the croisaders. At the battle of Nicopolis, September 28, 1396, the young prince was made prisoner, and the greater part of his companions were slain. Bajazet gave him and twenty five of the principal lords their liberty, on payment of 200,000 ducats in gold; and when they quitted him, advised them to take their revenge.

On April 16, 1404, Philip fell sick at Brussels, and was conveyed to Halle, where, on the 27th of the same month, he died at the age of sixty-three. In his last moments he exhorted his children to maintain inviolable fidelity to the king throughout their lives, and never to lose sight of the honour of the blood from which they had sprung. The French historians have extolled his services towards his country, his paternal care of his own dominions, his zeal for religion, his wisdom, and his valour; but they describe his liberality as degenerating into such extravagance that, notwithstanding his immense revenues, he died insolvent. Money was borrowed to defray the expenses of his funeral; his goods were seized by a crowd of creditors and publicly sold; and the duchess was obliged to give up her share of his effects, and, according to the custom of the age, to deposit her girdle, keys, and purse, upon the coffin of her husband. He founded the Chartreuse at Dijon, and was there interred, June 16, in the middle of the choir.

By Marguerite his wife he had five sons and two daughters. His two youngest sons were slain at Azincourt. ¹

² John, eldest son of the above-mentioned Philip, called Count of Nevers in his father's lifetime, was born at Dijon, May 28, 1371, and succeeded to the Dukedom of Burgundy in 1404. His attempt against Bajazet has been mentioned. Almost all the French captives were massacred in cold blood before his eyes, and he hardly escaped with his life. The resolution with which he appeared before the Turkish tyrant after the loss of the day, and the intrepidity which he exhibited at the battle of Othei in 1408, acquired for him the appellation of *Sans Peur*. But if he inherited his parent's bravery, and was in his youth, as Froissart reports, "courteous and amiable," ³ it is deeply to be regretted that his ferocious and unprincipled conduct should have proved him so degenerate from the promise

¹ Art de verifier les dates, t. XI. p. I. p. 66, et seq. The last wager of battle, or trial by duel, that was fought in Burgundy, took place in presence of this duke, in December 1368. In MSS. Harl. 4473. f. 45 b. is an elegy in a rondel upon his death by Christina of Pisa.

² Chronicles, XI. c. 29.

Duke of Bourbon.^p These were accompanied by five hundred lances

nise of his earlier days. His quarrel with the Duke of Orleans draws his character in the darkest shades, and proves him to have had the "Burgundian conscience" (see page 154, note ^k) in the highest and most deplorable perfection. Both of them were at Paris in 1407, and had apparently been reconciled by the good offices of the Duke of Berri. On November 20, they partook of the sacrament, and dined together; and he had been invited by the Duke of Orleans to dinner on the following Sunday. Three days after, as the latter was returning through the streets from a visit to the queen, he was assaulted and slain by eighteen assassins, one of whom was suspected to be the Duke of Burgundy in disguise. Yet in the funeral procession he assisted in bearing the pall, and affected the deepest affliction. When the princes met to deliberate upon the murder, he drew the King of Sicily and Duke of Berry aside, and to their surprise and horror, confessed himself the author of it. On the day following, November 27, he attempted to take his seat in the council, and upon his exclusion fled into Artois, where his accomplices joined him. Some have attributed this act to jealousy, others to intelligence that he had received of the intention of Orleans to murder him. In February 1408 he returned to Paris, followed by a large body of knights, and openly avowed his crime. He even found an apologist in Doctor John Petit, a cordelier, who, on March 8, gravely defended him in a crowded assembly convoked for the purpose. He pleaded the above-mentioned reasons, and, among other topics, set forth his zeal for the royal family, and argued that he had done it to preserve their lives and the crown. Here, for the present, all prosecution ceased; and though the Duchess of Orleans strenuously endeavoured to obtain satisfaction, the king not only pardoned him, but confided the dauphin to his care.

The question was however revived in 1414, by the Bishop and University of Paris: they condemned the justification of Petit, and appealed against it to the pope; but the pontiff reversed their sentence. They then appealed to the council of Constance, where the duke still found means to influence and silence any farther deliberations upon this detestable affair.¹

He narrowly escaped the slaughter at Azincourt² by being too late in bringing up his division

¹ Dom Plancher hints that this was effected by the distribution of two hundred crowns among the members of that assembly, and timely presents of the rich produce of his territory, "Vin de Beaune, de Nuits et de Pommard."

² One cause of the massacre at Azincourt has been noticed in page 27, note l. Another curious fact is given by Paradin respecting it, which is connected with the Duke of Burgundy. "From this battle was brought to the Count of Charolois a rich sword, ornamented with gold, jewels, and precious stones, which had been taken in the coffers of the King of England by Robinet of Bornoville, and Isambert of Azincourt, who disbanding themselves during the battle, fell upon the baggage of the King of England, and plundered

on foot, drawn up on the field and armed; to the end that if the

division to the assistance of the King of France. But in the disputes between him and the dauphin concerning the regency, he met, as might have been anticipated, with a bloody end. He was assassinated in his turn by the followers of the latter on the bridge of Montereau, September 10, 1419, in the forty-ninth year of his age. His body was first interred at Montereau, and in 1420 removed to Dijon.

By his wife Marguerite of Baviere he had eight children. His eldest son Philip, from indignation at his death, took part with the English, and became their firm ally. One of the monks at Dijon shewing the head of this prince to Francis I. when he visited his tomb, was questioned by the king as to a hole that he observed in it. "Through that," said the chartreux, "the English entered France."¹

° Anthony, Duke of Brabant, a younger brother of the above, killed at Azincourt.

° Louis II. called the good Duke of Bourbon, son of Peter I. Duke of Bourbon and Isabel daughter of Philip of Valois, was born August 4, 1337, and succeeded his father in 1356. He was uncle of Charles VI. He had been an hostage eight years in England; had fought against the English in France; and commanded the army against the Saracens in the African crusade. He attempted to reconcile the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, and by his prudence kept off the miseries of a civil war; but after the assassination of Orleans, he openly declared himself against the Duke of Burgundy. He died universally regretted at Moulins, August 19, 1410, and was buried in the priory of Souvigne. He founded or rebuilt three religious houses; built the castles of Moulins, Auxance, and Verneuil, and paved several towns at his own expense.

His valour and courtesy brought him into high estimation. At the feast which he gave on his return from captivity, when he instituted the order of L'Ecu D'or, January 1370, his attorney-general presented, on his knees, secret information of all the depredations committed in his absence, by divers lords his vassals, many of whom were then before him. "Chauveau," said he, "have you also kept an account of all the services that they have rendered me?" Then seizing the document, he threw it unopened into the fire.

His mother had been carried off, in 1370, from the castle of Belleperche by the Earls
of

dered it. In hatred whereof the aforesaid king proclaimed throughout his whole army by sound of trumpet, that all the English, upon pain of death, should slay every one of their French prisoners, which was done with great slaughter of the chief lords; whereof the said Bornoville and Azincourt were the cause. These being accused of it before the Duke of Burgundy, he would have put them to death: but the Count of Charolois, his son, saved them on account of the beautiful sword that they had given him."

¹ Art de vérifier les dates, t. XI. p. 1. p. 73, et seq.

English had changed their mind, or had been inclined to take the queen back, on account of any strife or parley, which might have arisen between them, every one of these might have done his duty to regain her; and might have stoutly charged the English over hill, plain, and valley, on horseback, till by force, and in spite of them, they had carried her off between them to her fair father, the King of France. But I wish to make it clear to you that there was no necessity for this, for the English were disposed to fulfil her restoration to her country, together with all the jewels¹ which she had, when, after her marriage, she quitted France. She then passed through France to Paris, where her coming caused many a tear and smile.² Let us now beseech God, who hum-

of Cambridge and Pembroke, and was detained a prisoner by the companies a long time. In 1373, the fortune of war threw into his hands the Duchess of Brittany, whose husband was the ally of England; and gave him an opportunity of displaying his superior generosity. "Ah, fair cousin," she exclaimed, "am I then a prisoner?"—"No, madam," he replied, "we are not making war upon ladies." And he immediately restored her to her husband.¹

He was a witness of the young queen's delivery into the hands of Richard II. at Leulinghen five years before; and enlivened the princely party by his hilarity at the entertainment there given by Charles VI. but the tone of his pleasantries may convince us that Richard's own subjects were not the only persons who laughed at his ill-assorted marriage.²

¹ Richard had directed by his will that she was to have all her jewels, if she should survive him.³

² Monstrellet gives the following narrative of the whole of these transactions. "This queen was brought back into France by Sir Thomas Percy, Constable of England, who had

¹ *Art de vérifier les dates*, t. X. p. I. p. 337, et seq. Barnes, quoting Froissart, attributes a similar expression to the Black Prince, when he heard of the captivity of the Duchess of Bourbon. But the French historian only says, "This capture never pleased him, who, whenever it was mentioned, said, that if any others than the free companies had taken her, she should instantly have had her liberty." IV. c. 12. The reply of the Duke of Bourbon to Chandos herald, when he brought him word that they were about to take his mother away, is conceived in the same chivalrous feeling with that recorded above. "Chandos, Chandos, tell your masters, they carry on a most disgraceful war, when they seize an ancient lady from among her domestics, and carry her away like a prisoner. It was never seen formerly, that in the warfare between gentlemen, ladies or damsels were treated as prisoners." *Id.* ut supra.

² Froiss. XI. c. 40.

³ Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. p. 75.

bly suffered his naked body to be suspended upon the cross for the redemption and restoration of sinners from the false foes of hell, that he will speedily avenge the great evils and ingratitude, the outrage and injustice which the wicked English have committed against their king and queen. For I protest to you of a truth, that I greatly desire to behold this, on account of the wickedness which I have seen among them. And if every one knew their disposition, and how they hate the French,¹ I firmly believe that before three months were passed, we

had in his company many knights and squires, ladies and damsels, to attend her. And she was taken to a place called Lolinghehen, between Boulogne and Calais; and was there delivered and given up to Waleran, Count of Saint Pol, and Captain of Picardy; with whom were the Bishop of Chartres, and the Lord of Heugeville to receive her; as likewise the young lady of Montpensier, sister of the Count of la Marche, and the young lady of Luxembourg, sister of the said Count of Saint Pol, and other ladies and damsels sent on the part of the Queen of France. The whole of whom, after they had taken leave of the lords and ladies of England, took their departure thence, and brought the said queen to the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, who were waiting for her with a great company on a hill hard by. So she was received by them, and welcomed right honourably; and, this done, they took her to Boulogne, and thence to Abbeville, where the said Duke of Burgundy made an honourable entertainment to welcome her; and this duke afterwards took leave of her and returned to Artois. And the said Duke of Bourbon, and the others who were at this entertainment, brought her to Paris to the king her father, and the queen her mother, of whom she was received and welcomed most kindly. Nevertheless, although she was most honourably sent over, as is related, yet was there no rent nor revenue assigned for her dowry; whereat many of the princes of France were not well content with the said King of England; and greatly desired that the King of France would prepare to make war upon him."²

¹ In spite of the truce which subsisted between the crowns of France and England, the antipathy or rivalry of the two nations broke forth upon every opportunity. Nothing was more common than private combats of the French and English. In the year 1402 seven Frenchmen, headed by Barbazan, and as many Englishmen, met upon a challenge to fight between Montendre and Blaye; and the former were victorious. The prize obtained by each of the conquerors, according to agreement, was a gold ring set with a diamond.³ Christina of Pisa composed three triumphant ballads upon this occasion, in which she applauds the victors with all the might of her muse.³

¹ *Croniques de Monstrellet*, I. c. 4.

² *Art de vérifier les dates*, t. VI. p. I. p. 66

³ MSS. Harl. 4431. f. 43. a. b.

should see many a vessel filled with men and stores to make war upon them. For any one may plainly see that they are very wicked people, and negligent to do well. And if I have spoken too freely of them in any way which may displease, I humbly and heartily beg pardon. For I solemnly declare that, according to my ability, I have uttered no evil or slander of them whereof they have not been guilty. Because I beheld their actions for seven whole months, and rode with them in many countries, and parts of Ireland and England. The good Earl of Salisbury also, when he was taken with King Richard, was pleased most earnestly to request, and humbly entreat me, that I would publish the whole of their bad behaviour and disloyal treason. And, certes, I promised it him with free will and loyal heart. For which cause, I have taken the trouble to fulfil the promise that I made him, in the great sorrow and peril in the which I left him. Besides, I am sure, that the truth^t of the taking of the king, and how he was falsely

^t This is a most correct observation of Creton; and every one who has consulted the historians nearest to this period, must be fully satisfied of the importance of his Metrical History. In conclusion, it may truly be said, that without this, and the MS. Ambassades, which, whatever may be its merits, is not to be compared with it for accuracy, we had known hardly any thing of the reality of the particulars attendant upon the deposition of the king. So completely were the few that were of Richard's party silenced by Henry IV. and so little were the writers on his own side able or willing to tell the truth, that most of the statements concerning it are not only barren, but confused and contradictory to a degree that precludes the possibility of coming to a just conclusion. Walsingham, well-informed and copious as he is in other matters, is here very unsatisfactory. Froissart, as has been shewn, is still more erroneous; and the greater part of our own historians had far better have adopted the simple language of Fabyan or of Ickham (*rex capitur*), than attempted to describe it as they have. Hardyng's rude outline is, perhaps, nearer to the truth than any of them: he is not a favourer of Henry; but his leaning towards Northumberland, or, as I am rather induced to believe, the stories he had heard in that family, rendered him in one instance an apparent falsifier of the main fact. Of this the reader will judge by the following extract from an unpublished copy of his Chronicle in the British Museum. This MS. which formerly belonged to Lord Lansdowne,¹ and is supposed to have been

¹ Hardyng's Chronicle by Ellis, Preface, p. xiv.

drawn out of his strong and fair castles in Wales, by treaty and parley with the Earl of Northumberland, as I have before related, could have

been an autograph of Hardyng, curiously varies in many parts from that which was printed by Grafton, and has been re-edited by Mr. Henry Ellis.

¶ The kynge, whan he in Ireland had message
Of Duke Henry comyng into Englonde,
To Wales came with many men in wage,
That fro him went than, as I undyrstonde.
He was so ferde he durste noght take on honde
To holde the fælde agayn him for to fight;
But to Conway he went withouten myght.

¶ Than came the Erle so off Northumbyrlande
To him directe, and prayed by Duke Henry;
Who thrygh trefy and full discrete covenande
Hym brought anone *withouten felony* ¹
Unto the duke, that made grete curtesy
So to him that as to suche prince acorde,
That was his kynge and eke his lege lorde.

¶ Whom Duke Henry than forthe to London ledde
In Septembre, in strong and myghty warde;
And watched ay at borde, and eke at bedde;
And in the toure was sette for his rewarde;
Thar to abyde the parmentes awarde,
What yt wolde saye of hym, or ytt ordayne,
Hym to depose, or have hym kynge againe. ²

But it is due to Hardyng to observe how, in the copy which has been edited, and which he might have written after he was better acquainted with the true state of the case, the whole is new moulded, and the objectionable parts are suppressed.

And then the kyng at Flynt, as was sene,
Great monstres made of people that was kene,
Which toke his wage and came to Duke Henry,
And rode ay forth with hym full redely.

¶ In

¹ This account he might have had from the earl, who perhaps cheated his own conscience with the reflection that he had then no intention of deposing Richard, see p. 183, note x. and so far as that went, his assertion, that he had no felony in his design, might be true. But, let the purpose be what it might, his execution of it was felonious in more than one of the many senses of the term.

² Hardyng's Chronicle, MS. Brit. Mus. Bibl. Lansd. 200. fol. 200, 201, 202.

been little known. So I sincerely beseech all those who shall read to the end of this treatise, which I have made concerning the English and their affairs, that if I have committed any fault in rhyme, in prose, or in elegance of rhyme^u they would have me excused for it, because I am not skilled therein. v Amen.

¶ In this meane whyle, therle of Northüberlāde
Treated with the kyng that tyme in Conwaye,
To mete with Duke Henry then in Englande,
And brought hym then to hym in meke araye,
With litell speche to Chester, then the waye
They rode anone, and put hym there in warde,
And so to London from thens came Southwarde.¹

^u In the original *leonimer*. The *rime leonime* or *leonine* was much esteemed by the earlier French poets. Barbazan, in his preface to the *Fabliaux*, I. p. 24. says, "La rime leonime estoit regardée comme la plus parfaite, et c'estoit ce que nous apellons aujourd'hui rime riche. Pierre Fabri, Curé de Meray en Berry, Auteur des *Vigiles de Charles VIII.* dit que la rime leonime est la plus belle, comme le lion est le plus beaux des animaux. En s'exprimant ainsi il veut faire entendre que l'etimologie de leonime vient de *Leo*. Il cite ces quatre vers pour exemple de la richesse de cette rime.

Glorieuse Vierge et pucelle,
Qui es de Dieu mere et ancelle,
Pardonne-moi tous mes péchiez
Desquels je suis si entechiez.

He adds, that the *Art of Rhetoric*, printed in 1493, teaches it's essence to consist not merely in the employment of double rhimes, but parisyllabic words. Christina of Pisa gives a specimen of this style, consisting of seven stanzas in different measures, which she entitles, "Une assemblée de plusieurs rimes anque toutes leonimes en façon de lay pour apprendre a rimer leonimement." It is evident that her terminations, but not all her words, conform to the above rule.

Amours, plaisant nourriture,
Tres sade et doulce pasture,
Plaine de bonne avanture,
Et vie tres heureuse,

Du

¹ Chronicle, by Ellis, c. cxciiii. p. 248.

Du vray cœur loyal l'ointure,
 Qui entour luy fait çainture ;
 De ioye c'est ta droiture,
 Douce esperance amoureuse. MSS. Harl. 4431. f. 25.

▼ The following entry occurs at the end of the MS. from which the text is taken :

" This book of the taking of King Richard of England belongeth to my Lord Charles of Anjou, Earl of Maine and Mortaing, and Governor of Languedoc. CHARLES." The latter word is an autograph.

The close of these annotations reminds the writer that some apology may be due for their prolixity, which in the opinion of many, may appear to have too much overlaid the text. His object will be easily comprehended, and, he trusts, as candidly interpreted by those for whom they were immediately prepared. Such parts of them as are drawn from materials already before the public, he has endeavoured to present under new combinations, and to enrich from original documents; and the whole is offered, not only as a comment upon the text, but an attempt to illustrate some of the events, characters, customs, and literature of the period. He has had occasion to perceive that all the proofs and disquisitions are not marked by that originality and research that could be wished; and is conscious that much remains to be done, and may be better done. If he should appear occasionally to have distracted the subject by entering into too minute details, it will be recollected, that it is the province of an antiquary to bring together such scattered fragments as the general historian may have overlooked or despised; and he will rest his defence upon that passage of Flavius Vopiscus, upon which the learned and laborious Usher and others have relied: "FRIVOLA HÆC FORTASSE CUIPIAM ET NIMIS LEVIA ESSE VIDEANTUR; SED CURIOSITAS NIHIL RECUSAT." Brittan. Eccles. Antiquit. Præfat. f. 3.

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

Bibl. Cotton. Titus. B. XI. F. 3. a. et seq.

Informacion de credence p^r le messag⁹ envoie a Engleterre dep le Gardein del t^re dirlande et p le conseil illoeq³.^a

En primes M^cmurgh comensa la guerre devant la venue du roy^b et ap^s son deptyr, tanq un plement de trette feust fait entre le Gardein et le conseil del t^re et le dit M^cmurgh, en quele le dit M^cmurgh demanda restitution del Baronie de Norragh et paiement de son annuite de ^{xx}iiiij m^cr p an. avec les arrerages; autrement il ne vodroit tenir la pees. Et le conseil, considerant le trouble et pil de greindre meschief, accorderent de paier a lui une so^me de monoi^e p^r les dites baronie de Norragh et p^r la dite annuite tanq le Roy auroit c^tifie sa volente, s'il aura restitution ou noun; et pmistrent d'envoier messages en Engleterre p^r sa^v ent la volente du Roy. Et M^cmurgh ad fait assurance a sa fo^me, q^u onq^s il ne sera a pees sil n'eit restitution de ses t^res.—Et ensi s'il n'eit my restitution de ses t^res et annuitie ap^s la seint Michel, le dit M^cmurgh est a o^vt guerre. Et il est ore alez a dessemond p^r eider le conte de dessemond a destruire le conte d'ormond s'ils p^ront et apres reto⁹nir ovek toute la poair q'il poet avoir de les pties de Monnister p^r destruire la pais.

^a The contents of this very curious despatch prove it to have been written in the summer of 1398, or spring of 1399. The Duke of Surrey, of whom it makes mention, arrived in Ireland as lieutenant, April 25, 1398.

^b In 1394, when Richard was first Ireland, all the Leinster chieftains, Girald O Berne, Donald O Nolan, Rory Oge O More, Malachias O Morrouch, and Arthur Mac Morrouch, with others, laid aside their caps, skeins, and girdles, and did homage, and swore fealty upon their knees to Mowbray Earl of Nottingham, Marshal of England. Malachias was probably that uncle of Mac Morrouch whose submission is spoken of in the Metrical History, page 34. The same ceremony was performed by O Nial, O Hanlon, O Donnel, Mac Mahon, and other chieftains of Ulster, to Richard himself, at Drogheda. Cox, I. p. 138. Davis. Stuart. Hist. Mem. of Armagh, c. x. p. 194.

Item, porce q̃ le Anell^c est assemblez ovek l'g'nt host des gentz sanz nombre p^r guerrir et destruire toute la paiis, s'il n'ait liève de son filz et ses cosyns et les autres hostages q̃ sont en la Chastel de Devylyn come luy estoit p̃mis, si come il dit: soit s^r ce ordenez de remede.

Item, porce q̃ les souldours q̃ feurent ovek mon fr^e de Surr², lieutenant d'irlande sont ore hors de soude et deptiez hors des gages, et sunt unks soldeours dem⁹antz s^r la defens de la t̃re, ne nulle monoye entre maines p^r paier ascunes soldeo^s ne p^r faire relief encontre les enemis en aucune mañe; qar le monoie q̃ estoit illeq̃s en les maines del dit lieutenant p^r la defens de la t̃re est portez en Engleterre p̃ Maudelyn et les esquiers q̃ feurent envoyez p^r ycelle, et combien q'ils feurent requis p̃ la conseil illoq̃s p^r paier et deliṽrer pcelle del dit monoie p^r trouver souldeo^s en defens et salvacion del d̃ce t̃re, nientmuns ils soy escuserent, q'ils avont poair de rescevoir et nul poair de rien paier ne deliv^rer. (*erasure*) Et en tiel man¹ere la t̃re est en pil de final destruccion, s'il ne soit releves et secourez en hastif temps: p̃ quoy soit ordinez remede.

Item, qant as autres matieres touchant lastat de la dite t̃re, ffait assa⁹ q̃ les Irrois enemiz sont fortz et orguillous et de g^{nt} poair, et nul ordenance ne poair de faire resistance a eux; qare les marchers englois ne sont ny depoir ne voillent chivacher s^r eux sanz greindre poair p̃ amont.

Item, les naciones Engleis qi sout rebelx en tous les pties de la t̃re, com les (*erasure*) Butyllers, Powers, Gerardyns, Bermýghams, Daltons, Barettes, Dillons, (*long erasure*) et les autres qi ne veullent obeire a la leye, n'estre justifiez, mes destruisent les pov^s gentz liges de la t̃re, et preignent lour vivre de eux et les desrobent, et voillent estre appelez gentillemen de sank et Idelmen, la ou ils sont fortz larons, et ne sont ny justifiez p̃ la ley, et voillent prendre prisoners de

^c Nelan O Nial, the elder, called "The O Nial," chief dynast of Ulster. This title was kept up in the family till the reign of Elizabeth. Shane O Nial, when he was summoned by Sir Henry Sidney to appear before him, explain his conduct, and give assurances of loyalty to his sovereign, urged, among other pleas, that he was the legitimate and duly elected O Nial. But by an act of parliament passed after his rebellion, February 23, 1569, the name and the ceremonies used at it's assumption were abolished. "The O Nial" had been inaugurated into the regal title and authority from remote antiquity in a stone chair of state at Tulloghoge, which was broken in pieces by the deputy Mountjoy in August 1602, during the insurrection of Hugh O Nial, Earl of Tyrone. Fines Moryson, II. p. 197. Stuart, c. xiv. pp. 255, 261. xvii. p. 300, and Appendix, p. 634.

les Engleis, et faire, et reindre duresse a eux q̄ sont les Irrois enemis, et ce p^r default de execucion de justice.

Itm, entre ce, les ditz Engleis rebelx sont de conyn ovek les Irrois enemis, et ne voillent displeire a eux ; et issuit entre luns et lautres les loialx Engleis sont destruitz et a meschief.

Itm, p^r la rebellion et faucyne des Engleis rebelx dune pt, et p^r la guerre des Irroys enemys dautre pt, le Roy ad nul pfit de les revenues de la lre ; p^r ce q̄ nulle execucion ne poet estre fait de la ley, ne nul ministre n'ose faire n'aler p^r faire execucion.

Itm, plusieurs (contees) q̄ sont obeiantz a la ley ne sont my en les mains du Roy ; fors les contees de Devylyn, et ptie del contee de kyldar^o ; qar le contee de uriel, — ovek l'office de viscont, et de lescheto^o, et ovek le fee ferme de Droghda, et tous autres pfitz, forfaitors, fees, gardes, mariages, fee fermes, custume, coket, et tous autres choses sont donez as autres.

Itm, le contee de Mið est franchise (de conte paleis) et donez as autres ; et le roy ad rien.

Itm, le contee de Ulnester est franchise, et donez as autres ; et le roy ad rien.

Itm, le contee de Weyford est franchise del f^r de Grey, et le roy ad rien.

Itm, plusieurs autres contees sont franchises de conte palois q̄ est piudice et destruccion al corone et al lre.

Itm, le contee de Cork, ovek toutes choses est donez as autres ovek f^ranchises de conte palois.

Itm, le contee de Typar^o est franchise del conte d'ormond ; et le roy ad rien.

Itm, de les contees de Carlagh, kilkenny, Waſford, kerry, lymeryk, Conaght, Roscon^o le Roy ad rien p^r default de obeissance et execucion de la ley, et p^r la rebellion et la guerre des enemis come de suis.

Itm, le Coket et custume, et le fee ferme de Waſford est donez, p^r xx ans, a les Maires et Baillifs de Waſford (p^r enclore da la ville, et poy est fait).

Itm, tous les pfitz de la lre, si bien manoirs come lres, rentz et autres choses, q̄ sont cleres ou d'escune value, sont demandez et donez as autres ; issuit q̄ nul pfit vient al Eschequer p^r paier lees fees, ne les charges, n'autres choses, la ou les revenues en temps passee soloient paier g^rnt ptie de les costages de la guerre.

Itm, non obstant q̄ les revenues sont ensi abatuz, plusieurs fees et anuities sont donez sibn as Irrois, q̄ amontont a l^rg^rnt somes, come as Engleis en l^rg^rnt charge importable del Eschequer ; et ifsuit les revenues et pfitz sont tous abatuz, et les charges encressez qu'els ne sont my possibles d'estre paieez. ce in dorso.

Item, quant a les ministers de l'escheqr, fait assav^r q['] nul Baron est illoqs apris de la ley come g[']nt boisoigne s[']roit.

Item, les autres offices de l'escheqr⁹ sont malement occupiez p['] ceux qi ne sont my apris ne lettrez, ne n'ount nul conissance de leur offices; mes ont p[']chacez patentes de les dites offices p['] covetire de les fees, et aussi ont en leur absence qi n'ont cure s'ils vient leurs p[']ts et gaine. Cestassavoir les offices de rememb[']ncer, l'office de chief Grosser, et l'office de scde grosser, et autres, dount les greindre ptie d'eux ne conussent my un tre; et boisoigne s[']roit q'ils fuissent gentz v[']bien apris de leur office: et ensi il est g[']nt mischief en celle ptie.

Item, quant a l'office de l'escheqr, les Escheto[']s soloient donir p['] an c m['] p['] avoir et s[']vir le dit office, et outre ce reste a Roy de les p[']tz et issues d'icelle; et ore prent p['] an del doun le Roy xlii ti p['] s[']vir le dit office, et p[']nt en effect rende a Roy.

Item, les custumes et cokettes d'irland soloient estre g[']nt ptie del substance de les revenues illoeqs; et ore poy vient a Roy, porce q['] ascuns de eux sont donez as autres; et le Customier ad l'office de Collecto['] a l[']me de sa vie, et p[']nt p['] an. l. ti; et poy vient a Roy.

No. II.

Bibl. Cotton. Titus, B. XI. F. 19. b.

Ceux sont les poynts q['] Roger de Mortymer, Counte de la Marche et son conseil demandent p['] la viage et la sauve garde de la t[']re d'irland.

Premement, plein livree de tut l'heritage du dit Roger pur tut son noun age, sibn en Engleterre et Gales, come en Irlande; Cestassavoir, en seignies, chasteux, manoirs, villes, t[']res, tenementz, rentes, s[']vices, franchises, fees et avowesons, ove tutes autres app[']tenantz et comodities q[']conq[']s, sibn esteantz en fee, come celles q['] p[']roient avenir a dit heritage p['] rev[']cions ou remaindres, ou p['] autres voies q[']conq[']s.

Item, touz les revenues et p[']tz de touz les seignies et t[']res, ove touz leur app[']tenances et comoditeez q[']conq[']s app[']tenantz a n[']re dit f['] le roi, en tut le pays d'irland durant le noun age du dit Rog['].

Item, deux miif marcz en moneye d'estre paiez en main.

Itm, q'il ait li—^a et plein poair de chargier son dit heritage et faire chevances s^r ycell a la valor d'un an p^r le pluis suffisantement faire le dit viage consider⁹ q'il prent si senglement p^r ycelle.

Itm, q p cause (*blank*)^b cest trete, le dit Rog⁹ ne soit obligez a la dite sauve garde faire outre son meindre age av^{nt}dit, sinoun p novel (*imperfect*) te affaire p sa volonte.

Et p^r p^romr cest d^{vice} du Roy en la garde dudite pays d'irland, le counte de Kent se ordeignera d'aler en sa ppre p^{son}e p coungée du P—,^c ove le dit counte de la Marche et autres p^{son}es suffisantz d'estat ovesq eux ; et p especial le sire de lovel sil p^{ra} (*erasure*) ew, Monf. Johⁿ Stanley, Monf. Johⁿ Sandes, Monf. Rauf Cheyne, ove autres suffisantz.

Et s^ra fait suffisant seurte p mesme le counte de Kent, ove autres suffisantz ovesq lui, q si le dit counte de la Marche devie deinz son l^{me}, q le d^{vice} du Roi s^ra p^rome p^r quantq ils av^{ont} rescien, ou q s^ra a cett temps c^{te}ment et clere^{ment} levable a luy sanz destobance.

Et p^r le miultz atendre a cest d^{vice} faire, q mesme le counte de la Marche puisse avoir liv^{ee} de son heritage, ove les ditz revenues d'irland pleynem^t, ensemblement ove les ditz m^t m^t marcz, ore a cest l^{me} de la nativite de saint Johⁿ ; et a celle liv^{ee} a lui fait il prendra de mesme la garde en ceste f^ome : Cestassavoir, ordeignant illeq^s le lieutenant q'est la au present, ou autre p^{son}e suffisant ove convenable poair, au fine q'il puisse faire ses chevances, sa retenue et son arrai, dem^{ant} mesmes p desa p cestes causes, tansq a tiel temps q p^{ra} estre accordez p le noble counsail du Roy q'il soy p^{ra} a yceo ordeigner et arraiier come apptient a son estat.

Bibl. Cotton. Id. f. 7.

Lains des Contes d'arundelle Warr⁹ et Northumbr sur certains articles faites p le Counte de Kent en noun du Counte de la March au conseil n^{re} f^r le Roi pur l'aler le dit counte de la March en Irlande.

Endroit de pleine liveree affaire au comte de la Marche de tout son heritage sibn en Engle^{re} et Gales come en Irlande pur son aler de Irlande p^r la sauve garde d'icelle, les ditz countes d'arundeff, Warw⁹ et North, iointz fermers ove le dit Counte de la Marche ount toutes les l^{res} et seign^{ies} du dit heritage esteantz en la mayn du Roi p le meindre age du dit counte de la March en Engle^{re} et Gales tanq'a son plein age ; et s'il devie deinz age, son heir deinz age esteant, tanq'au plein age du dit heir ; et issuit de heir en heir, tanqe ascun de eux

^a livree?

^b de?

^c Roy?

soit de plein age rendant ent au Roy une g^rande some a son Eschequier, ove autres charges, sicome en les tres patentz nre f^r le Roi ent a eux faites pluis pleinement est contenuz : issuit semble asditz Countes darundell Warr^o et Northumbr q'ils ne deussent estre oustez de leur estat celle ptie par la ley, saunz leur bon gree et assent.

Nientmayns, purceo q̄ lentencion des ditz ffermers en la prise du dit ferme estoit et est a sauver et garder le dit hitage de gast et destruccion p^r profit du dit counte de la Marche leur consin, et ne vodroient par nul pfit q̄ purroit avenir as ditz ffermers mesmes, ne a leur ministres destourber ne estre cause de destourbance de nul hon' et pfit q̄ purroit avenir a mesf le Roi, ne a leur dit cousin, come p^r la bone gou^vnaile du dit terre d'irlande ne autrement, ils assenteront volentiers, en caas q̄ la dite voiage purra resonablement p^ondre, q̄ leur dit cousin eit la some quele ils rendent par an a no^r f^r le roi p^r la dite ferme par les mayns des ministres les ditz fermers, issuit q'ils soient deschargez de mesme la some annuellement dev^s nre f^r le roi ; et oultre ceo les ditz countes veullent q'en caas q̄ le dit viage se purra resonablement p^ondre, come desus, q'adonc le dit conte de la marche eit tout ceo q̄ purra en ascun man^oe resonable estre approvee du dit hitage annuellement, saunz gast et destruccion d'icelle, outre la some annuellement due au Roi, et au^s charges comp^ses en les tres patentz le Roi du dite ferme ap^ondre par les mayns avantdites.

Et en caas q'il semble audit Counte de Kent q̄ ceo ne soit sufficeant p^r le complissement de la voiage avantdite a cause del chevance affaire sur le dit hitage p^r mesme la voiage, sicome est contenuz en un article des petitions demandez p^r le dit counte de kent, en nom le dit counte de la March de nre f^r Roi p^r mesme la voiage, s'il plect au dit counte de kent a declamer et monstrier as ditz countes d'arundell, Warw^o, et Northumbr come as cousins et amys du dit Counte de la Marche coment et en quele man^oe la dite chevance se ferra saunz gast et destruccion a son dit hitage et a l'ordinance p' la dite voiage, soit tiels q'il purra clerement estre vieve as ditz countes q̄ ceo purra estre fait et continue al honur et pfit du Roi et de leur dit cousin durant son meindre age, et q̄ son hitage pdecea purra sufficeament estre gou^vne s'absence, les ditz countes d'arundell, Warw^o, et Northumbr, ne veullent estre contr^ous a nul bon propos.

No. III.

Bibl. Cotton. Id. V. 22. 3 H. IV.

Tresexcellent, trespuissant fr et pierre. Je me recomans a v're hautesse aussi treshumblement com'e Je scey, ou en aucun man'e obeissantement pluis puisse, en vous suppliant treshumblement, s'il vous plect, v're gracieuse b'nceon, empriant a Dieu tout puissant q'il me doigne tousiours d'oier et savoir de vous et de v're treshaut et tres-honorable estat si vrayment bones et ioieuses nouvelles com'e vous, mon tressou'vain fr et pierre, savez miux pour vous penser ou souzhaider. Et qant de moy v're treshumble filz, et de mon petit estat, plese assavoir a v're hautesse q' a l'escrivre d'icestes J'estoy en bonne sauntie, dieu merciez, et ay tenuz mon Nowel a la chastiel de D (*erased, but doubtless* Devylyn), en fesant as chivaliers, esquiers et autres gentils de la pays le meilleur chere q' ie poay; depuis quelle fest de Nowel p' avis de mon conseil i'ay chivache sur les Irroys voz enemys en fesant le mieux q' ie pourroy pour eux grever; et suy retornez moy et mes gens sauvement, merciez ent soit dieu; et en retornant del dit chivachie viendrent les soudeours p'decea la plus grande p'tie a mes treschs et b'nam'e monf Estiephen lescrop, Monf Edward Perers et Janico darts leur chevita'ns, com'e ils me out rapportez, lour demandantz congie et licence pour deptire et passer devers Engleterre, en disantz q'ils ne pourroient pluis outre f'vier sanz ce q'us avoient paiement de leur gages; et unqore font a jour en autre; et veer est q' plusieurs sont deptiez: pour quelles matires si hastivement remede ne soit ordeignez par vous, mon tressou'vain fr et pierre, Je me doute q' grande mal en purra avenir a moy et a v're dit pays com'e le f'dit monf Estiephen vous sav'ra, s'il vous plaist, pluis plainement declarer p' bouche q' ie ne scay esc'fire par tre. Li quel monf Estiephen m'a enformez q' a force en tout man'e lui covient en saincacion de son estat passer devers v're haulte presence pour poursuer devers vous touchant la charge q'il ad de la chastiel de Rokesburgh. Pour qoy je vous supplie, mon tressou'vain fr et pierre, q' le f'dit monf Estiephen, et mes ditz bosoignes, et aussi les bosoignes propres vous plese gracieusement e (*erasure*) oir p' recumander, et lui exploiter et deliver si en hast come bonement vous p' (*erasure*) qe poet retornir dev's moy; qar Je ne lui puisse longement desportier, sil vous plect, tant est son f'vice a moy necessair pour la grande conif'sance q'u ad

de la govñance de les guerres et de les condicions des gens pdeca, a quel vous please doner foy et creance en ce q'il vous exposera, si vous plect, de ma pte, sibn touchant les dites matieres come dautres choses le bien et estat de ceste pays grandement touchantz; moy comādantz tousio's voz treshonnorables pleafs et comandemantz, comē a v're treshumble obeissant subjit et fitz toutdis prest de les pfaire et accompler a ffitout mon poair. Tresexcellent, trespuissant, et mon tressouverain f et piere, Je prie a dieu q'il vous sauve et garde en sauntee et prospitee, et vous doigne attant de ioy et leesce a cuer come vous desirez a trelong durr⁹. Escript a Droghda, le xviii Jour de ffever.....⁴

No. IV.

In offering some observations upon the allusion contained in the text, it is not my intention to enter into any disquisition upon the controversies respecting the name and character of Merlin, which have given rise to so much unprofitable investigation. My object will be, in a general way, to point out the probable origin of those deservedly neglected productions, which assumed the tone of prophecy, and were usually associated with that name; to take a view of the effect which these and others of a similar stamp produced upon our ancestors for many generations; especially to note their diffusion and influence in the age with which we are immediately concerned, and the manner in which they might have been interpreted and applied.

The Britons, at a very remote period, seem to have cherished a taste for predictions announcing their restoration to the country from which they had been driven by the Saxon sword. The exiles in Armorica, and those who sought a retreat in the wilds of Wales, must have listened with delight to the assurances of their bards, that a day would arrive in which they should "obtain the crown of their land, and the strange people should vanish away." It may easily be understood that the strains of Taliesin and Merddyn, in which such

⁴ Some letters, probably containing the date of the year, are cut off at the lower corner. The MS. is upon paper.

declarations occur, ^e might produce a valuable effect in supporting the sinking spirits of their countrymen: and that the enthusiasm with which such gleams of hope would be received, might call forth a variety of attempts in this style of composition. Many of these rhapsodies appear to have existed both in Armorica and Wales, long before Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the twelfth century, introduced to the notice of the English that incoherent collection of absurdities which was entitled the prophecies of Merlin. Whether, in the form in which he has brought them forward, they are to be regarded wholly or in part, as the fabrication of that writer, has been the subject of much enquiry and conflicting opinion: it cannot, however, be doubted that he contributed, more than any other individual, to give them the currency which they long maintained. It is well known that Geoffrey was the author or compiler of two works of this description; one set of prophecies contained in his *Brut*, which he attributes to Merlin Emrys, or Ambrosius, who is said to have lived in the time of Vortigern; and another series introduced in his *life of Merlin Sylvestris*, who is reputed to have flourished in the days of Arthur. ^f When these made their appearance, but especially the former, for the latter seem not to have been so universally known, ^g they were received with astonishment; and the impression that they communicated, continued to possess and occasionally to agitate the minds of the people of this country for several ages. In the present day it may appear equally ridiculous and surprising when we consider with what avidity any thing was received under the authority of Merlin; and how widely his pretended vaticinations were circulated. His renown, coupled with that of the far-famed Arthur, spread into other lands. Alanus de Insulis a foreigner,

^e Turner, *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, I. pp. 129, 130. Id. *Hist. of Engl.* I. p. 168, note, quoting *Welsh Archaeology*, I. p. 132.

^f Nicolson, *English Hist. Library*, p. I. c. 3, is of opinion that the two Merlins must be considered as one; and Ellis, *Specim. of Early Engl. Metr. Romances*, I. p. 83, has pointed out the singular circumstance that Geoffrey has himself confounded them, though he has given their prophecies specifically in a separate form in prose and verse. Besides which he distinguishes those of Merlin Ambrosius from Merlin Sylvestris. *British Hist.* I. XII. c. 17. Giraldus Cambrensis affirms that there were two Merlins. *Itin. Camb.* I. II. c. 8.

^g Yet Giraldus, *ut supra*, says of him, “longe plenius et apertius quam alter prophetavit.”

and a celebrated scholar, contributed to this, by writing a copious commentary upon them ;^b historians quoted and applied them to passing events ; and in the dawn of reviving literature, the earlier efforts of the press were directed to the diffusion of them. They were printed in French at Paris in 1498 ; a “ *Tretise of Merlyn*,” or his prophecies in verse, was published at London, in 1529, by Wynkyn de Worde ; and another by John Hawkyngs in 1533 ; and “ *Merlini Vita et Prophetiæ*,” appeared at Venice in 1554.ⁱ

Their practical influence throughout Wales and England was very extensive. Like the books of the Italic Cumæan Sybil, they were applied to on grave occasions ; they gave sanction to doubtful claims, or animated revolutionary attempts ; and were always considered in a state of progressive accomplishment. As these awful denunciations respected political vicissitudes, and were directed to rulers as well as to the community, they excited the interest of all orders of society ; and, when they were cited, at once amazed the gaping multitude, and “ with fear of change perplexed monarchs.” Some hardier spirits, indeed, there might be, who doubted ; but the major part in these days of darkness, and especially in seasons of civil trouble,^k clung to any hint that could be collected from them with earnest expectation of fulfilment. Not only the unlettered, who had little means of knowing them, except upon the report of others, but churchmen and laymen of rank and education, and many of the learned, such as they chiefly were, held them in profound reverence. In council or in fight, either party, who could force a construction of any existing or pretended passage in their favour, confidently anticipated success. And as artifice took advantage of them, credulity was ensnared by them. To this cause the Welsh have attributed the catastrophe that awaited Llewellyn, their last prince, who was encouraged by a prophecy out of Merlin Ambrosius to that

^b Usser. Brit. Eccl. Antiquitates, c. xiv. p. 372. It is not ascertained whether Alanus was an Englishman ; he is generally supposed to have been a foreigner. Turner, Hist. of Engl. I. p. 416, note 57.

ⁱ Warton, Hist. of Engl Poetry, III. p. 146.

^k “ When the civill warre was hottest between Yorke and Lancaster, the bookes of Beasts and Babyes were exceeding ryfe, and currant in every quarter and corner of the realme, eyther side applying as they were affected to the tytle.” A defensative against the poyson of supposed prophecies by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, &c. 1583. c. 24.

resistance, which ended in his death and the subjugation of his kingdom. But they were far from being confined to the credulity of the Welsh; and the recollection of most readers may supply circumstances from the history of England¹ which attest the truth of the above representations; though no one appears to me to have given a collective view of the connexion of these absurdities with various parts of our annals in the ascendancy that they acquired over the public mind.

Perhaps, at no period was the rage for these predictions at a greater height than in the reigns of Richard the second, Henry the fourth, and Edward the fourth. The reception that the Merlin of Geoffry had met with, encouraged a succession of imitators. Stimulated by the fashion of the times, and the known love of the marvellous, this class of impostors, in their additions to expressions

¹ French historians have noticed this passion of the English. Two anecdotes shall be taken from the fourteenth century.

In the bloody fight at the half-way oak between Josselin and Ploermel in Brittany, March 27, 1351, where the French and English were engaged thirty on a side, Bamborough, who commanded the latter, harangued them before the onset, and told them that there was an old prophecy of Merlin, which promised victory to the English. *Hist. de Bretagne*, I. p. 280.

When Edward III. sent his ambassadors, Adam Orleton, Bishop of Worcester, and Roger Northborough, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in 1329, to claim the regency of France, they opened their message in the following manner: "The famous Merlin, before whose eyes the most memorable events of human affairs were clearly presented, has distinctly pointed out to us in his predictions that, at the time in which we live, the lilies and the leopards should be united in the same field; and that the noble kingdoms of France and England should for the future have but one monarch." *Mezeray, Hist. de France*, I. p. 384. He adds in the margin, "The English always began their harangues by a prophecy of Merlin;" and he had apparently an inclination of respect towards the seer; for when he records the shipwreck and death of the children of Henry I. on their passage from Normandy, he observes in a note, "the famous Merlin had foretold this adventure." I. p. 85.

Commines, in the fifteenth century, giving an account of the conference between Lewis XI. and Edward IV. when they entered into a truce, at Piquini, ridicules an English negotiator for quoting a prophecy in the beginning of his oration. "*Lors commença a parler le Chancelier d'Angleterre (qui estoit un prelat, appelé l'Evesque de Lisle) et comença par une prophetie dont les Anglois ne sont jamais despourvus) laquelle disoit qu'en ce lieu de Piquini se devoit faire une grande paix entre France et Angleterre.*" *Memoires*, I. IV. c. 10.

borrowed from the original Merlin,^m contrived to mix up the certainties of the past with the probabilities of the future, so that the whole should carry an air of mystery; and they adapted their materials to the views of individuals, or to some particular expected occurrences. Examples of this are to be seen in numerous MS. collections of metrical and prosaic prophecies which have descended to us from the monastic libraries. The character of many of these indicates that they are referable to the above reigns; and some of them bear strong internal evidence of having been composed or accommodated to special purposes. They usually formed a part of the scanty collections of the day, and were, as the Earl of Northampton says, "chained to the desks of many libraries in England with great reverence and estimation."ⁿ Their contents are often miscellaneous; but the volume not unfrequently bears the title of Merlin, whose mighty name swallows up all the rest. The list of authorities is curious. In them may be found prophecies of the Merlins Ambrosius and Sylvestris, of Gildas and Bede; the revelations of Saint Edward the king, Saint Bridget and Saint Thomas of Canterbury; prophecies of Mahomet, Hermericus, of the daughter of Saint Germanus, of an anchoret, an Italian Sybil, Toletus, Galfridus Eglyne, William Stapylton, Donakaman, Johannes de Muris. But the most copious of these writers, and one who was much in fashion in the time of Richard the Second, is John Brydlington. His work consists of seven hundred and eight lines; I have seen it in a separate volume;^o and the copies of it are not rare.^p It is composed in Leonine Latin verse, and contains what may properly be termed an obscuration rather than anticipation of historical events, from the latter end of the reign of Edward the Second to the beginning of the fifteenth century.^q Nothing can be more disgusting than the attempt at imposition dis-

^m I have no doubt that Geoffrey himself played the same trick with his ancient materials, whatever they might be; but this discussion belongs not to our purpose.

ⁿ Defensative against the Poyson, &c. c. 25.

^o Cod. MSS. Bodl. Expositio Johannis Brydlington.

^p MSS. Bodl. 1787. f. 186. MSS. Bibl. Soc. Ant. 101. f. 9. and 47. f. 201.

^q Ergome thinks that it is continued to the year 1405. The following gloss is appended to another copy: "Explicit prophetia de fortuna et castigacione Regis et regni Angliæ et tempore Edwardi secundi post conquestum usque ad tempus successoris Edwardi tertii inclusive, quam metrificavit et fecit scribi unius Canonicus de Bridelyngton decumbens in magnis febribus ante mortem suam, qui nunquam per prius sciverat versificari vel versus intelligere sufficienter. Et fuit circa annum domini millesimum ducentessimus. MS. Bodl. 1787. ut supra.

played in this bombastic performance. He professes that he wrote it during the delirium of a fever; and, indeed, it carries with it sufficient marks of a distempered brain.^r But as Merlin found a commentator, so Bridlyngton has his expositors. John Ergome is the most respectable of these. He undertook the task at the request of Humphrey de Bohun, father-in-law of Henry the Fourth, and the last of that family; but shuffles his name concealedly into the prologue, and seems ashamed or afraid of his performance at the close.*

The stile and matter of all these writers is beneath criticism. They are, what *Hotspur* happily terms, "a deal of skimble-skamble stuff." As to those of Merlin, and his more immediate imitators, no better comment can be offered upon them than that of the learned Powel, in his annotations upon the *Itinerary of Giraldus Cambrensis*. It is too just and rightly principled to pass unnoticed, and

^r Bridlyngton's dismissal of the reader is cavalierly worked up, with a mixture of the consciousness of imposture.

Non devinamus mendacia sed similamus.
 Plurima narravi quia somnia vera putavi;
 Et magis erravi quia non mea dicta probavi.
 Qui nil audivit, nil vidit, nil bene scivit;
 Qui nil bene scivit describere nil bene quivit.
 Universalis defectus sit mihi talis;
 Visus et auditus testes fit namque peritus.
 Solus secreta novit deus ipse futura,
 Omnia formavit veluti voluit et amavit.
 Quod deliravi sermonibus insinuavi,
 Quod summum juro te credere non mihi curo.
 Judicium faciet gestorum quisque suorum;
 Mercedem capiet laborum quisque suorum.
 Ad mortem tendo: morti mea carmina pendo.

* Et sic sententiam hujus libri, comes reverende, ob vestram declaravi reverentiam, non affirmans istum librum tanquam prophetiam, sed tanquam versus mirabiles multis difficultatibus implicatos exposui. Nec dico me in omnibus invenisse veritatem. Et ut mihi magis videbatur pro tempore expositionem ad sententiam literæ cum occultationibus convenientibus deduxi intellectum. Rogo, si vestræ placuit reverentiæ, quod iste liber manibus multorum non tradatur; et si secretioribus aliquociens contingat ostendi, nomen tunc auctoris occultetur, ne incurram aliorum indignacionem propter opus, quod vestram tantum curavi onestari dignitatem. Exposicio, ut supra.

was written when Merlin was obstinately adhered to, in particular by his own countrymen.

Obscura quidem illa, et nihil certi continentia, quæ vel antequam eveniant sperare, vel cum evenerint promissa, vera audeas affirmare. Præterea, ita composita sunt, ut eadem ad multa diversarum rerum eventa sensibus ambiguïs et multiplicibus circumflectere et accommodare quis possit. Et quanquam multi his et hujus modi imposturis delusi et decepti perierint; tamen hominum credulorum tanta est insania, ut quæ non intelligant, quovis sacramento vera esse contendere non dubitent: nec in manifesto interim deprehensi mendacio, se coargui patiantur. Ea est humani ingenii vanitas et stultitia cum a vera divini verbi regula deflexerit.^t

Though the miscellaneous volumes of which we have spoken are replete with such a mass of trash as excites our wonder that it should ever have been thought worthy of the industry of the copyists, they are not without interest to the antiquary. They throw a light upon the cast of mind of generations long since mingled in the dust; and in some cases furnish strong indications of political feelings with respect to facts and characters to which a small portion of penetration and historical information may help us to refer them. In proof of this remark some curious specimens shall be adduced which are referable to the latter end of the fourteenth and the opening of the fifteenth century.

The first was probably written during Richard's absence in Ireland, and while Henry was marching through the country.

De secretis.^v

Ve regalibus, quod familiarissimi sui cadent.

Ve fugantibus, quod Rex eradicabit eos a terra.

Ve circulatoribus, quod Rex inanes dimittet eos incipiens a majoribus. Rex autem oppressionem pacietur a suis, et in terra nativitatis suæ latebras petens subiet periculum maris, q^o de eo dispabitur, et durabunt hæc tres decem et sex horis. Descendet quidem in hiberniam et discordes ad concordiam revocabit. Rediens autem de hibernia hostibus suis et rebellibus de Scocia prostratis, emulis et inimicis terræ suæ ad nichillum redactis, regnabit in quiete.

The title of another involves a gross attempt to establish it's authority; it gives a sketch of Richard's character and disaster, and enigmatically points out the name of his adversary.

^t Powel. Annot. in. Girald. Itin. Cambr. l. II. c. 8.

^v Cod. MSS. Bodl. 2157, 22. f. 23. b.

* Prophecia Galfridi Eglyne, cujus originalem habet in custodia sua Sacrista habathie de Meaux manu scriptum antiqua. v De Ricardo 2º.

Asinus coronatus turbabit regnum et feras sue supportationis devastabit. Accumulabit sibi divicias multas, et supra homines exaltabit in superbia sua magna; reputabit se non habere parem sibi in omnibus bestiis universæ terre. Mulieres nimium diliget, sed non seminabit fructum; et sequitur quasi Britannia sibi non sufficiet computus. Superbia occidentis insulam repetet, et sic regnum suum relinquet velut exiet, et in ipsum non revertetur amplius regnaturus. Reveniet enim una de bestiis quam prius absciderat, et eum juxta mare revertentem opprimet. Et hanc bestiam taurus in torrente^x generabit et ab ejus moribus vulpes nominabitur.

A third is in some copies entitled a prophecy of Merlin "de eodem Hiberniæ." It might be shewn that this, or something similar to it, seems to have operated both upon the mind of Henry IV. and Glyndwr; and it will be found in the sequel, that another, which more decidedly respects Jerusalem, had a prevailing influence over the king.

† In illo tempore superveniet filius Aquilæ super equos ligneos et totus Aquile (*Aqutlo?*) consurget cum ipso. Et asinum cum pedibus plumbeis accipiet in occidentali et incarcerationabitur in Oriente et Aquilone. Tunc falsitas civium trynonontum (?) totius regni apparebit in obprobrium sempiternum. Ipsum prædatorem in regem exaltabunt, et postea lugebunt quia blanditiis eos decipiet; et sic effusus sanguis erit per loca non pauca; vidensque omnia hæc et pejora astripotens eriget spem sapiencie et fortitudinis in Bruto rege animalium qui congregabit suas feras per desertas et in regni adjutorium semet ipsumque regem prædatorem devastabit qui feris sui peribit, et brutum animal regnabit, et tunc erit pax in terra et conqueret Jheru (*Jerusalem*), et^z rubeum leonem per loca diversa liberabit, &c.^a

^a Id. f. 88. b.

v This mode of commanding respect has been animadverted upon by the Earl of Northampton. Defensative against the Poyson, &c. c. 25. "Supposing or feigning an author of a false report.—It is another sleight of theirs to father lyes upon antiquitie. Et ut mos est vulgi, falsis authorem subdere:—And as the maner of the comon people is (saith Tacitus) to suppose or faine an author of a false report,—with referring us to such a library, such a religious house, such a monument, &c. wherein the booke is sayde to have been reserved (as a jewell of great price and value) many years together, having at the first been limmed, and set forth by men of deepe learning and exceeding holinesse."

^x Bolinbroke,—quasi, *Bull in brook*.

^y MSS. Bodl. 1787.

^z The red dragon throughout Merlin is taken to signify the Welsh nation; and the red lion here evidently alludes to them.

In a fourth, Richard is still alluded to by the opprobrious title of "asinus," and Henry is the accursed "mould-warp." And a prophecy, of this kind is said by historians to have been cited with confidence by the parties who conspired against Henry the Fourth, when they met at the house of the Arch-deacon of Bangor.

^b Vaticinium filie sancti Germani de eodem. Draco maxime fidelissimus, qui in brachio suo potentissimo suos æmulos et prædatores devorabit, et superabit reges superbos in partibus suis quorum fidelissimus præparabitur. Multa sibi regna, loca et terras ac provincias perditas temporibus predecessorum suorum recuperabit ad plenum; nec poterit gallus aliquid contra eum facere quia dominus potens cum eo est, &c.

This first part points evidently to the reign of Edward the Third; what follows appertains to his successors.

¹ Agnus, ² Draco, ³ capra, ⁴ aper. Post asinum ^c veru et talpa ore Dei maledicta, superba, misera et turbida: vindicta cadet super eam pro peccatis antefactis, et maliciosa erit; terra revertetur ad asinum, vel aprum, vel draconem, vel leonem; ^d et ipse gubernabit terram in pace dum vixerit, et terra erit repleta omnibus bonis.

^a But a short sequel to this marks the present despair of the copyist upon the extinction of Glyndwr, mixed with hatred to Henry, and an adherence to Merlin for future success.

Brutus finitur per enni. Nullus reperitur. Tempus nescitur redimiti. Quod stabilitur Tempus transibit. Taurus mucrone peribit. Merlinus scribit, turba redibit.

^b Id. ut supra.

^c Fortasse vero.

^d "All England, from Severne and Trent, south and eastward, was assigned to the earle of March: all Wales, and the lands beyond Severne westward, were appointed to Owen Glendower: and all the remnants from Trent northward, to the lord Persie.

This was done (as some have said) through a foolish credit given to a vaine prophesie, as though king Henrie was the moldwarpe, cursed of God's owne mouth, and they three were the dragon, the lion, and the wolfe, (*in the prophecy it is the boar,*) which should divide the realme betweene them. Such is the deviation (saith Hall), and not divination of those blind and fantasticall dreames of the Welsh prophesiers." Holinshed, in a. 1403.

The wolf cuts a great figure in Merlin.—Bos montanus caput lupi assumet dentesque suos in fabrica sabrine dealbabit. Associabit sibi greges albanorum et kambræ qui tamesem potando siccabit. Much more might be selected, which, ardently received, as it assuredly would be, might have proved a powerful stimulus to Glyndwr and his followers.

¹ Agnus, ² draco, ³ capra, ⁴ aper, ⁵ asinus, ⁶ talpa. Asinus dabit dominium terræ suæ cuidam aquilæ. Regnans vero bene se gubernabit, usque ad tempus quo superbia ipsum superabit. Post asinum veniet talpa ore dei maledicta, superba, misera et turbida. Vindicta cadet super eam pro peccatis antefactis, et maliciosa erit. Heu, heu, quia obibit Gladium fratris sui. Terra revertetur ad asinum; et ipse gubernabit totam terram in pace.

The promulgation and belief of this, must have been a source of anxiety to Henry, so long as Richard was alive.

The fabrication of the last that shall be produced, is, perhaps, assignable to a much later period, but it reverts to Richard.

^e In tempore Regis Richardi secundi.

Sedente rege Ricardo secundo ad prandium venit unum animal in specie leporis coram discumbentibus; quod videns rex jussit ut nullus noceret animali. Et dixit rex ad animal, Tu qui es? Et respondens animal dicens, (*sic*) quod nunc vides. Cui rex; qui regnabit post me? et animal respondit, diabolus; ^f post diabolum, sanctus; ^g post sanctum, gladius; ^h post gladium, fatuus; ⁱ post fatuum, nullus; et evanuit ab eis.

It may be distinguished that many of the above attempts are applications of some of the expressions which occur in the original Merlin of Geoffrey, blended with such interpolations as were suggested to the writers by past occurrences or the existing aspect of affairs; ^k but, whatever may be thought as to the periods in which they were respectively produced, there need be no doubt that many such were in being and circulation at the times to which we are now alluding.

Thus during his life, and even after death, was the character and conduct of the unfortunate Richard assailed by the arts of superstition and imposture. But it is still more remarkable that this species of attack upon him should have commenced from the hour of his birth: even before that time, an opinion, derived from the same source, had prevailed, that the sceptre of England should pass to the house of Lancaster. The story related by Froissart to this effect is very singular.

^e Cod. MSS. Bodl. 2157. 22. f. 93. b. 94. a.

^f This appears intended for, and is certainly highly complimentary to Henry IV.

^g Henry V. but his peculiar claims to the title are not very evident.

^h Henry VI.

ⁱ Edward IV.

^k "Merlin's predictions were successively accommodated by the minstrel-poets to the politics of their own times." Warton, III. p. 146.

"Whatever misfortunes fate has decreed cannot be prevented: they must have their course; and those that befel king Richard are wonderful indeed to think on. He might have avoided them, but what must be will be.

"I, John Froissart, author of these Chronicles, will literally say what, in my younger days, I heard at a mansion called Berk-hempstead, distant from London thirty miles, and which, at the time I am speaking of, in the year of our Lord 1361, belonged to the Prince of Wales, father to King Richard. As the prince and princess were about to leave England for Aquitaine, to hold their state, the King of England, Queen Philippa my mistress, the Dukes of Clarence, Lancaster, the Lord Edmund, who was afterward Earl of Cambridge and Duke of York, with their children, came to this mansion to visit the prince and take leave of him. I was at that time twenty-four years old, and one of the clerks of the chamber to my lady the queen. During this visit, as I was seated on a bench, I heard the following conversation from a knight to some of the ladies of the queen. He said, 'There was in that country a book called Brust, which many say contains the prophecies of Merlin. According to its contents, neither the Prince of Wales nor Duke of Clarence, though sons to King Edward, will wear the crown of England, but it will fall to the house of Lancaster.' When the knight said this, the Earl of Derby was not born; his birth was seven years after. This prophecy, however, was verified, for I have since seen Henry Earl of Derby King of England."¹

It is right that we make every allowance for the difference of feeling with which these spurious oracles were then contemplated by many who attempted to interpret them; whose prepossessions, to speak candidly, might detect correspondencies and allusions which are invisible to a modern eye. It would, indeed, be difficult to discern a passage in the rambling obscurities of Merlin in

¹ Froiss. XII. c. 14. he relates the same story with fewer circumstances in c. 32, but says, that the words he heard were, "We have a book called Brust, that declares neither the prince of Wales, dukes of Clarence, York, nor Gloucester will be kings, but the descendants of the duke of Lancaster." The name of the ancient knight was the Comers de Brulls. The conversation might have arisen out of the late elevation of John of Gant to the title of Duke of Lancaster, Nov. 13, 1362. (Froissart seems to be in an error about the year.) The royal visit at Berkhamstead took place after Christmas, and at the ensuing Candlemas the Black Prince sailed to France. Barnes, B. III. c. 8. p. 623.

the Brut, which might reasonably have warranted an application like the above. And yet there is something incidentally deserving of observation in the fact that Froissart has here recorded. History affords examples of men, who by dark allu-

■ Were it worth while to hazard a grave conjecture upon the prophecy of Merlin, which might actually have formed the basis of the knight's assertion, I would, though far from confidently, point out the following; the opening and concluding parts of which have been expounded as appertaining to Edward III. and Richard II. "*Superveniet aper commercii, que dispersos greges ad amissa pascua revocabit. Pectus ejus cibus erit egen- tibus, et lingua ejus sedabit sicientes. Ex ore ipsius procedent flumina, quæ arentes ho- minum fauces rigabunt. Exinde super turrim londiniarum procreabitur arbor, qua tribus solummodo ramis contenta superficiem totius insula in latitudine foliorum obumbrabit. Huic adversarius boreas superveniet, atque iniquo flatu suo tertium illi ramum eripiet. Duo vero rami residui locum extirpati occupabunt donec alterum alter foliorum multitudine adnichila- bit. Deinde vero locum duorum optinebit ipse, et volucres exterarum regionum sustentabit. Patriis vero volatilibus nocuus habebitur nam timore ejus liberos volatus amittent. Succedet asinus nequiciæ, in fabricatores auri velox, sed in rapacitatem luporum piger.*" What im- mediately follows is not worth transcribing. (I quote from the MS. Chronicle of the Priory of Kenilworth, which contains what was considered, doubtless, at that time a com- plete History of Britain, beginning with the Trojan War of Guido di Colonna, continued by the Brut of Geoffrey, and farther down, by accounts of the Saxons and Normans through all the kings of England, to the end of the reign of Henry V. compiled from various sources, and interwoven with the History of the Priory and lives of the Priors.) The above is thus translated by Aaron Thompson, in his British History, pp. 213, 214. "Then shall come the boar of commerce, who shall recall the scattered flocks to the pasture they had lost. His breast shall be food for the hungry, and his tongue drink to the thirsty. Out of his mouth shall flow rivers, that shall water the parched jaws of men. After this (or thence, or from that thing,) shall be produced a tree upon the Tower of London, which, having no more than threes branches, shall overshadow the surface of the whole island with the breadth of it's leaves. It's adversary the North-wind shall come upon it, and with it's noxious blast shall snatch away the third branch; but the two remaining ones shall possess it's place, till they shall destroy one another by the multitude of their leaves. And then it shall obtain the place of these two, and shall give sustenance to birds of foreign nations. It shall be esteem- ed hurtful to native fowls; for they shall not be able to fly freely for fear of it's shadow. Then shall succeed the ass of wickedness, swift against the goldsmiths; but slow against the ravenousness of wolves." Now it may justly be said that there could be little, accord- ing to our apprehensions of it, sufficiently marked in the passages given in Italics to com- mand the attention to the future ascendancy of Lancaster. It is certain that five sons of Edward were in existence when the Comers de Brulls cited Merlin, and no one but a
partisan

sions of this kind, are said to have been stimulated to attempts that led to the accomplishment of the ends that had been shadowed out for them. The ambition of John of Gant might have been awakened by such a circumstance; and, warily as he conducted himself, in him that spark of hope appears to have been kindled, which his son Henry cherished into a flame. As John, of whom the report thus ran, that his race should be kings of England, had been afterwards gratified with the "barren sceptre" of Castile, his aspiring views for his family must the rather have been encreased by the high appellation; and he made no secret of attempting to secure the British throne for his immediate descendant.

partisan would have selected the Duke of Lancaster in preference to the other three. Yet as this transaction follows the reign of the boar, whom they unquestionably considered to be Edward III. (See Marot, in Warton, III. p. 149, &c.) it might form a ground of expectation, the application of which would be made as the parties were affected. It is, however, a curious fact, that with respect to the *three* branches, there were only *three* sons of Edward who survived him. How then would the expectations of those who placed confidence in the prophecy be excited when they saw this! and when they observed "the ass of wickedness," Richard II. "swift against the goldsmiths," quarrelling with the rich citizens of London: "but slow against the ravenousness of wolves," his own rapacious favourites and followers, how might the delusion be encreased!

I am tempted to notice another circumstance which subsequently must have laid hold on minds like these. After a very considerable interval, p. 218, Merlin is made to introduce a nest built in an oak. "Three eggs shall be produced in the nest, from whence shall come forth a fox, a wolf, and a bear. The fox shall devour her mother, and bear the head of an ass. In this monstrous form shall she frighten her brothers, and make them fly into Neustria." I think this prophecy would most probably have been coupled with the former, in spite of much intervening matter, which would be thought of no account in the way of interference with it. Another boar then appears upon the scene, who is severely handled by the fox; but the latter hides herself "in the caverns of the mountains;" however she at length re-appears from her hiding place, changes herself into a wolf, "and under pretence of holding a conference with the boar, she will go to him, and craftily devour him." It matters not who this second boar might be thought to be; but if it had suited Henry's purpose to have produced this citation after the affair at Conway, it would have been as openly talked of, as any of the prophecies which the aged knight related to the author of the Metrical History. But the coincidence was found out by those who were perhaps, no friends to Henry, and they marked it in the prophecy of Galfridus Eglyne, (see prophecy 2d quoted above), *Hanc bestiam taurus in torrente generabit et ab ejus moribus VULPES nominabitur.*

He endeavoured to procure from parliament a declaration that, in failure of issue on the part of Richard the Second, his son should succeed to the crown; and when that project failed, he had caused chronicles to be forged to assert his legal claim. Had all this occurred at the time of which Froissart writes, it is fairly supposable that he would not have hesitated to call in the powerful machinery of prophecies to his aid. But these had in the first instance been applied. We see that even in this early stage others had done it for him. He was the fourth son of Edward the Third; his elder brothers were then living, and the Black Prince was recently married. He could have no expectation in his own person from the natural course of human affairs; but some of his race, it appears, were designated by dangerous rumour to supplant the other branches of the parent stock. Let the reader then judge whether it was likely that the impression should be erased from his mind; compare the above fact with his subsequent conduct; and add to it the events that afterwards ensued. The sneer of Rousseau might here have been well applied, "L'évenement n'est pas prédit parce qu'il arrivera; mais il arrivera parce qu'il a été prédit."

From the measures which Richard had been pursuing long before his second visit to Ireland, and the tone of general disaffection, it required no supernatural powers of discernment to augur that some political disaster was likely to befall him; and it may be inferred that men were eager to catch at anything that encouraged these notions from the absurd prognosticks that are said to have been afloat. The withering of the bay-trees by some disease, in the year preceding his deposition, was construed into an omen; and Shakspeare has appropriately recounted the signs of the times from the mouth of a Welsh captain, whose "lean-look'd prophets whisper fearful change." While a formidable party was growing up against the king, and the prediction relating to his rival was abroad, the volumes of which we have spoken might be diligently searched, for farther confirmation of expected revolution, and the composition and dissemination of similar articles might have been carried on to great advantage. Experiments of this kind had been tried with sufficient success. Though references should be made to Merlin of hints that could nowhere be found; who would stop to scruple their authenticity? What might not exist in one copy, might be discovered in another; and could they but once be committed to the breath of rumour, the end would be gained. In any case the difficulty could easily be surmounted. All orders of the regular clergy, the Franciscans excepted, were on Henry's side. It was only necessary to produce from the records of some abbey a fragment penned in antique characters, (*manu scriptum antiqua*), which

had lain neglected in the dust of centuries, and like the chronicles mentioned by Hardyng, and the holy oil of anointing, with the attendant prophecy, which Walsingham has described, its undisputed title to veneration would be at once established. There is reason to believe that such frauds had been practised upon this and other occasions, and that we owe to them some of the prophecies which have been already laid before the reader.

Instances have been adduced, see page 70, note ^b, of the superstitious turn of Richard II. and Henry IV. in their belief of art magic ; but a proof of the credulity of both of them, particularly of the latter, in matters of prophetic import, such as we are now discussing, may properly find a place here.

Many historians inform us that Henry's mortal seizure occurred as he was offering up his devotions at the shrine of Saint Edward, in Westminster, and that he was conveyed into the Abbot's lodgings there. As soon as he recovered his speech and senses, he asked where he was, and being told that he was in a chamber called Jerusalem, he thought only of dying, because it had been foretold that he should die at Jerusalem. I have no means of ascertaining who first recorded this anecdote ; from Holinshed's citation it seems to be Fabian. Rapin represents that a certain person had formerly told him that he should die at Jerusalem ; yet it appears to me that no living soothsayer had communicated this impression to his mind ; and all are probably mistaken who state that a prophecy had positively portended his death at that place. Be this as it may, he had certainly applied to himself one, that in his opinion destined him to the conquest of the holy city ; and had taken measures to prepare for an expedition, in which, if he had personally engaged, considering his infirmities, it was not likely he would ever return. Full of this project, it was natural to him, when he found himself unexpectedly transported to a place which bore the name of Jerusalem, and felt that the hour of his departure was drawing nigh, that he should put this construction upon what was so deeply impressed upon his mind, and that he should exclaim, " Lauds be given to the Father of Heaven, for now I know that I shall die here in this chamber, according to the prophecy of me declared, that I should depart this life in Jerusalem."

The original prophecy in question, which took its rise from the Abbey of Saint Cyprian, in Poitiers, declares no such conclusion ; perhaps it might have been added in some later edition of it ; but it was no great stretch of imagination to suppose that it should imply it. The ground, upon which Henry formed his opinion, and made preparation for a croisade, will be seen in the subjoined quotations.

Richard had carried about his person in his Irish expedition, and all his sub-

sequent wanderings, an ampulla, containing oil which was supposed to be of peculiar virtue. He had not been originally anointed with it; but had a great desire to be so. This relic he had given up to Archbishop Arundel at Chester, and it was employed at Henry's coronation.

“Die translationis sancti Edwardi Regis et confessoris, coronatus est Rex Henricus III. apud Westmonast. per manus domini Thomæ Archiepiscopi Cantuar. ipso videlicet die, quo fuerat in exilium relegatus anno revoluto, non sine divino miraculo (ut putatur) et in auspiciis uberioris gratiæ sibi futuræ (prout creditur) unctus est illo cœlesti unguento, quod olim beata Maria mater Dei commisit beato Thomæ martyri Archiepiscopo Cantuar. dum esset in exilio conservandum, prædicens eidem, quod reges Anglorum qui ungerentur hoc unguento, pugiles essent Ecclesiæ, & benigni. Hoc unguentum in aquila aurea & ampulla lapidea conservatum latuit per multa tempora, sed tandem miraculose manifestatum. Dum dominus Henricus primus dux Lancastriæ bella gereret regis sui in partibus transmarinis, ipsi nempe tradita fuit prædicta aquila per quendam sanctum virum qui illam invenerat revelatione divina. Qui dedit eam nobilissimo principi Edwardo (primogenito Edwardi illustris Regis Angliæ) ut in ea unctione post mortem patris ungeretur in regem. Qui posuit in turri Londoniarum unguentum præfatum, recludens in cista multis firmata securis, latuitque ibi vel per oblivionem vel per negligentiam, usque ad tempus Richardi Regis filii principis memorati.

“Anno domini prædicto millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo nono, prædictus Rex Richardus curiose perscrutatus res a progenitoribus sibi relictas, inopinato reperit aquilam & ampullam, & scripturam sive prophetiam beati Thomæ martyris cum eisdem. Et cum didicisset virtutem talem unctionis, rogavit dominum Thomam Cant. Archipræsulem, ut eum denuo ungeret hoc unguento. Qui hoc facere omnino recusavit, dicens sibi sufficere, quod semel per manus suas sacram suscepit in coronatione pristina unctionem, quæ habere non debuit iterationem. Hanc aquilam cum ampulla rex Richardus portavit in Hiberniam, profecturus & denuo rediens in hanc terram. Quam petenti Archiepiscopo apud Cestriam tradidit, dicens se jam patenter clarescere, quod non fuit voluntatis divinæ, ut ungeretur illo unguento, sed alteri deberi tam nobile sacramentum, Archiepiscopus vero reservans tanta jocalia sub veneranda custodia, ea tenuit usque ad tempus coronationis regis moderni, qui primus regum Angliæ unctus est tam pretioso liquore.”^a

^a Walsing. Hist. Angl. pp. 360, 361.

In page 99, note ^b, it has been suggested, that the whole of this story about the ampulla might have been then invented for purposes of state. But it will now appear more probable that it had an earlier origin, and that this vessel was indeed a reputed relic closely connected with Henry's persuasion that he must go to the Holy Land.

Bouchet, in his Annals of Aquitaine, speaking of the different abodes of Thomas a Becket during his stay in France, introduces what is precisely to the point. "Et fut le dit Archevesque sept ans ou environ en France, qui est le refuge des papes, & des saintes personnes : & eut grand communication & familiarité avec ledit pape Alexandre, luy estant en la ville de Sens, où il se tint principalement, tant qu'il fut en France : et ledit Archevesque se tint une partie du temps en l'Abbaye de Pontigny, & l'autre partie, au monastere de sainte Columbe. Et comme i'ay leu par une ancienne pancarte de l'Abbaye S. Cyprian de Poitiers, qui fut autrefois, & des lesdit tēps apportée par un Religieux de ladite Abbaye, nommé Babilonius. Ledit Babilonius pour quelque inimitié que son Abbé eut contre luy, le chassa de ladite Abbaye : dont il s'en alla plaindre audit Pape Alexandre, en ladite ville de Sens, cependant que le bon Archevesque Thomas y estoit : lequel Archevesque bailla audit Babilonius une ampoule, pour mettre en l'Eglise S. Gregoire dudit Poitiers, ou repose le corps de sainte Louberte, comē nous avons dit cy dessus, avec ladite carte, commençant en Latin : *Quando ego Thomas Archiepiscopus, &c.* Laquelle i'ay cy apres traduite de latin en vulgaire, parce qu' elle contient aucunes choses curieuses.

"Lors que ie Thomas Archevesque de Canturbieri, exilé d'Angleterre, m'estois retiré au Pape Alexandre, estant aussi fugitif en la ville de Sens, pour luy remonstrer les mauvaises coustumes & abus, que le Roy d'Angleterre introduisoit en l'Eglise. Une nuit comme j'estois en l'Eglise sainte Colōbe en oraison, & priois la Roine des vierges, à ce qu'elle impetrast au Roy d'Angleterre, & à ses successeurs, propos & volonté d'estre obediens à l'Eglise, comme enfans d'icelle : & que nostre seigneur JESUS CHRIST, par sa misericorde, leur fist aimer de plus ample dilection icelle Eglise : tantost s'apparut a moy la benoiste vierge Marie, ayant sur la poitrine une goutte d'eauë, resplendissant plus que fin or, & tenant en sa main une petite ampoule de pierre. Et apres qu'elle eut prins ceste goutte d'eauë, & icelle mise en l'ampoule qu'elle me bailla, me dist par ordre les paroles qui s'ensuivent. Cecy est l'onction de laquelle les Roys d'Angleterre doivent estre oincts, non ceux qui maintenant regnent, mais ceux qui regneront. Car les a present regnans sont mauvais, et leurs successeurs le seront, & pour leurs iniquitez, perdront, plusieurs choses : toutesfois aucuns Roys d'Angleterre viendront, lesquels seront oingts de ceste onction, & seront benings, &

obeïssans a l'Eglise, & ne recouvreront leurs terres & seigneuries iusques a ce qu'ils ayent ceste onction. Le premier desquels recouvrera en paix & sans violence les terres de Normandie, & d'Aquitaine, que ses predecesseurs auront perdus : *ce Roy sera tres-grand entre les roys, & est celuy qui edifiera maintes Eglises en la terre sainte, & chassera tous les payens de Babylone, ou il erigera plusieurs beaux monasteres, & mettra en fuite tous ses ennemis. Et si & quand il portera au col ceste goutte doree, sera victorieux & augmentateur de son Royaume.* Au regard de toy, tu mourras martyr pour soustenir les droits de l'Eglise. Alors ie priay la sainte & sacrée Dame, qu'elle m'enseignast en quel lieu ie pourrois garder ce precieux sanctuaire. Et elle me dist, qu'il y avoit en ceste cité un religieux du Monastere S. Cyprian de Poitiers nomme Babilonius, qui avoit iniustement esté mis hors de son Monastere, par son Abbé, ou il demandoit estre remis par autorité apostolique, & que ie luy baillasse ceste ampoule, pour la porter en ladite ville & cité de Poitiers, & la mettre en l'Eglise S. Gregoire, qui est pres^a de l'Eglise S. Hilaire, au chef de ladite Eglise vers Orient, sous une grād pierre, ou elle seroit trouvée en temps opportun pour l'onction des Roys d'Angleterre, & que le chef des payens seroit cause de l'invention de ladite eauë dorée. Toutes lesquelles choses ie baillay rencloses en un vaisseau de plomb, a ce bon Religieux Babilonius, pour les mettre en ladite Eglise S. Gregoire, ainsi qu'il estoit commandé."^o

This latter quotation is a remarkable illustration of the former, and the union of them establishes the entire credulity of both the kings as to this species of prophecy, and shews by what motive Henry was probably determined to direct his thoughts towards Jerusalem. But to return.

The knight, who made so notable a disclosure to Creton,—a man of military rank and experience, aged and a counsellor, was a firm believer in Merlin. But he had not drawn his lesson from the Merlin of Geoffrey of Monmouth. There we may search in vain for "a king of Albion who shall reign for twenty or two and twenty years in great honour and great power, and shall be allied and united with those of Gaul; which king shall be undone in the parts of the north, in a triangular place." I believe that the Brut will, upon examination, be found to contain no expressions of this kind; and I am justified in asserting,

^o Bouchet, Annales d'Aquitaine, p. III. c. IV. The prophecy of Becket is to be found among the miscellaneous prophecies, but the information of Bouchet renders the whole more complete.

upon the best authority,^p that they do not any where occur in the prophecies of Merlin Sylvestris, which have never been committed to the press. If, therefore, they are to be sought any where, it must be among the Miscellaneous Prophecies. Most probably a volume of these was in the possession of the warrior in his castle. We see, however, that he quotes only from memory what was, perhaps, the common talk of the army, and might be in part "new hatched," or new modelled to the time. But he cites Merlin *and Bede*, which of itself would be sufficient to fix the point, and shew that the Merlin of Geoffrey, which is un-mixed with any other vaticination, must be excluded from the enquiry. Merlin and Bede exist in the Miscellaneous Prophecies; but in none of the copies that I have seen have I noted any words that strictly conform to these. Neither must it be expected that any sentence should be discovered in which all this is strung together. It might be so; but such a condition would be unnecessary. They might be content to employ a process to remedy the deficiency, adopting a rule, which, under certain circumstances might have been admissible, had their prophecies been oracles of truth, but which, as the case stood, might only serve to encrease their delusion. For instance, in one prophecy here given, we have, "durabunt hæc tres decem et sex horis;" in another, "accumulabit sibi divicias multas, et supra homines exultabit:" in a third, "incarcerabitur in (Oriente et) Aquilone." But these, which it will be admitted are not precise enough, and to which another objection may be made which shall not be gone into, are only produced to shew that by insulated expressions thrown together, without regard to original context or connexion, and with the rejection of any inapposite term from a sentence, an extract might be made to serve the turn. In some copies, varying as the MSS. do from each other, phrases more immediately applicable might perchance be found; out of which, by this sort of canon, a sentence might be constructed descriptive of the duration of a king of Albion's reign, of his glory and alliance, and the circumstances of his fall. The quotation of the knight appears in a connected form; but we are not to understand from this, that what he adverts to is to be found consecutively.^q His reference

^p That of Mr. Henry Ellis, who at my suggestion, obligingly examined the MS. Life of Merlin Sylvestris, in the Cottonian Collection, Vesp. E. IV. with a view to ascertain the fact; and he has informed me that it contains nothing which touches upon any of these points.

^q That great liberties were taken in bringing passages together is clear from the way
in

is to two sources, to Merlin and Bede.^r A few verses in these collections are ascribed to the venerable father of Saxon literature, among which the following is the only line that by the most barbarous distortion could be pressed into the service.

Scoti cum Britone sternunt Anglos in agone.

Though these expressions in their primary sense should seem to respect the success of a conflict of the Scotch and Welsh over the Saxons, it is within the verge of possibility that some crafty heads of the Bolingbroke party might have triumphantly appealed to them, by insisting that "*Scoti*" should be understood of the border-men brought down by Percy; "*cum Britone*," of the duke's followers from Brittany; and "*Anglos*," of the party undone at Conway, including the king. That scholar-like archbishop, Henry's confidential adviser, who, addressing the clergy, in the face of most unquestionable authority, for the confirmation of his authority, could affix to the word *Cephas* the interpretation of *Caput*, might, when he had few but soldiers to deal with, as easily have metamorphosed the word *agone* into the Greek *γωνία*, (which would at least give an angle of the triangle of Conway, in which the king was undone,) and the gloss would be more readily believed.*

If it be objected, that this is as forced as it is absurd, and that the endeavour to set up such an hypothesis too much resembles the overstrained efforts of some etymologists, the writer begs it may be understood, that he is far from wishing these suggestions to be construed into a confident persuasion on his part that what he has hinted at was actually so. Till, however, a clearer developement may be offered, he may, perhaps, be fortunate enough to obtain the reader's assent to the assumption that the methods resorted to by these sapient and interested expositors were assuredly as absurd as the sources from which they sought

in which Llewellyn or his advisers must have read Merlin to have been assured of the precise time for his rising against Edward I. Compare Lingard, Hist. Engl. in an. 1212, with the "British History," pp. 210, 211, 212, where the predictions occur.

^r Bede's extensive erudition, and the weight of his authority, ensured him a place in this worthy association; but the fragment attributed to him is such as he would in all likelihood have disowned. A prophecy of Gildas, another of these writers, is pronounced by Usher to be a forgery. Brit. Eccl. Antiquit. c. XV. p. 356.

* The word *Anglus* in some other association might be made to help out the solution of the "triangular place." And this in fact would not have been a new discovery. Sigebert derived the name of the Anglo-Saxons from their inhabiting an island, *which is in a sort of angle in the sea*. Turner, Hist. Anglo-Saxons, I. p. 91. note 11.

to draw their conclusions, and that nothing of this nature may be conceived too extravagant to have been adopted for the satisfaction of those who were glad to find their measures sanctioned by authority into which few would stop to enquire, and to which all were prepared to bow.

In short, it was enough, in the first instance, for the general purpose, to quote in any way from such an undisputed testimony; and this point being established, fraudulent ingenuity might overcome difficulties by the production of what had hitherto not met the public eye. The fragments which have been given from the prophetic volumes are fair specimens of the manner in which such things were adjusted subsequent to the events: if any trifling expression could be found to support them, they advanced it without hesitation; the smallest scraps of Merlin, from different quarters, might be brought together; and we are warranted in concluding that, what they could not find, they made.

The English have been reproached and derided by foreigners for the ready encouragement that they have ever given to pretensions of this nature. And, though they ought not to be exclusively charged with it, the reflexion cast upon them is just. It were, indeed, to be wished that the attachment to unwarranted prediction had not been confined to the darker ages: no century has been without some marvel of this description, operating more or less upon the minds of the multitude, from the publication of Merlin to the later reveries of Nixon, Brothers, and Southcott. But, in mitigation of the offence of the earlier seers, many of whom, it is to be feared, were monks, it may be mentioned, that they, for the most part declined, what has so lamentably distinguished the pseudo-prophets of later times, those bold and blasphemous claims to that only genuine spirit by which of old the Deity "at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake unto the fathers by THE PROPHETS."

Lord Bacon has thought this subject not unworthy of his notice. In his "Essay of Prophecies,"^t he says, "My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter-talk by the fire-side. Though, when I say despised, I mean it as far as belief: for otherwise the spreading and publishing of them is in no sort to be despised: for they have done much mischief. And I see many severe laws made to suppress them." Under a like impression the council of Trent forbade Merlin to be read; and, by a statute of Elizabeth, severe penalty is laid on "all phantastical prophecies, upon or by the occasion of any arms, fields, beasts, badges, or like things accustomed in arms, cogni-

^t Essay XXXV.

zances, or signetts."^u But the influence of legislation is of itself feeble against the power of opinion, however perverted or misled; and the leaning towards prediction, called forth by calamity, operated during the civil troubles between Charles and the Parliament. Since the diffusion of true religion and knowledge is found to achieve more mental conquests than the severest enactments; the matter is now left to take its own course, and to the usual fate of delusion. This, at least, may be said of England, that if such political predictions should excite a momentary surprise, it would in most cases be followed by a smile. Yet till ignorance can be utterly banished from the mass, while curiosity shall act, and wonder be excited, a remnant of the leaven will still adhere to it: "the nature of man coveteth divination;"^v and the causes, which secured the success of those earlier impostors, still operate to ensure the extensive sale of prophetic Almanacks at the present day.

^u Stat. Eliz. v. c. 25. a 1564. A parallel might be drawn between the history of the Sibylline verses and the prophecies of Merlin; but the former, having been treated with the same kind of respect, and applied in the same manner, were more roughly handled by the Emperors Augustus, Tiberius, and Honorius. See Gray, *Connection between the Sacred Writings and the Literature of Jewish and Heathen Authors*, I. c. 26.

^v Lord Bacon, *ut supra*. A reprint has within these few years been made of "*Merlin's Life, Prophecies, and Predictions*, being a history of all the kings and memorable passages in the history of these kingdoms, from Brute to the reign of Charles I." and more recently, the public were presented with "*Miraculous Prophecies and Predictions of eminent men from the earliest records, &c.*" 12mo, London, 1821.

No. V.

MS. Ambassades, pp. 146, 147, 148. Mr. Allen's Extracts.

Après ^a commença le parlement; ^b et aussi tost que Henry, ^c duc de Lenclaire entra au ^d parlement, la estoient ja assis tous les prelas du royaume ^e d'Angleterre, c'est assavoir, dix et huit evesques, et trente deux Abbez royaulx, sans les autres prelas. Et quant le Duc entra au parlement, la vindrent deux Archevesques devant luy, ses deux freres, ^f et trois Ducs vindrent bras a bras apres lui, et vestus tous d'une livree et ses quatres enfans ^g allerent devant luy, le duc ^h de Surdieu et le duc d'Armarle et le duc d'Orcestre, ⁱ frere du roy Richart. Et quant le duc entra au parlement, Sire Thomas ^k de Percy s'assist ^l tout droit devant le Duc, lequel avoit ^m une blanche verge en sa main, et criast, veez cy Henry de Lenclaire, roy d'Angleterre. Adonc crierent tous les Seigneurs, prelas, et tout le commun de Londres, ⁿ Ouy, Ouy, ^o nous voulons que Henry de Lenclaire soit notre roy d'Angleterre, et non autre. ^p Adonc le duc alla seoir a la chaire de justice ains ^q qu'il fut couronnee roy, au lieu ou le roy estoit accoustume de seoir. ^r

Item, le premier point que le roy Henry fist monstrar ^s ce fut comment il fut venu au pais pour la profit du royaume, du peuple, et pour son droit heritage; et fist monstrar comment le roy Richart avoit forfait sa vie et sa couronne; ^t et dist le Duc raison pourquoy; car luy et son conseil ont fait mourir les deux meilleurs hommes d'armes de tout le royaume, sans cause et sans raison; premierement, ils ont fait mourir mon bel oncle le duc de Gloucester, fils du bon roy

^a Bibl. du Roy. MS. No. 1188. Apres ce. ^b MS. ¹⁰²¹²_{3 B}, le parlement pour juger le roy.

^c Id. Henry le roy. ^d 1188, en parlement. ^e Id. MS. 10506, de tout le royaume.

^f ¹⁰²¹²_{3 B}, deux Archevesques qui vindrent avec le duc et ses deux freres.

^g Id. fils. ^h 10506, et la aussi estoient le duc. ⁱ Id. d'Excestre.

^k ¹⁰²¹²_{3 B}, Sire Henry. ^l 10506, ala. ^m Id. eut.

ⁿ ¹⁰²¹²_{3 B}, les prelas, seigneurs, et le commun de Londres.

^o 10506, oil, oil, oil. ^p Id. et nul autre. ^q 10506, Avant.

^r ¹⁰²¹²₃, de seoir, quant on tenoit le parlement selonc la coutume du pays.

^s Id. exposer. ^t ¹⁰²¹²₃, forfait sa couronne. 1188, ¹⁰²¹²_{3 B}, la vie et sa couronne.

Edouart, et mon cousin le conte d'Arundel; et aussi il avoit donne a ferme le royaume, quant il s'en alla en Illande a quatre chevaliers desquieulx J'envoyay les trois testes a ceulx de Londres, et le quatriesme est en prison a^u votre commandement. Et Je dis quant un roy fait bouter feu en son royaume, ou fait destruire villes ou villaiges par feu,^v qu'il a forfait sa couronne: et sachiez que, se Je ne fusse venue, le royaume fust en adventure d'estre perdu.^v Entre vous, Seigneurs, jugez et donnez de ce droit jugement.^x Le conseil du pais et du parlement dist,^y demain, Monsieur, nous vous en repondrons.^z Ainsi ne plus ne moins fut la premiere journee du Duc de Lenclastre et de son parlement.

Le lendemain quant le duc fut assis en la chaise de justice, ou le roy Richart fust accoustumer de seoir, si commanda^a a un Duc par un chevalier, nomme Sir Baudin Piquet,^b qu'il demandast droit aux Seigneurs du conseil, et a ceulx qui estoient la de par tout le pais et commun^c de royaume. Il est vray que l'evesque de Callin, lequel estoit de l'ordre de Saint Benoist, se leva de son siege, et demanda congé de parler;^d et quant il eust congé il demanda ainsi:^e Entre vous, messieurs,^f advisez vous, ains^g que vous donnez jugement de ce que Mons^r. le Duc a monstré^h cy ou fait monstrier: et Je dis qu'il n'en a ici nescunⁱ qui soit bon ne digne de juger tel Seigneur comme est Mons^r le roy, ^k lequel nous avons tenu nostre seigneur^l l'espace de vint ans et plus: et Je vous diray raison pourquoy; il ne fut oncques ne est si mauvais murtrier ni si faulx traistre^m en ce monde, si il estoit prins pour prisonnier en cas de justice, tout au moins seroit il amenezⁿ devant la Justice pour oir son jugement. Et entre vous, Seigneurs,^o

^u 1188, En votre.

^v ¹⁰²¹²
^{3 B}, soit en ville ou village, ou fait destruire villes ou villaiges, comment a fait le roy Richart, Je dys qu'il a forfait.

^w Id. Estoit en voye de perdition. Et pour ce entre vous.

^x MS. 635, droit et jugement. ^y ¹⁰²¹²
^{3 B}, respondit. ^z Id. rendrons response.

^a Id. il fist commander. 1188, commander par un Duc a un chevalier.

^b ¹⁰²¹²
³, Baudouyn Picquot.

^c ¹⁰²¹²
^{3 B}, tout le commun de royaume. De verite est que adonc l'evesque de Carlin.

^d Id. Se leva de son lieu, et demanda congé de parler pour le roy Richart.

^e 10506, Il commença. ¹⁰²¹²
^{3 B}, commença a dire. ^f 10506, Mes Seigneurs.

^g ¹⁰²¹²
^{3 B}, Avant. ^h Monseigneur le Duc a present. ¹⁰²¹²
^{3 B}, exposé et monstré.

ⁱ Id. Or je dis qu'il n'en a ici nul. ^k 10506, notre Sire. ^l ¹⁰²¹²
^{3 B}, pour nostre.

^m Id. 1188, Il n'est nul si faulx ni si traitre murderer.

ⁿ ¹⁰²¹²
³, prins prisonnier en la main de justice, qu'il ne fust amenez.

^o Id. mes seigneurs.

vous avez bien entendu ce que Mons^r le duc a monst^ré et dist et mis sur le roy Richart, ^p sans avoir sa reponse, ou sans qu'il soit en presence. Item, Je dis que Mons^r le Duc a plus failly ^q contre le roy Richart que n'a le roy contre luy ; car on peut bien savoir ^r que Mons^r le duc fut bannis pour dix ans, par le conseil de son royaume, et par le jugement de son propre pere, pour le grant chose ^s qu'ils firent, luy et le Duc de Norfolck ; et est revenu au pays, sans la volonté ^t du roy : et encore dis je qu'il a pis fait ; car il est assis en la chaire de justice, et que nul seigneur n'y doit estre sinon le droit roy couronné d'Angleterre : pour ce dis je que vous devez faire venir le droit couronné, le roy Richart ^v en presence du plein parlement, pour luy laisser monst^rer sa raison et son droit, et pour ouyr ^w s'il voudroit donner sa couronne au Duc ou non.

Adonc commanda le Duc au Mareschal, ^w qu'il mist la main a l'evesque, et qu'il fust mené en la prison de Saint Auban. Et après ce que l'evesque fust mené en prison, le duc fist demander le jugement du roy Richart. Adonc respondist le record de ceux ^x de Londres, Seigneurs, il est ordonné par tous les prelatz, de par tous les seigneurs du conseil et du commun du royaume d'Angleterre, que Jehan de Londres, dis de Bourdeaulx, qui fut nommé roy Richart d'Angleterre est jugé et condempné a estre en une prison royal : le jugement est ainsi ; qu'il aura le meilleur pain, vin, et la meilleure viande qu'on pourra trouver pour or ne pour argent. Et s'il venoit aucune noise de gens d'armes pour luy secourir, il sera le premier qui mourroit. Ainsi fut jugé le bon roy Richart par le dit parlement. ^y

^p Id. vous avez oy ce que Mons^r le duc a dist contre le roy Richart, et il me semble que entre vous voulez donner Jugement et condemnation au roy Richart.

^q 1186, mespriz et failly. ^r 10219, chacun sçait bien.

^s Id. meffait. ^t Id. congè. ^v Id. faire venir le roy Richart.

^u Id. sa raison et pour oir. ^w Id. Mareschal, qui la estoit. ^x Id. du conseil de la commune. ^y 1188, Ainsi fu faulsement jugé par le dit parlement.

MS. 9745, gives the whole of this extract nearly in the same words. It is but an echo of the above, without the addition of a single new fact or observation. These collations, unimportant as they may appear, serve to prove what was intended to be shewn, that the various readings are nothing more than studied alterations of the text from which the different MSS. were probably copied. Many of them being written at some distance from the period in which these events occurred, they cannot be resorted to as original productions. The MS. Ambassades seems to have been the ground-work of the whole.

No. VI.

MS. Bodl. 2376. f. ccvii. b. & seq.

TRANSLATION.

And now the king made these officers ; to wit, The Earl of Northumberland, Constable of England ; the Earl of Westmorland, Marshal of England ; Sir John Serle, Chancellor of England, and delivered him his great seal. John Norbery, esquire, Treasurer of England. Sir Richard Clifford, keeper of his privy seal, and other officers, &c. And forasmuch as the king is changed, all pleas in every place are set aside *sine die* ; and new briefs made for the parliament under the name of King Henry, against the Monday ensuing. On which day the parliament was proclaimed, and the Archbishop of Canterbury farther declared, that the king is advised to be crowned on the feast of Saint Edward, to wit, the Monday ensuing. And the parliament was adjourned till the Tuesday, on the morrow after Saint Edward's day : during which time, to wit, till the Sunday on the vigil of Saint Edward, King Henry lodged in the Tower of London.

And there he made certain knights, To wit. The three sons of the king. The Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Stafford, the son of the Earl of Warwick, two sons of the Earl of Devonshire. Lord Beaumont, the brother of Lord Willoughby, the brother of the Earl of Stafford, the son of (*Lord*) Camois, Lord Mauley, Thomas Beauchamp, Thomas Pelham, John Loterel, John Lyle, William Haukeford, Justices. William Brenchesle, Justice, Berth (Bartholemew) Rocheford, Giles Daubeney, William Boteler, John Dashton, Richard de Sinape, John Typtot, Richard Fraunceys, Henry Percy, John Arundel, William Straule, John Trumpington, Almer Seintamū, Edward Hastyns, John Grasley, Gerard Satell, John Ardern, Robert de Chalouns, Thomas Dymmok, Latimer, Dencort, Hungerford, Siphthorp, Newport, and others, to the amount of forty-six knights. And on the said Sunday the Mayor of London rode to the tower with seven citizens, the chief of the people of the said city, arrayed in scarlet cloth ; and King Henry (*passed*) from the tower through the whole city to Westminster ; both the mayor and citizens and new knights riding before the king, well arrayed in velvet, with their caps well furred with minever.

And on the Monday ensuing, being the feast of Saint Edward, the said King

Henry was lying under seven* (*pieces of*) cloth of gold before the high altar in the church of the abbey of Westminster. And there on four parts of his body these cloths were opened, and there anointed with the chant of *Veni creator spiritus*. And after this anointing, his body was anointed in other places, and there with great solemnity he was crowned. And *Te deum laudamus* was well sung. And Thomas de Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, performed the solemnity; which done, the whole of them went to the great hall to their dinner.

And there King Henry placed himself in his seat, Canterbury, London, Winchester, and other bishops on the right side of the king's seat sitting at the same high table; York, Durham, and other bishops at the same table on the other side.

Henry, Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester, was on the right side of the king's seat, having a drawn sword in his hand without any point, which signifieth peace. The Constable of England was on the other side with another sword. And two sceptres were held on either side of the king, one sceptre beside (*each of*) the aforesaid swords. And on the right side of the said hall at the second table sat the cinq ports well arrayed in scarlet. And on the other side at the second table, the mayor, recorder, and aldermen of London sat on a row, also in scarlet. And the Dukes of Aumarle, Surrey, Exeter, the Marquess, Warwick, and others were before the king, at this dinner. And in the mean time came one Thomas Dymock, knight, well armed, riding upon the king's second best horse, to do his service for his tenure, with two knights on horseback, one bearing his lance, the other his shield: and a herald at arms on foot spake for the said Thomas.

"If there be any one here, high or low, or of whatsoever condition, who will say, that Henry King of England, who is and hath this day been crowned, is not rightful king and rightfully crowned, as soon or on what day our lord the king shall appoint, I will prove with (*my*) body that he lieth falsely." Which proclamation was made throughout the hall in four parts of the said hall at this dinner by the said herald at arms, both in English and French. And then he avoided the hall, and the revel (feast) ended, &c.

And on the Tuesday next ensuing, that is, on the morrow of Saint Edward, began the parliament in the great hall of Westminster. And certain lords came, and did their homage. And Sir John Cheyney, speaking for the commons,

* The original appears to be corrupted here; perhaps it means only one piece. Walsingham says of Richard II. "Allatus est pannus aureus a Comitibus, sub quo latuit, dum unctionis perciperet sacramentum." Hist. Angl. p. 195.

made protestation, as aforetime was used, praying farther the grant of their liberties, customs, (and) franchises, as were customary in the time of your most noble progenitors, which were granted such as should be profitable for the realm, &c.

And on the Wednesday ensuing the commons (*assembled*); and Sir John Cheyny excused himself from being any longer speaker of the commons, owing to divers maladies and infirmities. And he was there discharged; and William Thurward, esquire, chosen, who rehearsed the protestation, &c.

The commons shewed, that in the time of the late King Richard, a parliament was held at Westminster, in the twenty-first year of his reign, which was not duly summoned, and was held by force; neither was it at all profitable to the people. Wherefore they pray that the said parliament might be annulled. And then the lords were examined, and for many horrible causes there set forth, the said parliament was annulled, and held for nought.

And the commons pray, that the parliament held at Westminster in the time of the said Richard, late king, in the eleventh year of his reign, for many reasons may be firm and stable, and held good. And it was there confirmed, &c.

And the king himself said, that at the said evil parliament were many treasons ordained which were not (*so*) before; that every word against the crown was held for treason: wherefore it is our pleasure that from this day forth there be no more treasons, save such as were in the time of our most noble progenitors and ordained by the ancient statutes.

And then the commons pray, that those who have forfeited any lands in the sitting of the last parliament may enter forthwith, without any suit at law, any alienation to the contrary notwithstanding. And that if any erasure be upon the rolls, by burning or cutting out, touching the aforesaid lands, that they may be amended. Whereunto no answer was made.

And on the same day Henry, son of the king, by assent of all the estates of parliament, was chosen Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, as heir apparent to the king and to the crown of England. Which prince was brought before the king, and the king sitting, took a coronet of pearls and set it on his head, kissed him and blessed him, and delivered to him a golden rod. So he was prince by fealty, &c.

And on the Thursday the commons came and rehearsed all the errors of the last evil parliament, and specially five in particular

(Here several leaves are wanting in the MS. The number cannot be ascertained because the paging has been cut off by the binder. What follows relates to the enquiry into the murder of the Duke of Gloucester.)

. . . his head should have been cut off. And in this manner you contrived his death. To which I replied thus far, that King Richard should send for his council: and if they agree (*thereunto*), I myself agreed, and so I departed." To which matter Bagot made no answer.^y

And then the king commanded the Lords Berkeley and Lovell (*to proceed*) to Newgate after dinner, with six knights of the commons, to examine the said valet, and to report to the council.

And on the Saturday ensuing Sir William Bagot and John Halle were brought to the bar; and some questions were put to Bagot, and he was remanded to prison.

As to Halle, the clerk of the parliament read a bill before all the people, touching the murder of the Duke of Gloucester; and how the Duke of Aumarle had sent two valets to Calais for the said death; and how the said Halle was doorkeeper of the chamber, when the Duke of Gloucester was put to death; and that he was placed upon a feather-bed; and there two valets, that is to say, Serle and Fraunceis, stifled him to death. To which bill the Duke of Aumarle replied; and excused himself of the murder aforesaid.

And then the Lord Fitzwalter rose, and said to the king, "Where the Duke of Aumarle excused himself of the death of Gloucester, I say that he was the cause of his death." And he also appealed him of treason, for that he was the cause; "And this (*said he*) I will prove with my body; and here is my pledge; and he cast down his hood before him. And twenty other lords and barons also threw down their pledges for the same quarrel against Aumarle.

Then the Duke of Aumarle said in reply to Fitzwalter, "I never assented to the death of the Duke of Gloucester;" nor was it ever his wish; "and you lie falsely," (*said he*), "here is my pledge;" and he cast his bonnet on the ground before him against Fitzwalter: which pledges were delivered to the Constable and Marshal of England, and the parties put under arrest.

^y This is part of a declaration of the Duke of Exeter respecting a plot of Richard to procure the death of Henry. See Holinshed, in 1399. Bagot, who was examined, had been serviceable to Henry, though he fled from him and from the popular fury, when Richard's other ministers were beheaded at Bristol. Henry permitted him to retire into Warwickshire, where, a few years after, he died. In pleno parlamento apud Westmonasterium se excusavit sagaciter coram omnibus; et ad terras suas fuerat dictus Wiſſa. Bagot restitutus. Qui vixit posthac per vii annos, et apud Bachkyngton (Packington), in turri quadam quam ipse fecerat ibidem, obiit morte naturali. Cujus animæ propicietur deus. MS. Chron. of Kenilworth, in H. IV.

And then the Duke of Surrey rose, and said to Fitzwalter, " You say that the appellee was the cause of the death of Gloucester : and I say that we were compelled to sue the said appeal in like manner as you were compelled to give judgment against Gloucester and Arundel ; wherefore the said suit was made by coercion. And if you say the contrary, you lie falsely ;" and he threw down his pledge before him.

And Fitzwalter said, that he gave no judgment upon them, nor was at that time in parliament. And this was testified by all the lords.

And as to the other point, the Duke of Aumarle said, " If the Duke of Norfolk " will say that I sent two valets to Calais for the death of the Duke of Gloucester, I will say that he lies falsely ; and that I will prove with my body ; and here is my pledge ;" and he cast down before him a hood which he had borrowed, and which was delivered to the Constable and Marshal of England. And the king granted a licence to the Duke of Norfolk to come to prove this appeal.

And then the lords were asked, what punishment the said John Halle had deserved for his privy to the death of Gloucester : and the lords said, the greatest punishment that he could have. And therefore the sentence was, that the said John Halle should be taken from the Tower of London to Tyburn ; and that there his bowels be burned ; then be hung ; his body afterwards quartered and beheaded ; and his head taken to the place where the murder of the Duke of Gloucester was committed.

And then the commons prayed, that those who were privy and of counsel with Richard, late king, might be arrested, and specially spirituals as well as temporals. For there were certain bishops and lords who told the late king, that they had found out by calculation and necromancy that he would be destroyed, unless certain lords of the realm were put to death. These very persons were the cause of the death of the lords. And the king said that he could not do this unless their names were specified.

And then the commons prayed to hear the records of the last evil parliament : for (*said they*) by these records we shall be informed of their names : which were shewed on the next day, that is to say, Wednesday ; for the Monday was the octave of Saint Edward, and of the coronation ; on which day the king would not that they should occupy him, &c.

And then on the Tuesday the king was occupied upon the ambassadors of France (*i. e.* to France), therefore it was void. And, on the Wednesday ensuing,

▪ By this it appears that the Duke of Norfolk was not then known to be dead ; or was expected home. He died at Venice on his return.

the commons prayed, that, forasmuch as Richard, late king, hath resigned, and is for horrible causes deposed, it followeth that he is accountable as any other man. Wherefore we pray to know what sentence he shall have, and what shall be done with him, that the realm be not troubled by him; and that the horrible causes may be read, and published, and declared throughout all England, in every county, that the realm may not be disturbed by the disposition aforesaid. Which prayer was granted.

Then the commons say that the Duke of Brittany hath sent to them his letter, that he is disseised of his heritage in England by the Earl of Westmorland, by reason of an older title. And (*they say*) that the merchants and others of your lieges complain that they cannot pass by sea, if there be not some end, &c. And the Duke of Brittany hath acknowledged by his letter that he desireth to be justified^a as any other liege. Whereupon may it please you to put the right of the lands upon the counsel of both parties and upon your most sage counsel to make an end. Which was granted, &c.

And then the records of the last evil parliament, and the appeals, and the commission made to the said twelve, and many other records were shewed. And then the commons pray to have Markham, the justice, and Gascoigne, serjeant at law, to be of their counsel touching these records: which was granted; and a farther day given in the White-hall on the morrow: and there they consulted three days after. There they were of accord touching the sentence of Richard, late king.

And on the Monday ensuing, that is to say, on the vigil of Saint Simon and Jude, the commons pray to hear the sentence of Richard, late king. And the Archbishop of Canterbury (had the words) spake, and said, that touching the king that now is, he hath granted (him) his life; but that he shall have perpetual imprisonment in a distant place, under the safe keeping of many: so that the king that now is, (*and the*) realm, may not be endamaged nor troubled by him.^b

And then the commons pray, that the lords and others who were of counsel with the late king may be upon their answers; which was granted.

And then on the Wednesday ensuing, and on the morrow of Saint Simon and Jude, the whole of the process of the last evil parliament was read openly. In which process it was found, that the Earl of Warwick hath acknowledged himself to be guilty of treason, and besought grace and mercy. To which process

^a "To abide such order as the law would appoint." Holinshed.

^b It will be remarked, that the life of Richard is not made to depend upon any condition, as stated in Holinshed. See also page 218, note.

he said, that he never acknowledged that by (*word of*) mouth, and that he is willing to prove in what manner soever, &c.

And in the same process was found the appeal; to which the Dukes of Aumarle, Surrey, Exeter, the Marquess, Salisbury and Gloucester, severally made answer, each for himself, that they never assented to this appeal; but against their will, were compelled and coerced to do it; and this they affirm upon their oaths; and also proffer to prove in any manner that they ought.

And then Sir Walter Clopton said to the commons, "If you desire to take advantage of the process of the last parliament, take it, and you shall be well received."

And then the Lord Morley rose, and said to the Earl of Salisbury, that he was chief of counsel with the Duke of Gloucester, and was of counsel with Richard, late king; and he said that he revealed the counsel of Gloucester to Richard, late king; "wherefore he is traitor and false to his master; and that I will prove with my body, and here is my gage, and he cast his hood before him upon the floor. And Salisbury against Morley said, that he was never traitor, nor false to his master in discovering his counsel, "And (*I say*) that you lie falsely, and that I will prove;" and he cast down his gloves before him upon the floor. And hereupon the gages were delivered to the constable and marshal, and the parties arrested. And a farther day was given them.

And on the Monday ensuing, that is to say, the morrow of All Souls, the commons pray that they may not be entered on the rolls as parties to judgments which are given at this parliament, except where in rei veritate they are parties and privy thereunto. For judgments appertain solely to the king; saving where any judgment is given upon a statute made for the common profit of the realm: which was granted. And the commons farther pray, that no justice nor other who is of the counsel of King Henry, that now is, excuse himself hereafter from any judgment or counsel given by them in this parliament on the plea that they were of this counsel or that judgment by force, duress, or constraint, and that they durst not do otherwise; that henceforth that should not be admitted. To which no answer was given. But the commons pray that they may be entered upon the record at the election of the prince; which was granted. And the commons pray that, forasmuch as the prince is of tender age, he may not pass forth from this realm: for the commons are informed that the Scots are coming, &c. with a mighty hand. And they of Ireland are purposed to elect a king among them, and disclaim to hold of you. And as concerning the enemies of France.....Here the MS. fails.

No. VII.

Malone and Ritson, in their annotations upon Shakspeare,^a have collected various ancient historical testimonies respecting the death of Richard the Second; to which may be added several others of equal if not superior importance, that have not fallen under their observation.

It is well known that different authorities have severally assigned it to one of the three following causes.

1st. Assassination by Sir Piers Exton and his accomplices. Fabian, Hall, Hayward, MS. Ambassadors, and most of the other MSS. in Bibl. du Roy. Le. Laboureur, Hist. Charles VI.

2dly. Grief and voluntary abstinence. Walsingham, Otterbourne, the Monk of Evesham, the Continuator of the History of Croyland, Creton, Gower,^b Bibl. du Roy, MS. 10212.^c

3dly. Starvation by his keepers. Hardyng, Fortescue,^d Petrus de Ickham,^e

^a The Plays of William Shakspeare, London, 1793, VIII. pp. 347, 348.

^b Some of these testimonies have never appeared in print. Gower is a contemporary, and agrees exactly with Creton.

Semper enim plorat; semper de sorte laborat

Qua cadit; et tales meminit periisse sodales.

Solam deposcit mortem, nec vivere possit

Amplius est; et ita moriens sua pompa sopita.

Cronica Tripart. Joh'is Gower de depos. R. II. et coron. H. IV. MSS. Cotton. Tiberius IV.2. Mr. Allen's MS. Extracts.

^c This MS. varies from all the other accounts as to the particulars of his death. When he heard of the execution of his friends, he was so much afflicted that he took an oath that he would never more taste any food; and so he remained four days without eating; on which Henry sent certain prelates to comfort him, and persuade him to eat. He confessed himself to one of them, who enjoined him to take food; but when he attempted to swallow, he was unable to do it, and so he died. But whether this account or the story of his murder by Exton is best founded, the author is uncertain. Mr. Allen's MS. Extracts.

^d Fortescue too was contemporary, having been called to the bar a few years after Richard's death. Malone.

^e A cibo et potu per IV. aut V. dies restrictus famis inedia exspiravit. Cronicon. Harl. MSS. 4323, p. 68. The Godstow Chronicle has the same expressions. It has more than once

the Godstow Chronicle, Polydore Vergil, Stowe, the challenge of the Percys; the Manifesto of the Yorkshire insurgents; Bibl. Soc. Ant. MS. No. 101, 27.^f

Holinshed instances all the three modes; but says that the latter was most universally believed.

This list of authors might be greatly increased; but it is obvious that some of those which have been adduced are altogether out of the question as original testimonies. For, with regard to the first hypothesis, to what purpose is it to quote Hall or Hayward, who may easily be shewn to have drawn their information from the French MSS. of which we have so often spoken; and who wrote, besides, so long after the occurrence? A similar remark may be applied to Holinshed and Stow in the latter case; from their quotations we know their sources of information; and they are none other than those writers whose names accompany them in the above enumeration. We are little acquainted with the origin of Polydore Vergil's opinion, who is said to have destroyed many of the ancient materials of which his work was composed.

But, as to the writers who were contemporary or came nearest to the period, from the peculiar circumstances of the affair they could only give the reports that were current in the country. We need not hesitate to believe that these were as various as they represent them. Not one of the authors, however, who may be judged worthy of our implicit confidence, except Hardyng, has noticed any thing but what evidently appears to have proceeded from rumour; not a single eye-witness of even the most remote or trifling particular has stepped in between the fact and posterity; nor do the unsatisfactory recorders pretend, in any instance, superior information above their fellows on a fact which from the first was veiled in such impenetrable darkness. There is but one positive affirmation, that of the Percys, which, as an unqualified assertion, can command our attention.

once been noticed, that all the regular clergy, with the exception of one order, favoured Henry; some of them were particularly cautious how they touched upon the event. The MS. Chronicle of Kenilworth says, "*fame et siti, ut putatur, dolenter consummatus.*"

^f The writer of some verses respecting the miseries occasioned to England by the Sovereigns of the line of Lancaster, composed apparently in the time of Edward IV. betrays an acquaintance with the whole of the case that is seldom met with. He says, Richard was taken

Under the colour of fals p'iury;
And in prison put p'petuelly
Pyned to death.

In any examination of the question that can now take place, the ground-work can be laid on no other principle than that of the Roman historian: "*Famæ rerum standum est.*" It were absurd at this distance of time to affect an insight into the "secrets of a prison house," which were then kept so diligently that they never escaped the dungeons of Pontefract to gratify the curiosity of the most acute enquirer. Froissart, who was ever eager in the pursuit of information, candidly confesses that, at the time when he wrote his Chronicle, he "could not learn the particulars of Richard's death, nor how it happened."^g

Yet in the allowable exercise of our judgment on the three different cases above stated, we may be able to point out some circumstances not unworthy of observation, as leading to a probably correct opinion of the mode in which the king met with his untimely end.

Of his assassination it may be remarked, that, if he had died by violent means in single struggle against so many murderers, some traces of the conflict would probably have been visible, which might have prevented the subsequent exposure of his face to the people. This is Carte's opinion: but Lingard thinks that the fact is not thus invalidated; because the part of his head, on which he is supposed to have received the mortal wound, was covered when he was exhibited to public view. The statement of Gough sets this point completely at rest. He accurately examined the skull of Richard when it was taken from the tomb a few years ago, and declares that he could find no mark of violence upon it;^h so that this report, as far as Exton's mortal blow is concerned, appears without foundation.

With regard to his grief and voluntary abstinence, there is no evidence to shew that this could not have been the case; but the dissemination of this opinion would most readily occur to those who were greatly interested in the popular reception of it; Gower, who was so adulatory to the reigning sovereign, probably speaks the language that was common among the friends and followers of Henry; and Creton's friend, a priest, who was about the court, concurs in the same story. Little can be said of this, saving that at all events it strengthens the more commonly received notion that he died of hunger.

In the last case, however, we have the strong authority of the Percys;"ⁱ who,

^g Chronicles, XII. c. 32.

^h Sepulchral Monuments, II. p. 163.

ⁱ See their challenge to Henry IV. in Hardyng, pp. 352, 353. Had the story of Exton been true the Percys must have heard of it. Their not mentioning it is decisive. Malone.

with every opportunity of collecting what hints were afloat, may be presumed to have settled upon that which was best authenticated. And in corroboration of this we possess the precise affirmation contained in the manifesto attributed to the Archbishop of York, whose means of information must have been at least equal to the former, and who could not have been misled as to the general rumour in that quarter where the event occurred. In this it is said, that "he was kept fifteen days without meat or drink;" and Carte judiciously observes of those persons whose sentiments it delivers, that they were "the likeliest to know the truth of the fact, the tragedy having been acted in the county of York, and in their neighbourhood."^k

Is it not after all more reasonable to conclude that his death may have arisen from natural causes? The vulgar passion for ascribing something akin to the marvellous in the premature decease of one of such high consideration, so soon after his imprisonment, will be far from biassing the grave enquirer of the present age. In an unprejudiced mind, the suggestion of anxiety, the cold of winter, and fever attended with refusal of sustenance for some time before his death, might as readily find a place as any thing that has been announced: it would prove an intelligible abatement of the romantic and terrific colouring of the most credible of these stories; and might be admitted as a sufficient explanation of the origin of the second and third accounts of his decease; did not the existing complexion of affairs, and, more than any thing, the behaviour of the reigning king, his head keeper, give room for serious apprehension that he was not fairly treated.

Should we be disposed at first to slight the imperfect proof to be elicited from mere rumour taken singly, as to the manner of his decease; we shall, upon further examination, be met by presumptive evidence to induce a suspicion that it was, in some way or other, occasioned by those who were around him, rather than by immoderate affliction, or by disease, it's accompaniment, preying upon his frame. If we can make out this point, and it shall have appeared, notwithstanding, that the belief of his death by

^k They, as well as Fortescue, call it a death hitherto unknown in England, and speak strongly of the secrecy which was observed respecting it. *Anglia Sacra*, pars II. p. 365. It is remarkable that the Scotch seem to have taken the hint, and followed the example in the year ensuing. David Prince of Scotland, as was reported, suffered by the same death on Easter Day 1401. *Scoticronicon*, L. 15. c. 10. quoted in Henry V. b. 5. c. 1. § 1. King, who examined the traditionary dungeon in this "tower of famine," considers from it's size and circumstances, that the story of his starvation is most probable. Sequel to *Observations on Ancient Castles*. Archæol. VI. p. 313.

starvation was then most current, and is best supported, we shall arrive at as rational a conclusion as our materials will allow.

A doubt has existed whether this event was hastened by Henry's orders, or indirect concurrence. He denied it. In his answer to the accusation brought against him in the challenge of the Duke of Orleans, we have his vindication in his own words: "Quant a ce qu'en vos dictes lettres est fait mention du trespassement de notre treschier seigneur et cousin que Dieu pardoint. Et en disant (Dieu scait par qui) nous ne scavons a quelle cause ou intention que vous le dictes; mais se vous voulez ou osez dire que par nous ou nostre vouloir ou consent il ait este, il est faulx, et sera toutes le fois que vous le direz. Et a ce nous sommes et serons prêts, a l'ayde de Dieu, de nous deffendre corps pour corps, se vous voulez ou l'osez prouver."¹—"Whereas in your said letter mention is made of the decease of our very dear lord and cousin, whom God pardon! And when you say, 'God knoweth by whom,' we know not for what reason or purpose you say it; but if you mean, or dare to say that it happened by us, or by our will or consent, it is a falsehood, and will be as often as you say it; and to this we are and will be ready, with the help of God, to defend ourselves, body for body, if you are willing or dare to prove it."

Thus to the personal imputation that had been cast upon him, and seems to have been made public, did Henry think proper to stand upon his defence. His replication, it must be allowed, is sufficiently firm; and might then have been thought satisfactory, had the parties proceeded to the trial that it demanded. But it were to be wished, in respect to genuine proof, that it were as admissible, so far as we are now concerned. It is as evasive as it is bold. It does not go to shew that the manner of Richard's death was natural, and the circumstances of it free from all suspicion. Had it been so, he might as firmly and briefly have stated it, without condescending to enter into particulars with his adversary. This were not too much to have expected from him under so heavy a charge; but we look for it in vain. If by what he advanced he meant to clear himself, his method was very incomplete: his affected ignorance of the cause of the accusation would be as little regarded then as it may be now; and the only argument he propounded, trial by battle, the great existing test of truth, in which the guilty no less than the innocent, as a last resource, had often sought refuge, was a proof, the practical assertion of which he afterwards took especial care to avoid. In any case it establishes nothing with posterity.

If his words should, however, convey an impression that he was not altogether clear

¹ Chroniques de Monstrellet, I. l. 1. c. 9.

in this matter, his previous conduct, under the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, speaks more strongly. Richard was imprisoned by order of the parliament: he had been committed by Henry himself to a castle which was his own hereditary property: he was guarded by Henry's servants. In this situation, it was incumbent upon the latter to have shewn how his death occurred; either that it was natural; or, if by violence, that he was not privy to the deed. A public examination should have been taken of all persons connected with the castle, or about the person of the king. ^m Young Arundel, if he was still in trust, or the castellan should have been responsible for the fact, and all men should have been made acquainted with the particulars attendant upon it. Such a scrutiny, when it suited his purpose, was diligently instituted in the case of the Duke of Gloucester's murder at Calais; and the offenders were brought to justice. The sudden decease of a deposed monarch, following so quickly upon his dethronement, must always give rise to suspicion. If he had wished, or was able to have cleared himself from imputation of any concern in it, why did he not institute an enquiry? In other instances he was far from despising public opinion; and therefore, if he could have explained the mode of Richard's death, when the disclosure of it must have been of great advantage to him, we may rest satisfied that he would have done it. The truth seems to be, that if he had thought it necessary, he did not find it convenient, and his having left it in obscurity must continue a stain upon his memory for ever.

Let us open this point a little farther at the risk of appearing to keep up what looks like the tedious repetition of popular prejudice respecting the death of princes. If any case has a more than common reason to be regarded with a jealous

ⁿ He was in double keeping during his confinement in the Tower. For though Sir Thomas Rempston had been appointed warden of that fortress, Arundel, to whom he was given in charge at Chester, had still the superintendence of him, according to MS. Ambassades. See p. 196, note. The same kind of vigilant arrangement might have been continued at Pontefract. Henry had consulted his own will solely in the removal of him; and did it by night, at the hazard of suspicion, while he avoided open observation. The Percys told him that his shutting up the king in Pontefract castle was an unauthorised act, contrary to the orders of the lords of the land. He thus brought upon himself an additional degree of responsibility, according to their interpretation of the judgment pronounced in the house of Lords; but in Cotton. p. 391, it is only said, "The lords severally answered, that it were good safely to keep him in *some secret place from all concourse*, and that by such sufficient persons, as had not been familiar, or about him."

eye, it is surely this. It were unjust that Henry should ever have been brought before the uncertain tribunal of mere human opinion, in his own, or at any future day, upon bare rumour, unless it could be reasonably shewn that the basis of suspicion was strong against him; and it is clearly his own fault, if, with entire innocence of what has been imputed to him, he has suffered the foul blot to adhere to him. In the investigation of historical truth we must not shrink from the task of examining rumour, merely because it happens to be all that remains to us. It proves the suspicion of the time, and from what could suspicion in this instance chiefly arise? It was not merely from the very striking fact that a king had died in confinement under the custody of an enemy who had deposed him, just after a formidable insurrection, which had for its object the destruction of the latter and the restoration of the former to the throne; but that with these particulars attached to his case the manner of his death was altogether unknown. There should have been no mystery as to this, and there could have been no surmise. Or if an adversary had dared to whisper a word to Henry's prejudice, it might have been met with a prompt reply. Perhaps, he did not owe it to a foreigner, like Orleans, in a correspondence of the above nature, to enter upon a detailed defence of his conduct; though as uncle to the wife of the deceased, in common with the rest of the royal family of France, all matters considered, that prince had a right to look for an explanation from Henry; but in the delicate and difficult position that he occupied, why should he have lost an opportunity of a better and entire vindication? Why, when upon this, and several other occasions in which he was solemnly called upon,ⁿ did he leave it to be inferred by any one that a better defence than force was out of his power? In his very peculiar case nothing but rational, undeniable evidence would have given entire and lasting satisfaction. Any other man then in existence might have been tempted to live the accusation down with a chance

ⁿ On all other occasions, it appears, he maintained an inviolable silence. The manifesto of Scroope was affixed for several days to the doors of the churches in York; but we are not, indeed, told that the challenge of the Percys was made public even in their own army. When we look at the character of the Earl of Worcester, who must have joined in the composition of it, though every allowance should be made for personal pique, it can hardly be imagined that he would have made so positive a charge, if he had not had his reasons to believe it to be true. There is no *ut fertur* mingled with the expressions. They tell him that his shutting up Richard in Pontefract, was contrary to the order of the lords of the land, and the language of the gravest charge is remarkably pointed. *Fame scitu et frigore interfici fecisti et murthero periri*. Hardyng. C. cxcvii. p. 352.

of success; but the burden of the proof rested with him, and was on all accounts required of him: at home, there was a claim upon him in every corner of the land. In the relation that he stood to his state captive it was imperatively due to his own character, and by consequence to the people he had to govern, since the estimate that was to be formed of him would seriously operate upon the country's future agitation or repose. It may be seen that in the beginning of his reign he had a most earnest desire to conciliate all descriptions of men; and it is singular that he should have overlooked this excellent opportunity of acquiring their good opinion. Had he acted as he should have done, he would have been doubly armed with the best means of hushing scandal, and of repelling the accusations that were so frequently and seriously brought against him. To foreigners who presumed to reflect upon him, he might have retorted, "The whole world have been made acquainted with the manner of Richard's decease." To his own infatuated and refractory subjects, "You know not only that he is dead, for his body has been exposed; but the particulars of his death you know, from the public inquisition that has been made." But who, with the reasonable expectation of being listened to, would have urged a syllable against him? Admitting that an investigation could have been altogether favourable to him, the advantages that would have resulted from it, were such as cannot be supposed to have escaped his calculating and cautious mind. It is inconsistent with what we know of his character to believe otherwise. The measure was so manifestly to his interest, that, viewed with reference to what he proved himself to be, it should seem to have been attended with an argument irresistible. Though apparently amiable in some relations of life, he shewed a preponderating selfishness in his disposition, accompanied by a great share of worldly prudence. Perhaps a more wary individual in things which respected his personal security never swayed the sceptre of this land. His whole career from the hour of his landing to that of his death, is an evidence of this; and many of the troubles of his reign form an instructive comment upon this unwise measure, at variance with his general rules of conduct, of passing over in silence the manner of his predecessor's death. He could not but have known that, from the juncture and circumstances of the case, unfavourable reports would be abroad. He had received a lesson of what he might expect in the way of opposition from the recent insurrection; others followed professedly built upon his suspicious conduct in this particular, which, in some degree, might have been obviated by an explicit disclosure on his part; and though it was impossible for him to have foreseen the extent of his troubles, it is not too much to suppose that uncertain expectations of a thousand sources of objection to his person and

authority must have suggested themselves to his anxious mind. The publication of what seemed so necessary to be known, had been a master-stroke of policy that had tended more than any other to obviate a variety of difficulties that afterwards assailed him, and had done as much to establish his security as any subsequent exercise of power.

Whatever may have been his motives for omitting to satisfy the just curiosity of those who had a right to be informed, his behaviour has transmitted to posterity an imputation which is past all effectual remedy. If this were the offspring of mere ungrounded surmise, it were injurious to his memory to perpetuate it; but the contrary appears to be the case. There may be those to whom his opportunity of investigating and publishing the transaction may seem to have been neglected rather than wilfully set aside; but there can be no question that, let the causes which preceded Richard's dissolution be what they might, they ought at some time to have been explained. And there can be as little doubt, that if Henry had dealt uprightly in all the particulars of this mysterious affair, he had the means of making his innocence appear, beyond all misapprehension, as clear as the noon day. But he has suffered it, all liable as he was to the consequences, to remain in impenetrable obscurity. When, therefore, with such a weight of responsibility upon him, he abstained from proof, in a case in which he was urged to it by every consideration that can be imagined to arise either from a sense of duty to himself and others, or from a regard to reputation and tranquillity, and personal security in the enjoyment of newly acquired power; and when in these latter particulars his behaviour seems so much at variance with his known prudence, what can remain to the impartial enquirer, endeavouring to separate his opinion from popular prejudice, in the present day? He has only to hope that Henry's interference was not in any way exerted, but rather to apprehend that it must have been: especially when, comparing his conduct with the denial once, and reluctantly drawn from him, he calls to mind, that even in solemn oaths, that prince is said to have been far from distinguished by such a regard to truth as can warrant a reliance upon his bare word.

Until these reasons for suspicion shall be removed by others of a more favourable nature, the prevailing historical connexion of the fate of Richard with the guilt of Henry, will continue to hold a place in the opinion of the greater part of posterity: to use the unfortunate prisoner's own expression, "*it will be a reproach to him for ever, so long as the world shall endure, or the deep ocean be able to cast up tide or wave.*"

Sir Robert Howard,^o in defence of this part of Henry's character, thinks it impro-

^o Hist. of the Reigns of Edward and Richard II. pp. 169, 170.

bable and contradictory that he should have directed his death, and afterwards have assisted at the service in prayers for his soul. His suggestion is so liberal that it meets with my reluctant dissent. We have to lament that history should teach us, at any rate, the possibility of such monstrous inconsistencies. Did not the Duke of Burgundy, in 1407, bear up the pall at the funeral of the Duke of Orleans whom he had assisted to assassinate a few days before? If Henry was afterwards assailed by remorse, it cannot be supposed that his feelings were at first overbearingly acute on the subject of his predecessor's mysterious death; when he so frequently, within no long period^p after that transaction, took up his quarters at Pomfret, where every thing around him must have brought the recollection of the unfortunate Richard to his mind.^q

One curious particular relative to this melancholy affair shall be mentioned in conclusion; since it appears to me to have evaded the notice of English historians. It rests upon the authority of an ancient French Chronicle quoted by Louvet in his *Histoire d'Aquitaine*, &c. "In the year 1399, King Richard was made prisoner by his cousin Henry Earl of Derby, son of the Duke of Lancaster, who took possession of his estate, and put him cruelly to death. Whereupon they of Bordeaux, where he was born, and whence he took his name; they of Dax and of Bayonne, warmly attached to his service, were upon the point of turning to France. Louis de Sancerre, constable of France, urged them thereunto;^r but the seneschal of Bordeaux hearing their complaints, and having written of it to Henry, he sent thither in haste Thomas Percy, who had governed them aforetime, to prevent them; which he did. *The Chro-*

^p I am aware that the places from which writs or proclamations, &c. are dated, cannot always be safely taken to determine the presence of the king at the spot upon the day. Yet there is ground to believe that it was the case in these instances, from the repetition of the dates compared with other historical authorities. Henry was at Pontefract, August 6—15, 1403. July 6—9, 1404. April 25, June 30, 1405. Rymer, *Fœdera*, VIII. pp. 321, 322, 363, 364, 394, 398. Afterwards he was there for nearly a month, trying, mulcting, and executing the prisoners that had been taken in Northumberland's last insurrection. Otterbourne, p. 263.

^q In the powerful plea for Henry, that Mr. Amyot has brought before the Society since the above was written, an opposite view is justly taken of these facts. I do not mean to lay greater stress upon them than they may seem to deserve; but to shew that they should not be taken to consist with innocence alone.

^r Froissart, XII. c. 28, says, that the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon tampered with the people of Bourdeaux, Dax, and Bayonne, in vain.

*nicle of Lurbe says, that the Bourdelois so much lamented the death of King Richard, that proceeding with severity against those who were suspected of his death, they tore one of them to pieces for it with the most cruel torments that they could devise, and set up his arm on a pike in front of the castle of Lombriere.**

Candour obliges me to note that this might fairly be coupled with the story of the banishment of Sir Piers Exton; who, if he did not assault him in the way that is reported and has been refuted, might by the other method, on which most stress has been laid, be equally accessory to his death. It shews at least the opinion that was prevalent among Richard's own countrymen and warmest admirers, and that some persons who were suspected of being concerned in his murder actually took refuge in France.

* *Traité en forme d'abregé de l'Histoire D'Aquitaine, Guyenne, et Gascoigne, par Louvet. à Bourdeaux, MDCLIX.*

The original Text of the Manuscript in the British Museum (No. 1319 of the Harleian Collection) is here given, with Collations from that in the Lambeth Library, and from a copy of part of the Manuscript in the King's Library at Paris, No. 7656, entitled, "*Gestes des Anglois en rithme.*"

The Lambeth and Parisian MSS. are respectively designated at the foot of the page by the letters L. and P. All essential variations affecting in any degree the sense or arrangement of passages are noted: as for those relating merely to orthography, which, owing to the then unsettled state of it, are innumerable, they have in general been passed over as not worthy of insertion.

The English version might have been improved from several hints out of the Parisian MS. but it did not arrive till after a great part of the former had passed through the press.

In addition to the favour noticed in the Prefatory Observations, the Translator has severally to acknowledge the following obligations:

To the well known liberality of His Grace the Lord ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY, and the attentions of his Librarians, the Reverend HENRY TODD and the Reverend Doctor DOXLEY, which have enabled him to obtain the collations from the Lambeth MS.

For a part of those collations, which he could not personally complete, from the end of the narrative in prose to the conclusion of the Metrical History, to the kind assistance of HENRY PETRIE, Esq. Keeper of his Majesty's Records, whose name is a warrant for accuracy in this branch of literature.

TO FRANCIS FREELING, Esq. for his obliging communication of a transcript of part of the MS. in the King's Library at Paris, No. 7656, executed with great care by Sir Cuthbert Sharp, and enriched with many interesting notes and observations by that gentleman and R. Surtees, Esq.

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*HISTOIRE du Roy d'Angleterre RICHARD, Traictant particulièrement la
Rebellion de ses subiectx et prinse de sa personne. Composee par un
gentilhom'e françois de marque, qui fut a la suite dudict Roy, avecq
permission du Roy de france. 1399.*

Hors la libraire de Monsieur le Comte de Maine coñme il appert. f^o. ultimo
verso de sa main propre.

[ENLUMINATION I.]

AU departir de la froide saison,
Que printemps a fait reparaçon
De verdur, & quau champs maint buiffon
Voit on flourir ;
Et les oyseaux doucement resioir ;
Le roussignol peut on châter oir,
Qui maint amant fait souvent devenir
Joyeux et gay ;
Cinq Jours devant le premier Jour de May,
Que chascun doit laisser dueil & esmay,
Un chîr, que de bon cuer amay
Moult doucement,
Me dit, amy, Je vous pri chîrement,
Quen albion vueilliez Joyeuseñt
Avecques moy venir, prochainement ^a.
^b Y vueil aller.
Je respondi, monseigneur, coñmander
Povez sur moy ; Je sui pres dencliner
Ma voulente a vñe bon penser, ^c
Nen doubtez Ja.

^a Car briefment. P. MS.

^b Gy. L. MS.

^c Plaiser. L.

Le chïr cent fois me mercia
 Disant, frere, certes il convendra ^d
 Bien brief partir ; car ^e haster nous fauldra,
 Soiez certains.
 Ce fu en lan mil quatezens un mains
 Que de Paris chun de Joie plains
 Nous partismes, chevauchât soirs & mains
 Sans ataygier,
 Jusqua londres : la nous convint ^f logier
 Un mecredi a lheure de mengier :
 La povoit on veoir maint chïr
 Faire depart
 De la ville, car le bon roy richart
 Estoit partiz avecques lestuart ;
 De chevaulchier au matin et au tart
 Fu moult songneux ;
 Car il estoit de passer envieux
 La mer salee, pour les despiz & deulx
 Quen ymberne ses enemis morteulx
 Li orent faiz ;
 Grant quantite de ses amis parfaiz
 Avoient fait mourir ; si que Jamaiz
 Ne vouloit estre a repoz ne a paix,
 Jusques a tant
 Quil eust prins vengeance suffisant
 De maquemore, qui se dit excellent
 Roy & feigñr dymberne la grant,
 Et dillande,
 Ou gueres na de plaine ne de lande :
 Pource le roy souventes foyes ^g comãde
 De savancier, & que tantost on mande,
 Quil vient au port

^d Disant certes que il nous convendra. L.^e Et haster. P.^f Vinmes. P.^g Assez souvent P.

De milleforde, ou il a bel apport.^h
La feumes nous en joie et en depport
Dix jours entiers, atendant le vent nort
Pour nous partir.
Mainte trompette y pavoit on oir,
De iour deⁱ nuit menestrelz retentir,
De toutes parts gendarmes survenir,^j
Chargier vaisseaulx
De pain, de vin, de vaches, & de veaulx,
De char salee, & deaue mains toneaulx,
Chevaux vvuidier,^k qui furent bons & beaulx.
Chũn pour soy
Noublia pas dapprester son airoy :
La print congie aux dames le bon roy,
Et se parti en gracieux conroy^l
Lonziesme Jour.
Lors maronniers, sans plus faire sejour,
Leverent hault leurs voiles par tel tour,
Quavant deux Jours on appceut la tour
De Wattreforde
En Irlande, ou gens vilaine^m & orde,
Lun descire, lautre ceint dune corde,
Lun ot un trou, lautre avoitⁿ une borde
Pour demourer :
La leur fist on de grans fardeaulx porter,
Et dedans leaue jusques aux rains entrer
Pour deschargier les barges de la mer
Hastivement ;
° Car Ja le roy avecques de sa gent
Dedens la ville estoit, ou doulcemēt
Fu recueilliz de la menue gent
Et des marchans.

^h Port. P.ⁱ Et nuit. P.^j De venir. P.^k Guindes. P.^l Convoy. P.^m Vy laide. P,ⁿ Ot. P.

° Car le roy. P.

Six Jours apres se mist le roy aux champs
 Avec Angloiz, qui furent chevauchans
 Serrement, ^p non pas com̃e meschans,
 Ne esbahiz
 A Killrigny, ^q bñ avant ou pais
 Quatre vins mille, & pres des ennemis.
 La fu le roy avecques ses amis
 Quatorze iours,
 En attendant du conte le secours
 De rotelant, qui depuis tout son cours
^r En mal faisant, & en estranges tours
 A demene.
 Au departir chascun fu ordonne,
 Au mieulx quil pot, de pain de vin de ble.
 La veille droit de Saint Jehan destre
 Tresbien matin
 Parti le roy, tenant le droit chemin
 Vers maquemore, qui ne vult es̃ enclin,
 Nobeissant a lui a quelque fin ;
 Ains se disoit
 Dibernie estre roy, et par ^s droit,
 Et que de guerre jamaiz ne ^t lui fauldroit,
 Jusqua la mort sō paiz deffendrait
^v Avec sa terre ;
 Disant que a tort la lui vouloit cōquerre.
 Et lors le roy fist aprestre son erre
 Es haulx deserts, pour le trouver & q̃re ;
 Car sa maison
 Estoit es boys, cest sa converçon ^u
 Dy demourer en quelconq̃ saison ;
 Et la dedens avoit, ce disoit on,
 Avecques luy

^p Seurement. P. ^q Killigny. P. ^r En traison, en mal, et en faulx tours. P.
^s A droit. P. ^t On lui. P. ^v Et sa terre. L. ^u Condition. P.

Trois mil hoïmes, qui furent moult hardi,
Et si apers, conques telz gens ne vy ;
Dangloiz trop pou estoient esbahi,
Ce me sembla.

A lentreë des haults bois sassembla
Tout lost du roy, et chũn sordonna
Tresbien et bel, car pour leure on cuida
Bataille avoir ;

Maiz les yrlois ne se firent point veoir
A ceste foiz ; Je le scay bien de voir.
Lors commanda le roy de tout ardoir
La environ ;

De feux bouter fu la conclusion,
Pour amendrir la dominacion
Des Irlandoiz : maint village & mansion
La furent ars.

En ce faisant le roy, qui les liepars
Porte en blason, fist rens de toutes pars
Faire, et tantost panons et estandars
En hault lever.

Après fist il de vray cuer sans amer
Le filz au duc de lancastre mander,
Qui estoit bel & jeune bachelier,
Et avenant ;
Et puis le fist chũr en disant,
Mon beau cousin, soiez preu & vaillant
Desoremaiz, car pou avez vaillant
Sans conquerir ;

[ENLUMINATION II.]

Et pour le plus honorer et cherir,
En accroissant son bien * & son plaisir,
Affin telle quil eust souvenir
Plus longuement,

* Beau. P.

En fist dautres viij ou dix ; maiz, cōment
 Leurs nons feurent pas ne scay vrayeñt ;
 Car de leur fait ne men chaloit gramēt,
 Ne deulx aussi ;
 Veu que mon ceur y dueil ennuy & soussi
 Avoient fait, & de tous poins choisi
 Leur mension, et desir desaisi
 Mavoit de Joie ;
 Pourquoy cestoit jamaiz ne le diroie.
 En cel estat avec eulx chevauchois,
 Et tous leurs faiz assez Je z regardois,
 A la fin tele
 Qu'en aucun temps a Jen sceusse nouvelle
 Dire, & comment la traison mortelle
 Bien tost apres sensuy moult cruelle,
 Com vous orrez.
 Maiz la conquete avant dire morrez
 Que le roy fist, qui estoit demourez
 Devant les boiz, aux tentes & b aux tres,
 Avec ses gens.
 De deslogier fu chun diligens,
 Quant les bons hoñs bñ 11^m & cinq cens,
 Qui ou pais estoient residens,
 Furent venus
 Pour abatre des boiz c grans & menus ;
 Car de chemins adonc ny avoit nulz ;
 Noncqs maiz hoñs, tañ feust de gēs pourveuz
 Hardiz ne preux,
 Ny pot passer, tant d sont les boiz perilleux :
 Et savez vous coment en plus lieux

y Ennuy, dueil. P.

z Regarderoye. P.

a Je sceusse. P.

b Es trefz. P.

c Et grans. P.

d Si Sont. P.

Fait si parfont, que qui neust^e bien songneux
De regarder
Ou len^f marche, il y fault enfondrer
Jusques aux rains, ou tout dedens entrer ;
Et pour ce nuls ne les puet atrapper ;
Cest leur retrait.
Ainsi les bois passasmes tout atrait,
Car les irloiz doubtoiët moult le trait :
^g La menoiënt tel criere & tel bruit,
Qua mon advis
On les eust bien dune grant lieue oys
A pou de dueil ; nesragoient tous vifs
Pour les archrs, qui souvët viz aviz
^h Dent⁹ eulx estoient.
Lavangarde moult souvent assailloient,
Et de dardes si grans cops ilz gettoient,
Que haubergon & les plates pcoient
De part en part :
Dangloiz firent ⁱ morir beaucoup apart,
Quant en fourrage aloient quelqpt,
Sans atendre levee de lestendart ; ^k
Car mons & vaulx
Courent phustost du pais les chevaulx
Que cerf ne fait quant il a fait gns saulx : ^l
^m Cest pourquoy ilz firent foison maulx
Et grant dommage
Aux gens du roy, qui ot fier le courage,
Veu que telz gens, qui sont psq' sauvage,
Vot soubzmettre du tout en son svage,
Et conquerir.

^e Nest. P. ^f On. P. ^g La demenoient tel cry et tel bret. P. ^h Deulx. L.

ⁱ Mourir beaucoup. P. ^k Leure et lestendart. L. Leure de lestendart. P.

^l Il fait ses grans saulx. P. ^m Cest ce parquoy. P.

Et de fait vint pour mercy requerir
 Loncle propre maquemore cheir
 Aux piez du roy, car paour ot de mourir,
 Une journee,
 La hart au col, tenant nue lespee;
 Dautres yvy foison de sa livree,
 Nulz & deschaulz, cõe gent diffamee
ⁿ Preste de mort.
 Lors quant le roy les vit il ot remort
 De patience, disant, amis, au fort ^o
^p Des maulx quavez vers moi faiz, & le tort
 Je vo⁹ pardonne;
^q Mais que chũn sa foy me Jure et donne,
 Qne desoremaiz serez vraie gēt bonne:
 De tresbon cuer chũn lui abandõne
 La sa demande.
 Quant ce fu fait, a maquemore mande,
 Qui se disoit seigñr et roy dirlande,
^r Ou maint boiz a & pou ya de lande,
 Que ^s si vouloit
 Vers lui venir, la hart au col, tout droit,
 Comme son oncle, a mercy le prendroit;
 Et quaffez terre & chasteaulx lui dõroit
 Ailleurs que la.
 Aux gens du roy maquemore dita,
 Que pour tout lor de la mer ne deca
 Ne le feroit; ains guerre lui fera
 Et encombrier.
^t Trop bien savoit que gueres a mangier
 Norent anglois: car, qui deust enragier,

ⁿ Et pres de mort. P. ^o Au sort. P. ^p Les maulx. P. ^q Mais que chacun sa
 foy me jure et donne. P. ^r Qui maint. P. ^s Sil vouloit. P.
^t Car bien. P.

Trouve neust pas qui vaulsist un denier
▼ Achetter,
Sil ne lavoit o lui fait apporter.
En cest estat faillu lost seiourner
Bien. XI. Jours, sans nulle riens trouver,
Fors seulement
Avoines vers un pou, non pas granment,
Pour les chevaulx, qui estoient souvent
Logiez aux champs, a la pluie & au vent
Tous morfonduz ;
De famine en y ot maints perdus.
Dommes auffi, grans petis & menuz,
La grande paine croire ne pourroit nulz,
Ne le meschief
Quorent angloiz, qui ne porent a chief
De maquemore venir, ains derechief
Leur faisoit moult de paines & de grief
Avoir de fain.
Tel iour yvy Je le bien certain ^u
Que quatre ou six navoient qun seul pain ;
▼ De telz yot qui ne mangerēt grain
Cinq Jours entiers,
x Voire qtz gens chtrs escuiers.
Quant est de moy, feusse bien voulentz
Voulu estre sans argent a poitiers,
Ou a paris ;
Car la navoit esbatement ne ris ;
Mais ^y en lieu travail paine & perilz ;
Dueil pour Joie y estoit bien sviz
Et honourez.

▼ A acheter. P.

^u Je le scay de certain. L. P.

▼ Et tels. P.

x Voire que. P.

^y Mais en cellui. L. En ce lieu. P.

Pour riens ne fust la lost plus demourez :
 Maiz cependant ^z par la mer vient ííí. nefz
 De ^a Dunelme, ou il y ot assez
 Biens & vitaille.

[ENLUMINATION III.]

Pour en avoir y ot souvent bataille ;
 Dedens la mer entroient, coñe en paille ;
 Chũn pour soy y emploia sa maille ;
 Ou son denier,
 Les uns en boire, les autres en mangier.
 Tout fu ríííle sans gueres attaigier.
 Divres y ot, Je croy, plus dun millier
 Celle journee ;
^b Veu que dosore estoit la vinee,
 Et despaigne, qui est bonne contree.
 Par eulx fu la mainte buffe donnee,
 Et maint tatin.
 Non obstant ce, lendemain a matin,
 Le roy parti, tenant le droit chemin
 A dunelme, maugre tout le hutin
 Des ennemis.
 Quant maquemore vers le roy a tramis
 Un mendiant, disant que ses amis
 Vouloit etre, & lui crier mercis
 A Jointes mains :
 Ou ^c que vers lui veuille envoyer au mains
^d Auñ seigñr, qui soient vraiz & certains
 Pour traittier paix ; si que tout soit estains
 Le courroux deulx,
 Qui longueñt avoit este crueulx.
 Ces nouvelles en firent mains joyeux

^z Par la vint trois grans nefz. P.^a Duvelline. P.^b Veu que dosoye en estoit. L. si estoit vinee. P.^c Quenvers. P.^d Aucuns seigneurs qui soient b'n certains. L.

En lost du roy, *car chũn envieux
Fu de repos.
A son conseil demanda leur propos,
Et qui seroit bon de faire ; a briefz mos
Furent daccort, pour le bon nom & los
Quavoit le conte
De glocestre, qui oncques nama honte,
Que il iroit ; maiz que bien lui raconte
Le grante outrage, & a combien ce monte
Ce quil a fait.
Present le roy se parti et de fait
Larriere garde, de quoy il estoit fait
Cappitaine, emmena tout a fait
Avecques lui.
Deux cens lances furent, bñ vous affi,
Et mille archrs, oncs meilleurs ne vy.
Avecqs eulx alay, comme celuy
Qui vouloit voir
Lonneur, lestat, la force et le pouvoir
De maquemore ; & coment son devoir
Vouloit faire pour bonne paix avoir
Et †confermez.
Entre deux bois, assez loing de la mer,
Maquemore la montaigne avaler
Vy, & dirloiz, que pars ne scay nombrer,
Y ot foison.
Un cheval ot sans sele ne arcon,
Qui lui avoit couste, ce disoit on,
Quatreces vaches, tant estoit bel & bon ;
Car pou dargent
A ou pais, pour ce communeñt
Marchandent eulx a bestes seuleñt :

* Chacun envieux. P.

† Confermer. P.

En descendant couroit si asprement
 Qua mon advis
 Oncq̃s maiz Jour de ma vie ne vis
 Courre fĩ tost lievre, cerf ne brebis,
 Nautre beste, pour ẽtain le vous dis,
 Coĩme il faisoit.
 En sa main dextre une darde portoit
 Grant & longue, de quoy mĩlt ẽn gettoit :
 Sa semblante, ẽ ainsi coĩme il estoit,
 Veez pourtraite

[ENLUMINATION IV.]

Jcy endroit, maiz sa gent fu retraite
 Devant le boiz, comme une escharguete.
^b Deulx deux fu la lassemblee faite
 Pres dun ruissel.
 La se maintint masquemore : asselz bel
 Grans homs estoit, ⁱ a merveillez yfnel;
 A veue dueil sembloit ^k fort fier & fel,
 Et homs de fait.
 Lui & le conte parlerent de leur fait,
^l En racontant le mal & le meffait,
 Que maquemore avoit vers le roy fait
 Par pluseurs foiz ;
 Et coĩment tous piurerent leur foyzs,
 Quant le conte de la marche courtoyz
 Firent mourir, sans jugeĩt ne loiz,
 A grant meschief.
 Puis parlerent assez et de rechief ;
 Mais daccorder ne vindrent pas a chief :
 Le congie fu deulx assez proĩt & brief,
 Et le depart.

^g Tout ainsi quil estoit. P. ^b Et deulx. L. Deulx deux fu la. P. ⁱ Merveilles
 isnel. P. ^k Fier, fort, et fel. P. ^l These two lines are omitted in L. MS.

Chūn se mist en son chemin apart ;
Et le conte devers le roy richart
Se retourna, car moult lui estoit tart
De raconter.
Trestout sou fait ^m et son subtil penser,
Et comment riens ne peut en lui trouver,
Fors seulement quil veult mercy crier,
Voire comment
Quil soit c̃tain d'avoir paix ligeñt,
Sans autre grief ne emprisoneñt ;
Ou Ja accort nen fera autrement
Jour de sa vie ;
Et qui cuidra avoir bon, si lenvie.
Cest parole ne fu pas au roy lie ;
La face en ot de mautalent palie,
Ce me sembla ;
Par grant couroux saint edouart jura,
Que jamaiz Jour ne se departira
Dimbernie, Jusquatant quil laura
Ou vif ou mort.
Las ! le grant mal ne le mortel effort
Ne savoit pas, qui lai ⁿ fourdoit a fort
Par ceulx, de qui il atendoit confort
Trestous les Jours.
Et fortune, qui fait tout au rebours,
Ne volt souffrir quil eust plus guere cours ;
Ains lui tourna ses ° iours en douleurs
En bien peu deure.
Lost desloga sans plus faire demeure,
Car de mengier ^p qui vaulsist une meure
Neust on pas trouve la a ^q celle heure :
Pource tout droit

^m Et subtil penser. P.

ⁿ Servoit. P.

^o Joyes. L. P.

^p Que vouldit. P.

^q Telle heure. P.

A dunelme alasmes, qui estoit
^r Bonne ville, car sur le mer seoit :
 De marchandise & de bñs y avoit
 Si grant foison,
^s Que pour tout lost du roy, disoit on,
 Oncques plus chr nen fu char, ne poisson,
^t Pain, ble, ne vin, ne auñ garnison.
^u Si scay Je assez
 Que trente mile estoient ilz passez,
 Qui furent la & entour feiournez :
 Trestous leurs maulx furēt tost oubliez,
 Et leur grief ^x pannie.
 Nous y fusmez, assez plus de quinzaine,
 Aises du corps, coñne poisson en faine.
 Dillande estoit la ville souveraine
 Pour marchander.
 Le roy ne pot maquemore oublier ;
 De ses gens fist ^y bien & bel ordonner
 Trois parties, pour ^a la guerre & trouver ;
 Et leur pria
 De bien faire, difant ^a quil lamenra
 Cent mars dor fin ^b de bon cuer lui doña.
 Chün pour foy ce mot pas noublia,
 Car trefbien sonne ;
 Et son ne peut ^c atrapper sa personne,
 Maiz que Jhus bonne sante lui donne,
 Et que le temps ^d foit passe dautone,
 Que desvestus

^r Tres bonne ville et sur la mer seoit. P. ^s Que par tout lost du roy, ce disoit on. P.

^t Ne char, ne blé, ne autre garnison. L. Ne pain, ne vin, ne autre garnison. P.

^u Ce scay. P. ^x Paine. P. ^y Bel et bien. P. ^a Le querre. P.

^a Qui lamenra. P. ^b De bon cuer donra. P. ^c Omblier. P. ^d Si soit. P.

^e Seront arbres, & de leurs feuilles nuz,
^f Ardre fera les bois grans & menuz,
Si que Je croy quainsi ^{fa} tenuz,
Non autrement.
Ce iour mesmes arriva proprement
De roteland le faux conte et sa gent,
A cent barges garnies grandemît,
Tout pour la guerre;
Connestables estoit lors Dangleterre,
Et duc daumarle, ou il a belle ^tre;
Tout ce quil vot ^g au roy pot ^{bn} requerre
Car se mait dieux,
Ou monde not hoîme quil amast mieulx,
Frere, ne oncle, cousin, Jeune, ne vieulx :
De sa venue ot le cuer molt joieux
Et asseure.
Pars pluseurs foiz lui a il demande,
Connestable, ou avez demoure
Si longuement q̃ nestes arrive
Plus tost a nous.
Il sexcusa ^h haultement devant tous;
Content en fu le roy, car humble & doulx
Estoit vers lui, non obstant qua rebous
De ce quot dit
A voit fait, dont pluseurs foiz fu maudit.
Ainsi fusmes en joie & en ⁱdelit
A dunelme, ou ^t gracieux fit
Bien six sepmaines
Sans point oir de ^k nouvelles ^ctaines
Dangleterre : car pour perilz ne paines
Con ^lentreprist n'y porent venir saines
Barges ne nefz,

^e Veront. P.^f Ardre sera? P.^g Pot bien au Roy requerre. P.^h humblement. L.ⁱ Deduit. P.^k nouvelles b'n certaines. L.^l Nentrepreist. P.

Tant fu le vent contraire de tous lez,
 Et en la mer tempeste fi oultrez,
 Qua mon cuider sur le roy fu yrez
 Nre seigneur ;
 Car ^l entandiz la partie greigneur
 Dengleterre prist le duc par faveur
 Si estranges oncq̃s ^m ne vy pieur
 Jour de ma vie ;
 Et vous lorrez : maiz, que je ne denie,
 Un pou apres la mer fut apaisie,
 Quant au roy pleut, q̃ tout ca jus maistrie
 Vint arriver
 Une barge, ⁿ qui mains yeulx fist plourer :
 Ceulx de dedensouldrent au roy copter
 Comment le duc avoit fait decoler
 Son t^rsorier ;
 Et comment quant il arriva premier
 En son pais il fist aux gens preschier
 Larcevesque de cantorbre fier,
 Disant ainsi ;
 Mes bonnes gens, entendez tous ici.
 Vous savez bien coment le roy banny
 ° A, a grant tort, ṽre seigneur henry,
 Et sans raison ;
 Et pource jay fait impetraçõn
 Au saint pere, qui est nre patron,
 Que trestous ceulx auront remission
 De leurs pechiez
 ¶ De quoy oncques ilz furent entachiez,
 De puis leure quilz furent baptisiez,

^l En temps la diz. P. ^m Noy. P. ⁿ Qui fist mains yeulx plorer. P. ° A moult
 grant tort. L. A grant tort. P. ¶ De quoy Ilz furent en leur vie entechies. L.

Qui † leur aideront tous ‡tains en †suez
Celle journee ;
Et † vefenci la bulle seellee,
Que le pappe de romme la louee
Ma envoie, & pour vous tous donnee,
Mes bons amis.
Vueilliez lui dont aidier ses ennemis
A conquerre, & vous en serez mis
Avecques ceulx qui sont en paradis
Après la mort.
Lors veiffiez Jeune, viel, feble, & fort
Murmure faire, & par commun accort,
Sans regarder ni le droit ni le tort,
Eulx emouvoir,
Cuidant q̃ ce con leur fist assavoir
Feust verite, tous le † courent de voir ;
Car de sens nont gueres ne de savoir
De telz ya.
Larcevesque ce conseil cy trouva,
Pource q̃ nulz esmouvoir ne †soza ;
Car un chun le courroulx redoubta
‡ De vous, chr fire.

[ENLUMINATION V.]

Ce sermon fait, commencerent a fuire
Devers le duc pour vous confondre & nuire,
Vostre pais en conquerant destruire
De plusieurs biens.
Villes, chasteaulx prenant, comme pour siens,
‡ A lui soubz met Jeunes et anciens ;
Aux povres gens, certes, ne laisēt riens
Con puist porter.

† Luy. P.
voir. P.

‡ Soiez. P.
‡ sera. P.

‡ Veez en ycy. P.
‡ De vous, sire. L.

† crurent. L. crurent pour
‡ Lui soubzmet. P.

Pour dieu, fire, pensez de vous haster,
 Affin que tost ^y lui puisiez destourner
 Son emprise, que trop fait a blasmer,
 Ce mest advis.
 Le roy en ot de maltalent le viz
 Descouloure, disant, vien ca, amiz !
 Me veust cest homie ofter de mō pais.
 Biau sire dieux !
 Affembler fist les Jeunes & les vieulx
 De son conseil, pour regarder le mieulx
 De cest affaire : or fu leur accort tieulx
 Un samed
 Dentrer en mer le plus prochain lundi,
 Sans attendre plus long Jour ne demy.
 Et quant le duc dāmarle entendī
 Le partement,
 Dun malice sādvisa, coyement
 Pensant, sil peut, il fera autremēt.
 Au roy sen vint assez secretement
 * Pour tout deffaie
 Ce que trestous avoient peu faire,
 Disant, Sire, ne vous vueille desplaire,
 Car oncques * maiz noy de tel affaire
 Si bien mentir ;
 Ne vous hastez ia fī de vous partir ;
 Il vault trop mieulx con face avāt venir
 Du navire trestout par bon loysir ;
 Car nous navons
 Pas cent barges , coñment nous en yrons ?
 Veu quen la mer le roches par gñs mons
 Son cy endroit, et sest perilleux li fons :
 Mais, venez sa,

^y Len. P.

* Pour deffaie. L.

a Nouy jamais. P.

Il vault trop mieulx envoier pardela
De falsebery le conte, qui tenra
Contre le duc les champs, & lui fera
Asses de guerre ;
Tous les galois aura pour le conquerre ;
Et ^b entendiz nous en yrons par terre
A Watreforde, la envoieiez querre
Par tous les pors
Du navire, si que febles & fors
Puissent passer, & tout v^{re} ost ; alors
Vos ennemis verrez ^c tost pris & mors,
Ou desconfiz.
De tout cecy soiez c^{et}ains & fiz.
Le roy le crut plus que tous ses amis.
Lautre conseil fu deffait & desmis
Tout par le sien.
^d Il en despleut a aucun ancien,
Qui de vray cuer amoient le roy ^{bn},
Disant ^e latendre en tel cas ne vault rien,
Certes, ch'r fire.
Rien ^f ne valu chose quon lui peust dire :
Ses bons amis ^g sen tindrent bien de rire ;
Et en orent au cuer grant dueil & ire.
Sans plus parler
De falsebery fist le conte mander,
Difant, cousin, il vous en fault aler
En engleterre, & au duc resister
Sa folle emprise,
Et que sa gent soit mise a mort ou prinse ;
Et si sachiez comm^{et} ne par quel guise
Il ^h a ma terre ainsi trouble & mise
Encontre moy.

^b En temps. P.^c Tous. P.^d Il despleut moult a aucun ancien. P.^e Lentendre. P.^f Ny. P.^g se tindrent. L.^h Ara. P.

Le conte dit, monf, par ma foy
 Je le feray telement que, Je croy,
 En poy de temps vous en orrez leffroy,
 Ou je mourray
 En la paine. Beau cousin, bien le scay,
 Ce dit le roy, & je mavanceray
 Doultre passer au plus tost que pourray ;
 Car, jamaiz Jour
 De ma vie, nauray bien ne seiour,
 Jusques a tant que le faulx traitour,
 Qui maintenāt ma joue dun tel tour,
 Sera emue :
 Se Je le puis tenir en ma baillie,
 Par tele mort ¹ feray pdre la vie
 Quon en parlera Jusques en la turquie
 Bien longuement.
 Le conte fist appareiller sa gent
 Et ses vaisseaulx po' ptir ^k pröptement.
 Au roy congie prist bien & sagement,
 Et lui pria
 De savancier au plustost quil pourra.
 Le roy ¹ sur savis lui encövenca
 Ancoiz six iours en la mer entrera,
 Coment quil soit.
 Lors le conte, qui grant desir avoit
 De se partir pour deffendre le droit
 Du roy richart, assez prie mavoit
 Doultre passer
 Avecques lui, pour rire & pour chanter :
 Et Je my volz de bon cuer accorder.
 Mon compaignon & moy de la la mer
 Avecques lui

Lui feray. P.
 annonca. P.

^k Proprem't. L.

¹ Sus. L. Le roy sur savis lui encore

En alames : or advint il ainsi
 Qua cornuay le conte descendi,
^m En une belle ville ; Je vous affi,
ⁿ Moult forte & belle
 [ENLUMINATION VI.]
^o En gales fu : la oymes nouvelle
 De lemprise du duc qui fu cruelle,
 Oncques ie croy on ne ^p parlera de telle
 En nul ^{pais} ;
 Car on nous dist quil avoit Ja conquis
 Dangleterre la plus grant pt, & pris
 Villes, chasteaulx, ^q officiës desmis,
 Et en son nom
 Faire par tout au^t Institu^on ;
 Tous ceulx quil ot en indigna^on
 Faisoit mourir sans leur fê pardon,
 Comme seigⁿur.
 Quant le conte oy ^r celle douleur,
 Ce ne fu pas merveilles ^s si lot peur,
 Car des nobles la partie greigneur
 D'Engleterre
 Avoit le duc desia ^t sceu bien acquerre ;
 Soixante mil desirans tous la guerre
 Estoient bien, ce nous fist on accroire.
 Lors promptem^t
 Le conte fist faire son mandement
 Par my gales, & par cestre, co^ment
 Tous gentilz ho^mis, arch^{rs}, & au^t gent,
^u Tost sur leur vie,
 Vin^sent ^v a lui pour tenir la ptie.
 Du roy richart, qui ne les haioit mie.

^m Un ville qui est. P.

ⁿ Forte & belle. L.

^o En gales. P.

^p Parla. L. P.

^q Et officiers. P.

^r Telle. P.

^s Sil ot. L. P.

^t Pour. P.

^u Tost sur vie. L.

^v vers. P.

De ce faire orēt tresgrant envie,
 Cuidant pour vray
 Quarrive feust le roy a cornuay.
 Avant quil feust ^u IIIJ. Jours, bn le scay,
 Quarante mil furent faisant ^w assay
 Et moustre aux champs,
^z Qui de vray cuer furent tous desirans
 Davoir bataille a tous les malveillans
 Du roy richart, qui fu preux & vaillans
 Tant quil dura.
 Lors le conte, qui assez endura
 Paine & travail, vers eux tous sen ala
 Jurant, Jhus, qui pour nous se laiffa
 Pendre en la croix,
 A vant quil soit acompli des Jours trois,
 Tendra le duc & ses gens si estrois ^y
 Que plus avant ^z ny vont a celle fois
 Gastant pais.
 Un pou apres le conte ses amis
 Trouva aux champs trestous ensemble mis;
 A eulx parla, disant par bon advis,
 Mes bonnes gens,
^a Soions trestous de vengier diligens
 Le roy richart, qui est ^b ya absens,
 A fin tele quil soit de nous contens
 A tousiours maiz;
 Quant est de moy, Je ne pense jamaiz
 A reposer ne a prendre relaiz
 Jusques atant quaray fait mes effaiz
 Encontre ceulx,

^u Quatre. P.
^y destrois. L.

^w Essay. P.
^z nyront. L. P.

^z Qui furent tous de vray desirans. P.
^a Soyes. L. ^b ycy. L. P.

Qui sont vers lui si felons & crueulx.
Partons dici & alons tost sur eulx :
Dieux nous aidra, se nous somez songneulx
Deulx assaillir ;
Car, selon ce n^{re} loy, soustenir
Doit un chun le droit jusqua mourir ;
^b Dieux le com^{de}mande ^c expressement tenir
En plus cas.
Quant les galois entendirent que pas
Nestoit le roy la, ilz furent tous mas,
^d Lun a lautre murmurant a grant tas,
Plains de freeur,
Cuidant le roy estre mort a douleur,
Et recraignant horrible & g^{nt} rigeur
Du duc, qui fut de lencastre seign^r,
Et de sa gent.
Pas ne furent du conte bien content,
Disant, fire, sachiez certainement
Nous niron^s plus avant quant a p^{nt},
Puis que le roy
Nest pas icy, & scavez vous pourquoy ;
Veci le duc qui soubzmet tout a soy ;
Laquele chose nous est t⁹ grant effroy
Et desconfort,
Car nous pensons bien que le roy soit mort,
Puis quavec vous nest arrive a port ;
Sil feust ici, feust a droit ou a tort,
Chun de nous
Fust dassaillir ses ennemis jaloux ;
Mais nous niron^s pas ore aveq^z vous.
Le conte en ot au cuer si grant courroux,
Qua pou de dueil

^b This line is introduced from L. MS.^c Et expressement. P.^d Lun lautre. P.

^f Nisse du sens, ^g plourant le larme a lueil ;
 Grant pitie fu de veoir son accueil.
 Helas ! dist il, quel honte Je recueil
 Ceste journee !
 Mort, vien a moy, ne fay plus demouree ;
 Fay moy mourir, Je hes ma destinee.
 Las ! or cuidra le roy quen ma pensee
 Ait traison.
 Ce dueil faisant disoit, ^h my cōpaignon,
 Que Jhucst vous face vray pardon,
 Venez o moy, fi ferons champion,
 Je vous en prie,
 Du roy richart, lequel fera icy
 Avant quil soit iiii. Jours & demy ;
 Car il me dist, quant Je me departi
 De ibernie,
 Quil enterroit en la mer fur sa vie
 Avant quil feust la sepmaine acomplie.
 De nous partir, mes seignrs, Je vous pris
 Soions songneux.
 Riens ⁱ ny valu ; comē gens paoureux
 Demourerent tous ^k merentcheux ;
 Grant partie en y ot ^l demueux
 Deulx enfourir
 Devers le duc, pour paour quont de mourir :
 Maiz le conte les fist aux champs tenir
 Quatorze iours atendant le venir
 Du roy richart.
 Par maintez foiz dist le bon conte apart,
 Dangleterre ^m avrez petite part,
ⁿ Mon droit seignr, quant demourez si tart,
 Ce mest advis.

^f Nissi du sens plourant la larme a lueil. L. ^g plorant larme a lueil. P. ^h Amy. P. ⁱ Ne
 valu. P. ^k Melencolieux. L. merencolieux. P. ^l Denvieux. P. ^m Avez. P. ⁿ Moul. P.

Que peust ce estre ? vray dieu de paradis !
Certes je croy que vous estes trays ;
Quant de vous noy ne en faiz ne en diz
Nouvelle vraie,
Helas ! je voy que ceste gent sesmaie
De peur quilz ont, que le duc ne les haie.
Il me lairont, ce ne sons que gens laie
Et non sachant.
Ainsi disoit a lui mefmes aux champs
Le bon conte, qui estoit chevauchans
Avecques eulx, lesquelz en pou de temps
Tous le laisserët.
Les uns au duc tout droit si sen alerent, °
Et les autres en gales retournerent.
Le conte ainsi enmy les champs planterent
Seul, fors sa gent,
Qui ne furent pas, ce cuide Je, un cent. P
Grant dueil faisoit, disant piteusñt,
Retraions nous, car trop va malement
Nre emprise.
Le conte ainsi sa vie moult desprise,
Car il voit bien quil na ne mort ne prise ;
Les gens du duc ce forment li atise
Au cuer despit.
Les ennemis sans plus faire respit
Savancerent ; car on leur avoit dit
Que le conte son assemblee fist
Pour encontre eulx
Venir a fort : le duc en fu joyeux ;
De nulle rien nestoit si desireux,
Fors seulemt⁹ de combatre a tous ceulx
Qui deffendre

° Si en alerent. P.

P Ce cuide un cent. L.

Le roy richart vouloient ou atendre.
 Son chemin fist, le plus droit quil pot prendre,
 Devers le conte, le quel sen ala rendre
 A Cornuay
 Plain de douleur de tristesse et desmay.
 Grant mal men fist certes, car Je lamay
 Parfaitement, pource que de cuer vray
 Amoït francoiz ;
 Et si estoit humble, doux & courtoiz,
 En tous ses faiz, & de cñn la voiz
 Avoit destre loyal en tous endroiz,
 Et tñn preudoms ;
 Moult largeñt donnoit, & de preulx dons ;
 Hardi estoit, et fier comme lions ;
 Et si faisoit balades & chancons,
 Rondeaulx & laiz,
 Tresbien & bel ; si nestoit il que homs lais,
 Non obstant ce estoient tous ses faiz
 Si gracieux que Je croy que Jamaiz
 De son pais
 Nistra hoñne on dieux ait tant ^a bien mis
 Comme en celui : son ame en paradis
 Puist estre mise avec les sains tousdis,
 Car laidement
 Lon fait mourir depuis a grant tourmēt,
 Comme martir maintenant loyaulment
 Raison & droit ; vous orrez bien coñment,
 Se dieu me gart.
 Mais la venue avant du roy richart
 Vous vueil compter, ^r qñl fu pour lui troptart ;
 Car xvij. Jours apres ñre depart
 De ybernie

^a A bien. P.^r qui fu. L. P.

Demoura il ; ce fu trop grant folie :
Par q' ce fu Jhucrist le maudie,
Et confonde du corps & de la vie,
Car bn monstra
Lamour quil ot au roy, qui tant lama.
Par tout son ost de chargier comanda
Barges & nefz, & dentrer qui pourra
Armes porter.

[ENLUMINATION VII.]

Ainsi passa le roy richart la mer
En pou de temps, car lair fu bel & cler,
Et le vent bon, qui le fist arriver
Avant deux Jours
A milleforde : la ne fist pas seiours,
Veu * le meschief, les plaintes & les plours
Des povres gens, & les mortels doulours
Que chun ot.
Lors savifa que fans dire nul mot
Se partiroit a minuit de son ost,
A pou de gent, car pour rien il ne vot
Estre apercus.
De robe estrange fu la endroit vestus,
Comme un † prestre qui a pou de menus,
Pour la doubte quil ot destre congneux
De ses nuisans.
Las ! il cuidoit que le conte les champs
Tenist encores avec ses combatans ;
Pour ce vers lui estoit fort chevauchant
Triste & pensis.
Or est raison que sachiez ses amiz,
Qui avec lui estoient aux champs mis :
Le duc dexcestre son frere je li vis ;
Et savisay

* les meschiefs. P.

† presbitre. P.

Avec lui le bon duc de Soudray,
 Qui fu loyal Jusqua la mort & vray ;
 Et de clocestre le conte sans esmay
 Fu avec eulx ;
 Trois evesques y ot, de quoy les deux
 Ne furent comme gens gracieux,
 Et vous lorrez ; mais avant les noms deulx
 Je vo' vueil dire ;
 Lun levesque de saint david & sire,
 De Gerlic laut⁹, ce fu deulx le mains pire,
 Car du bon roy ne sen volt oncques fuire,
 Ne pour parole
 Quon lui en dist oncques nen changea ^v colle ;
 Le tiers si fu evesque de nicole,
 Qui nacontoit pas une poire mole
 A tous leurs faiz ;
 Car il estoit frere germain parfaiz
 Du duc, pensant que bien feroit sa paix
 Tousiours a lui : la avoit de gens laiz
 Deux chevaliers,
 Tresgracieux en armes, preux & fiers ;
 Estienne scroup fu noïe li primiers,
 Lautre ferbric, qui fu ioins & ligiers ;
 Et si estoit
 Avecques eulx Jenico, ^u qui tenoit
 Pour bon routier, car il ent⁹ prenoit
 De tresgrans fais, ainsi cōme on disoit
 Communement.
 Ainsi le roy sen ala seulement
 Lui quatorziesme ^x celle nuit ppremēt.
 Fort chevaucha desirant briefvement
 Trouver le conte

^v role. P.^u con tenoit. P.^x cette. P.

De salsebery, qui ne tenoit maiz conte
De sa vie, pour le despit & honte
Quil ot du duc, q^o ainsi tout surmonte
⁊ Queel part quil voise.
Tant chevaucha le roy, sans faire noise,
Qua cornuay, ou il a mainte ardoise
Snr les maisons, arriva, qui quen poise,
Au point du jour.
* A lassambler du roy & du contour,
En lieu de joie, y ot * moult grant doulour ;
Pleurs, plains, suspirs ny firent pas seiour
Gemirs ne dueil ;
Certes cestoit grant pitie a voir dueil
Leur contenance & leur mortel acueil ;
Le conte avoit la face de son mueil
Descoulouree ;
Au roy conta sa dure destinee ;
Et comment fait avoit son assemblee,
Quant descendu fut de la mer sallee
En engleterre ;
Et quil avoit tantost envoie querre
Le cefsiers mans & les galois p terre,
Qui de ^b vray cueur vouloient bn conquerre
Leurs ennemis :

[ENLUMINATION VIII.]

Quarante mil furent ensemble mis.
La leur di Je souvent, mes bons amis,
Alons avant : le roy ma cy tramis
Pour vous conduire ;

⁊ Quelque. P.

* Et a lassambler. P.

* yot moult doulour. P.

^b bon. L. Qui de bon cueur voloient aler querre. P.

Sachiez de vray, jusquatant que je muyre,
 Ne vous laray maiz. ^c Je ne les pot duire
 Qun chûn, quant il vit sa queue luire,
 Si sen ala ;
 Les uns au duc, les autres deca ;
 Pource que point ne vous virent droit la,
 Pensant que mort feuffiez pour ^d vray dela
 La mer haultaine.
 Ainsi tout seul demeuray en la plaine ;
 Quant ie les oz tenus pres de quinzaine
 Parmi les champs ; hellas ! trop pou vous aime
 Qui tant tenu
^e En ybernie vous a : tout est perdu,
 Si Dieu nen pense qui en croiz fu pendu ;
 Certes, ie croy que nous sommez vendu
 A fin deniers.
 Le roy en ot tel dueil, qua quart, na tiers,
 Ne le croiroit hoïme, tant soit entiers :
 Son mortel mal ne fu mie ligiers
 Ne son courroux ;
 Disant souvent, glorieux dieux & doulx !
 Qui vous laissastes crucifier pour nous,
 Se par pechie ay trop meffait vers vous
 Mercy vous crie
 A Jointes mains ; et ne confentez mie
 Que Je perde mon pais ^f ne ma vie
 Par ces felons traitres plains denvie,
 Qui hors bouter
 Ainsi me vuellent, et moy defshireter.
 Las ! je ne say quon me veult demander :
 A mon pover ay Je voulu garder
 Justice & droit ;

^c Je ne lez poz duire. P^d vous. P.^e Vous a en Ybernie ; tout est perdu. P.^f et ma vie. P.

Le souverain roy qui hault siet, & loing voit,
En appelle a tesmoing cy endroit,
Si vrayement, que mon las cuer vouldroit
Que trestous ceulx
Qui ont este, sont & seront morteux,
Sceussent bien ma pensee & mes veulx.
Se jay este en droit gardant crueux
Non variable,
Raison le veult; car ^s ferme & estable
Doit estre roy, & tenir ^h soy notable
Pugnir les maux et estre veritable
En tous endroiz.
Las! et pource quay enfuy ces droiz
A mon pouvoir ⁱ passe ces ans troiz
Voire viij. ou x. me tiennet⁹ si destroiz
Ces gens ici.
Glorieux Dieux! dumble cuer ie te prie,
Si vraiment conques ne consenti
Faire nul mal qui ne lot deservi
A mon povoir,
Vueillez de moy povre, las Roy avoir
Misericorde; car Je scay bien de voir,
Que perdus fui, se ne me daingniez voir
Prouchainement.
Or vous vueil dire la maniere coñent
Le connestable, qui gouverna sa gent,
Sans latendre sen ala laidement,
Et enmena
Toutes ses gens, dont trop fort meprins a;
Car oncques plus ^k arme ne prisa;
Et ce nest merveilles; Car pieca
On ne vit faire

^s ferme & b'n estable. L. Car tres ferme et estable. P. ^h son. P.

ⁱ passe a des ans troiz. L. P.

^k ame. L. Arme ne le prisa. P.

Homme tel fait, qui feust de ^lnoble affaire,
 Com de vouloir son droit seign̄r deffaire,
 Lui desirant tout son ^m vouloir pfaire.

ⁿ Icelle nuit

Que le bon roy se parti a minuit
 Du port de mer, la murmure & le bruit
 Leva en lost criant, le roy sen fuit.

Sans dire mot

Le connestable alors grant ioie en ot ;
 Car bonnement trouver voie ne pot
 Pour sen aler ; maiz quant il vit que lost
 F'u esmuez,

Il dit si hault que bien fu entenduz,
 Alons nous ent, nous sōmes tous pduz ;
 Quant monf sen est ainsi sonyus

Soy garentir.

Promptement fist trompetes retentir,
 Et commanda que chūn departir
 Fust tantost prest, puiz que le revenir
 Ne scet du roy.

° La avoit il moult merveilleux desroy

p Nes escrangier & chargier le charroy,
 Chūn bientost apresta son arroy
 Pour sen aler

Lavoir du roy tout en firent mener,
 Robes, Joyaux, or fin & argent cler,
 Maint bon cheval, qui fu doultre la mer,
 Et mainte pierre

^l de si noble affaire. P.
 bon Roy se party a minuit. P.

^m desir. P.

ⁿ La proprement. P. Le

° La avoit il moult merveilleux desroy ;

Chascun b'n tost appresta son arroy

En trousser males et chargier le charroy, L.

p Nefs deschargier. P.

Precieuse qui fu moult riche & chiere,
Maint bon mantel, & mainte ermine entiere,
Maint bon drap dor, & destrange maniere
Maint cramoisi.
De tout ce fu gouverneur sans nul fi
Un, qui ot nom fire thomas de perfi ;
Estuuart fu du roy, le quel fervi
¶ Lot longuement ;
Cest a dire en francoiz proprement,
Le grant maistre dostel principalement.
Le connestable & lui leur parlement
Ensemble firent ;
Un pou apres de la se departirent,
Et leur chemin droit parmi galles ¶ prirent :
Maiz les galois, qui leur traison virent,
Audevant deulx
Vindrent a fort, cy un miltz cy deux,
Disant souvent, traittirs maleureux,
Parcy avant nires plus, fe ¶ niart Dieux ;
Et si laires
Tous le joyaux quen larrecin portez ;
Car le roy pas ne les vouz a donnez.
Ainsi furent engloiz tous destroussez
Par les galoiz ;
Le cariage et trestout le harnoiz
Or, & ¶ argent & ioyaulx, pierres orfroiz
Retindrent eulx ; lors furent bn destroiz
Et courrouciez
Englez ; car mil ¶ y en ot despoulliez,
Qui au duc furent en pourpoint envoiez,
Un blanc baston en leurs mains, & nus piez ;
Car qui nestoit

¶ Moult. P.

¶ tindrent. P.

¶ niait. L. meit. P.

¶ argent, joyaulx. P.

¶ en y. P.

Davantaige montez, la lui failloit
 Dire * dont vient, ne ou aler vouloit ;
 Et son truage paier, fu tort, fu droit,
 Ou estre mort :
 Et sil sembloit a aucun que trop fort
 Feust acroire, non est ; car dun accort
 Furent aians pitie du tresgrant tort
 Et de loutrage,
 † Quau Roy firent Engloiz : las, quel courage !
 Dieux une foiz leur en rendra paiage ;
 Car qui mal fait a autruy ne dommage
 ‡ A essiant
 On voit souvent a venir que tresgrant
 Pugniçon en prent dieux ; car puisant
 Est sur tous ceulx qui ores sont vivant,
 Et ont este.
 Vecy comment engloiz furent treste §
 Par les galoiz, qui deulx norent pitie,
 ¶ En chevauchant, comē gent desroute,
 Cy dix, cy vint,
 Cy quarante, cy cent ; la leur convint
 Laissier ¸ lavoir ; car des montaignes vint
 De ces galois sans nombre, et si advint
 Trop mal pour eulx ;
 Car des chemins ou de trois ou de deux
 Avoient pris tout le plus perilleux,
 Et le mains large ; dieux les fist emeux º
 Daler par la ;
 Car de roches & de pierres ya
 Grant quantite, si ¸ con y chevaucha

* dout. L. P. † Quau Roy firent : las, quel meschant courage ! P. ‡ Fait a
 esciant. P. § taste. L. P. ¶ Ils chevauchoient. P. ¸ leur proye. L. P.
 º evreux. L. P. ¸ com. P.

^f A mesaise, car on me le conta
^g Huit iours apres.
Ensi perdirent tout leur pillage anglez,
Veu que galois les ^h suirent de prez,
Comme hardiz, estourdiz, fors, & frez,
Et gens de fait.
Certez ce fu a mon vueil trop bien fait.
Je ne scay pas ou englez leur retrait
Alors firent, ne ou ils ⁱ firent trait,
Mais Je vous di
Quavant un mois le connestable vi
En lost du duc, con appelle henry ;
Et si estoit li sires de persi,
Qui estuuart.
Avoit este du noble roy richart,
Portant lordre du duc, et daut^o pt
On me dit bn quau matin & au tart
Furent venus
Tout droit a lui, et des aut^os tous nus
Plus de cinq cens, que galois desvetus
En leur pourpains orent, & bien bastus,
Com vous avez
Devant oy, se retenu lavez.
Or vous diray du roy, qui demourez
A cornuay estoit, tous esplourez
Et esbahiz,
Disant, seignrs, pour dieu de paradiz,
Conseillez moy, selon ce ṽre advis ;
Car au besoing voit ^k les hõms ses amis
Communement.

^f A grant meschief, on le me conta. P. ^g Dix. P. ^h suivoyent. P.

ⁱ attrait. L. furent trait. P. ^k li. L. P.

Le duc d'Excestre parla premier¹ ;
 Car frere fu du roy, disant com²ent
 Il seroit bon d'envoier promptement
 Au duc savoir
 Qu'il veult fere, ¹ quel est son vouloir,
³ Ne a quel cause il veult preñe & avoir
 Vñe royaume, vñe corps, vñe avoir ;
 Ne sil veult estre
 Dengleterre roy et souverain maistre,
 De galles prince, & droit sire de cestre.
 Ainsi disoit le ⁴ noble duc d'Excestre
 ° A son beau frere,
 Et ⁵ con lui die que par laceort son pere
 Fu hors banny, si que bien considere
 Ce qu'il fera ; car trop grant vitupere
 A tousiours maiz
 Seroit pour lui, sil failloit que deffai⁶z
 Feust son droit roy par lui ne ⁷ par ses faiz ;
 Celle honte ne ⁸ recouvroit iamaiz
 Jour de sa vie ;
 Et comment tous les roys qui sont en vie,
 Toute noblesse & ⁹ chevalerie
 Sur lui auroient desplaisir & envie,
 Et a bon droit ;
 Et que par toute le monde ¹⁰ on diroit
 De traison le droit miroir seroit,
 Se son seigneur ¹¹ destruire ainsi vouloit,
 Et tout deffaire ;

¹ faire et quel. L. ne quel. P.

³ Ne a quel cause aussi Il vult avoir. L.

² bon. P.

° A son frere. L. Au Roy son frere. P.

⁵ com. P.

⁷ por. L.

⁸ recourreroit. P.

⁹ la chevalerie. P.

¹⁰ lon droit. P.

¹¹ destruire

vouloit. P.

Et q̃yl prende a son pere exemplaire,
Qui son vivant fu doulz & debonnaire,
¶ Ne oncques Jour ne volt penser ne faire
Fors loyaute
Encontre vous ; et hair faulsete :
Trestous ces faiz lui soient bien conte,
¶ Et conques maiz riens ne fu reprouve
A son lignage,
Ou il eust traison ne oultrage ;
Sique pour luy seroit trop grant dommage
Sil four lignoit ainsi a son parage
Par ceste emprise ;
Et comment dieux het celui & desprise,
Qui faulcete maintient en nulle guise ;
Cest * une loy, sicomme sainte eglise
¶ De nous ensengne ;
Et que sa terre ainsi toute reprenge,
Maiz que vers vous au moins a mercy viengne
Pour ṽre honneur ; et se venir ny daigne
Il convindra
Autre conseil adviser qui pourra ;
Se bon vous semble, ainsi on lui dira,
Et regardons qui devers lui Ira,
Car le haster
Nous est besoing, sans plus gueres tarder,
Voire maiz que vous vueilliez accorder
Ce que jay dit, ou qui pourra trouver
Conseil meilleur
Si le die, pour dieu ñre seigneur ;
Car entre nous ne doit avoir faveur ;
Nous sommes pou, & si est la rigueur
Du duc crueuse,

¶ Noncques nul jour. P.

¶ Et onques. P.

* n're. L. P.

¶ Le nous enseigne. P.

Comme vous veez, et pour nous perilleuse.
 Lors respondi le roy de voix piteuse,
 Vous dites voir, beau frere, gracieuse
^a Voir avez quiz ;
 Car, quant a moy, il ne mest pas advis
 Que par nous feust nul meilleur conseil pris.
 Mes beaux cousins, & mes loyaulx amis,
 Chũn en ^a dit
 Son bon semblant, pour dieu Je vous en prie ;
 Veu quil touche ñre honneur & no vie ;
 Car duc henry, que Jhu crist maudie,
 Nous het amort ;
 Et si a il certes vers nous grant tort ;
 Or ^b regardant se nous sommes daccort,
 Et se chũn de vous a cest accort
 Tenir se veult.
 Lors dirent tous, oil ; Car on ne peut
 Ou monde mieulx trouver, veu qui se ^c deult,
 Querir luy fault remede ; & sil sesmeut
 Ains quil soit heure,
 En peril est que la mort nen enqueure,
 Ou que le blasme tout ne lui ^d demeure.
 Ainsi daccort furent ilz a celle heure,
 Com Je vous di,
 Pour envoier devers le duc henri.
 Or advint il que par eulx fu choisi
 Le duc dexcestre ; Car on eust ^e failli
 La a trouver
 Homme qui sceust si sagement parler,
 Ne un grant fait ^f prononcer & conter.
 Avecques luy ^g fist le bon roy aler
 Son beau cousin,

^a Voye. L. P. ^a die. P. ^b regardons. P. ^c duet. P. ^d en demeure. P.
^e bien failly. P. ^f et prononcer. P. ^g vult. P.

Qui estoit duc de soudray. le matin
Partirent eulx du roy, lequel de fin
Cuer leur pria de abregier ^hle chemin,
Et de bien faire,
Et que tresbien luy ⁱ comptent tout laffaire,
Que cy devant avez oy retraire,
Affin telle que de lui puissent traire
Accort ou paix.

[ENLUMINATION IX.]

Ainsi du roy ^k partirent eulx; maiz
Du retourner norent pas grant relaiz;
Car duc henry les tint bien aux abais,
Com vous orrez
Icy apres; or estoit demourez
A cornuay le roy tous eplourez,
^l Ou il not maiz de ses amis privez
Que deux ou trois
Avecques lui, tristes, mas & destroiz.
Le conte y fu de salseburi courtoiz,
Et de guerlille levesque grans, & droiz;
Et si estoit
Avecques eulx ferbric, qui pas nestoit
Bien aiseur, car le duc le haioit,
Ne scay pourquoy, mais moult le redoubtoit,
Ce mest advis.
Encor y ot un de ^m leurs bons amis,
Messire estienne scroup nommer ⁿloys;
Pars maintes foiz avec le roy le viz
En ce temps la.

^h leur. L. P.

ⁱ convent. P

^k se departirent, mais. P.

^l Ou il not mais de ses privez. L.

^m ses. P.

ⁿ lui. P.

Mon compaignon & moy fumes droit la.
 Chün pour soy moult fourment sesmaya;
 Car la raison assez si enclina,
 ° Et vraiment
 Nous ne fumes que .xvi. seulement
 A compter tout, nobles & autre gent.
 Or regardez quel meschief, quel tourment,
 Ne quel douleur;
 . Veu la force, lavoir, & la grandeur
 Du roy richart, qui fu si grant seignr,
 Lui estre ainsi ^p demene par faveur,
 Et trayson,
 Et par fortune, qui en toute saison
 A la puissance et domination
 ° De deffaire ceulx qui lui semble bon,
 Comme crueuse,
 Et maistresse puissant, & orgueilleuse,
 Et moult changable, & mlt impetueuse;
 Car darrester tant elle est ennuieuse.
 ° Nul lien nature;
 Et quant ouvrer veult selon sa nature,
 Qui est souvent pou aucunes gens dure,
 Soi bien ou mal, il convient qu'on lendure;
 Car resister
 Ne peut nul contre ce quelle veult donner:
 Les uns fait rire, les autres fait chanter;
 Et puis les fait en douleurs retourner
 Et en misere.

° Comme on peut voir:
 Et si vueil bien que vous sachiez de voir
 Que le nombre de nous ne le pover
 Ne fu pas grant, bien le poverz savoir;
 Car vrayement. P.

^p demoure. P.

^q De faire ceulx qui a lui samble bon. L.

^r Nul lien na cure. L. Na terre. P.

Aucunesfoiz ^a faintement, ^t se destuere ;
 Mais en pñt est crueuse & amere ;
 A roy ^v ne prince en riens ne considere ;
 Tout lui est un ;
 Bien la monstre ; Car des puisans roys, lun
 Des crestiens, sicomme dit chascun,
 De tous ses biens reprendre qun desvin ^u
 Na elle fait.
 Elle fait lun et lautre elle deffait ;
 Cest un droit songe certes que de son fait.
 En elle na nulle riens de parfait.
^x Et pointe nulx,
 Sil estoit sage & dendurer pourveuz,
 De ses folies et muables vertuz
 Ne tenroit compte ; car nous vinmes tous nus
 En cestui monde,
 Povres chaitifs & de tout bn monde ;
 Et si ^y conveñt quen la terre parfonde
 Tous retournons, soit prince roy ou conte
^z Ou qui quil soit.
 De fortune parler plus cy endroit
 Quant a pñt ne vueil ; car qui soit
 Saiges ses bñs pas ne ^a connoiteroit
 Fors par raison.
 Or vueil venir a la conclusion
 Du roy richart, qui par derision
 De fortune, avecques traison,
 A Cornuay
 Estoit tout seul com̃e devant dit ay,
 Plain de tristesse, ^b et de dueil et desmay.

^a saintement. P. ^t se dit mere. L. P. ^v na. P. ^u desieun. P. ^x Et pour
 ce nulz. L. P. ^y comment. P. ^z Ou quel quil soit. L. ^a convoiteroit. P.
^b de douleur. P.

Lui & le conte dirent, car bn le scay,
 Que denvoier
 Devers ses gens, quil laissa avant hier
 An port de mer, seroit t^o grant mestier;
 Affin que sans plus atargier
 Vinssent droit la.
 * Mais cependant Davẽture arriva
 Un chevauteur, qui laler destourna;
 Car au bon roy trestout le fait compta
 Du connestable,
 Qui nestoit pas pour lui trop honorable;^d
 Veu quil disoit sans menconge ne fable,
 Que il estoit par semblant variable
 Par devers lui;
 Et quaussi tost que le roy fu parti
 De milleforde, & quil en ot oy
 Les nouvelles, de la se departi
 Pour sen aler;
 Et le stuuart ne volt pas demourer
 Derriere li; ains fist lavoit trousseur
 Qui encores estoit dedens la mer;
 Et puis apres
 Sen alerent: maiz les galoiz de pres
 Les *suirent, qui furent fors & frez.
 Tout ṽre avoir retindrent eulx, & tres
 Grant quantite
 En tuerent; maiz ceulx qui eschape
 Furent de la tout droit sen sont ale
 Devers le duc, ainsi mest il conte
 † Po^r vray, chr sire.

* Mais daventure ce pendant arriva. L. P.

^d trop pour lui honnorable. P.

* suivirent. L.

† Certes, chier Sire. P.

Et quant le roy lui ot tout laïsié dire,
Sachiez de vray quil not pas fain de rire ;
Car de tous lez lui venoit tire a tire
Meschief & paine.

Vierge Marie, royne souveraine !
Qui de Jhūs enfantas pure & saine,
Ce dist le roy, fortune me demaine
Trop durement.

^a Lors dist, conte de falsebri, comment

^b Chevrons nous du duc & de sa gent,
Qui nous ⁱ maine si douloureusement
Par son povoir ?

Helas ! ils nont pas bien fait leur devoir
Par devers nous, se cest hom̃e dit voir ;
Veu que tousiours de force & de povoir
Avons bien fait

A eulx trestous ; & silz ne sont parfait
En loyaute, dieux verra bn leur fait,
Qui du pescheur scait pugnir le meffait ;
Cest le droit Juge.

Car Je scay bn, quant le Jour du deluge
Sera venu, & quil tendra son iuge,
Que les mauvaiz naront point de refuge
Ne de respit ;

Ains trouveront ce quauront fait & dit ;
Et lors seront de sa bouche maudit
En linfernal paine, si com̃e on dit.

Cest ñre loy.

Pour ce du tout nous atendons a foy ;

Et si dist on souvent, force na loy.

Lors dist le conte, monf, par may foy

Vou dites vray.

^a Lors dit au conte. L.

^b Cheminons. P.

ⁱ demaine. L. P.

La furent ^k ils d'accort qua cornuay
 Ne feroient plus sejour ne delay :
 Car ils orent grant peur & grant esmay
 Et a bon droit.
 A beaumarey sen alerent tout droit,
 Qui a dix mille de cornuay estoit.
 Cest un chastel que prendre on ne pourroit
^l Pas en deux ans,
 Maiz quilz eussent vitaille pour ce temps,
^m Et quil y eust auçns bons deffendans.
 Lun des costez si est assis aux champs,
 Lauñ en la mer.
 Saint edouart le fist faire & fonder,
 Ainsi loy ⁿ a engloiz recorder.
 Le roy ^o cy fut, qui ^p ny volt demourer
 Pas longuement :
 Ains luy sembla que plus seuremēt
 A karnarvan seroit luy & sa gent.
 Ville & chastel y a tresbel & gent
 Et forte place.
 A lun des lez foison boiz pour la chace,
 Et dauñ part la haulte mer y pafse.
 La fut le roy, qui ot souvent sa face
 Descoulouree
 En regrettant sa dure destinee,
 Et maudissant ^q leure & la Journee
 Conques avoit passe la mer salee
 En ybernie ;
 Difant souvent, doulce vierge marie !
 Secourez moy, dame, m^y cy vous crie ;
^r Se vraiment conques jour de ma vie
 Ne deservy

^k eulx. P.^l Pas en x ans. L.^m Mais quilz. P.ⁿ aux. L.^o y. L. P.^p Ne. P.^q Et leure. P.^r Si. L. P.

Envers le duc de me ^schacier ainsi,
Ne a mes gens, lesquelx mont enhay
Sans desserte, et faulcement tray,
Comme on peut voir.
Chun le scet & peut apercevoir.
Elas! et quant on en sara le voir
En douce france, certainement Jespoir
Que mon beau pere
Si en aura au cuer douleur amere ;
Car ce sera pour lui grant vitupere,
Voire & ^tpour tous les royz qui nez de mere
Sont au jourduy ;
Veu loultrage & le tresgrant ennuy,
La povrete & le point ou je suy ;
Et que par ceulx ainsi Je me deffuy
Qui ont este
Tousiours amoy ; or sont ilz retourne,
Ne say pourquoy, helas! quel faulsete.
A tousiours maiz leur sera reprouve ;
Tant que le monde
Sera durant, et que la mer profonde
Pourra getter ^vne ^umaree ne onde ;
Car ce fait cy a trop grant mal redonde
Pour eulx trestous.
Glorieux dieux! qui morustes pour nous
Pendant en croix, de vos yeulx beaulx & doulx
Vueillez ^sme voir ; car nul aut⁹ que vous
Si ne me peut
^vA or besoing aidier ; et si mestuet
Perdre ma terre ^sou ma vie, il estuet
Tout prendre en gre, se fortune le veult ;
Car autremnt

^s Chatier. P.^t Par. P.^v Getter maree ne onde. P.^u rivere ne onde. L.^v moy. L.^v A ce. L. P.^s Et ou ma vie. P.

Ne peut estre qua son commandement.
 Ainsi disoit le roy richart souvent,
 En souppirant ^a de cuer piteusement,
 Tant que, par ^b mame,
 Plus de cent fois en gettay mainte larme.
^c Nil nest vivant si dur cuer ne si ferme,
 Qui non eust pleure, veu le diffame
 Con lui faisoit.
 Encores ya trop pis ; car il navoit
 En ses chasteaulx la ou retrait sestoit,
 Garnison nulle, ne couche ne savoit
^d Fors quen la paille.
 Quatre ou fix nuis y coucha il sans faille ;
 Car vrayement qui ^e vaulfist une maille
 Ne eust on pas ^f la trouve de vitaille,
 Ne dautre chose.
 Le grant ^g meschief çtes dire ie nose
 Que le roy ot, qui ^h ne fut pas grant pose
 A karnarvan ; car petit y repose,
 Considere
 Le mal quil ot, & le grant pourete.
 A cornuay sen est il retourne,
ⁱ Ou il a moult sa femme regrete
 Disant ; mamie,
 Et ma compaignie, Jhũ crist le maudie,
 Qui de nous deux fait telle departie
 Et si honteuse, il ne nous aime mie :
 Jen muir de dueil.
 Ma belle suer, ma dame, et tout mon vueil,
 Quant voir ne puis ṽre plaissant accueil,
 De tout mon cuer tant de douleur recueil
 Et de grevance,

^a Du cuer. P. ^b Marme. P. ^c Nil nest au monde. L. P. ^d Fors en. L.
^e vouldist. P. ^f Trouve la de vitaille. P. ^g misere. L. P. ^h ne fit pas. L. ⁱ La ou il a. P.

Que souvent fui pres de desesperance.
Las ! Ysabel, droite fille de france,
Vous souliez estre ma Joie & mesperance
Et mon confort.
Or voy Je bñ que par le grant effort
De fortune, qui a maint homme mort,
Mestuet de vous eslongier a grant tort ;
Parquoy Jendure
Au cuer souvent une douleur si dure,
Que Jour & nuit Je sui en aventure
De recevoir la mort amere & sure ;
Et ce nest pas
De merveilles, considere le cas
De moy, qui sui cheut de fi hault fi bas ;
Et de perdre ma Joie & mon foulas
Et ma compaigne ;
Et si voy bñ qñ nest nul qui se faigne
De me faire desplaisir & engaigne.
Elas ! chun me mort ^k ou me dehaigne :
Or en soit dieux
Loe, qui est la sus en ses sains cieulx.
Ainsi disoit le roy plourant des yeulx
Piteusement ; car il ne povoit mieulx
En ce temps la.
Or vous diray comment le duc ouvra
Du frere au roy, qui devers lui ala
Avec le duc de soudray, qui ama
Tresloyaument
Le roy richart, & tant que laidement
En recut mort de puis a grant tourment,
Com vous orrez assez prochainement,
Ce dieux me gart.

^k Et me dehaigne. P.

Tant chevaucherent les deux ducs main & tart,
 Qua cestre vindrent, que le duc de sa part
¹ Avoit prise, sans assault, ^m par son art
 Et par son sens.
 Ilz entrerent entre eulx deux dedens :
 Avecques eulx y ot grant foison gens
 Cuidant quilz feussent deservir le roy lens,
 Et qua henry
 Duc de lancastre vinffissent crier mercy.
 Mais grant folie les fist penser ainsi ;
 Car pour tout lor dengleterre guerpi
 Ne leussent pas
 Au duc henry. furent menez le pas
 Droit ou chastel, qui fu fait acompas.
 Au cuer en ot grant Joie & grant soulas
 Quant il les vit :
 Tres bonne chere par semblance leur fist ;
 Et puis apres au duc dexcestre dit,
 Or ca, beau frere, sans plus de contredit,
 De ^a vör nouvelles
 Je vous ^o supple que vous me diez quelles
^p Ilz sont. beau frere, ^q y ne sont pas trop belles
 Pour monfeigneur, ains sont laides & felles,
 Dont moult doulant

[ENLUMINATION X.]

Sui et marry : et lors lui va comptant
 Tressagement tout ce qui cy devant
 Avez oy, quant ilz furent partant
 Davec le roy ;

¹ Avoit Ja prise. L.^m De son art. P.^a vos. L. P.^o suppli. L. P.^p Y sont. P.^q Ilz. P.

Et que pour lui sera trop grant desroy,
Sa son feigneur ainsi faulse sa foy ;
Et que banniz par le vueil & ottroy
De son bon pere
Fu ; sique bien tout ce fait considere ;
Et comment a tous les roiz nez de mere
Fera grant honte et igrant vitupere ;
Et que haiz
Sera de ceulx qui sont ses bons amis ;
Et que tous ceulx seront ses ennemis,
Qui aymeront honneur, loyaute, ^r pris
Et vasselaige ;
Et quil fera grant honte a son lignage
A tousiours maiz, sil fait un tel oultrage ;
• Veu doit quil doit estre un grant feigñr & saige
Et attrempe.
Maiz sainsi est que de sa volente
Ou de force par lui desherite
Soit son droit roy, il fa compare
A guenelon,
Qui ^t a son temps fist mainte traison,
Par quoy moururent maint chr & bon.
Si que, pour dieu, ^u ceste comparaison
Ne vueille avoir.
Et quil aura sa terre et son avoir,
Maiz quil face desoremaiz son devoir ;
Et que le roy de bon cuer & vouloir
Lui pardonna ^v
• Trestout loutraige, & ce que fait lui a.
Ainsi le duc dexcestre lui compta
Tresbien & bel son fait ; & si osa
Bien hardement

^r Et pris. P.

• Veu quil doit. P.

^t En son temps. P.^u Telle. P.^v Pardonra. L. P.

• Trestant. P.

Parler a lui ; car sa suer proprement
 Ot espousee, et si fu son parent.
 Encor lui dist ⁷ dextestre gent,
 Je vous supplie,
 Mon ⁸ beau frere, que promptement baillie
 Nous soit response du tout ou en partie ;
 Car mon⁹ nous attend, qui nest mie
 En tresbon point.
 Lors dist le duc henry, moult bien apoint
 Le mavez dit ; maiz meshuy nirez point,
 Ne de sepmaine, se Jhücrift me doint
 Sante & joie.
 Raison nest pas que si tost vo⁹ renvoie.
 Vous nestes pas messagiers pour moñoie ;
 Et monfeign^r, quicy vous envoie,
 Nest pas bien saige.
 Ne pavoit il trouver aut⁹ melsaige
 Que de vous deux ? cest petit vafselage
 De gens qui sont de si t⁹ hault parage
 Cy envoier.
 Ainsi les volt le duc ⁸ contraher ;
 Mais son beau frere ne cessoit de prier
 Quil leur veulfist le congie ottroyer
 Pour en aler,
 Disant, fire, le roy pourra penser
 Que traison nous fait cy demeurer :
 Celle honte ne pourrons recouvrer
 Jamaiz nul Jour.
 Sique, pour dieu, beau frere, et pour honneur,
 A fin tele que naions deshonnour,
 Laissiez nous ^b ent aler, ^c par vraie amour
 Vous en prions.

⁷ Le Duc dextestre gent. P.⁸ Bon. P.⁸ Contralier. P.^b En. L. P^c Pour. P.

Lors dist le duc, qui fut fiers com lions,
Nen parelez plus, beau frere ; qñt faifons
Il en fa bien, vous renvoierons
Devers le roy ;
Et ne vous veez plus ycy devant moy ;
Car Je vous jure, et promet, p ma foy,
Que de cest mois p̃mier pour quelque ^d envoy
Ne * meschaprez.
Ainsi furent les deux ducs demourez,
Qui au cuer orent du desplaisir aſsez,
Considerant que le duc fu yrez
A eulx pour leure,
Et regretant le roy, qui seul demeure,
Sans ^f ame avoir qui laide ou sequeure.
Ainsi chũn des deux ducs souvent pleure ;
Maiz tout souffrir
Leur convenoit, plaisir & desplaisir.
Le duc henry les fist en deux partir.
Avec lui fist son beau frere tenir
Le duc dexcestre ;
Et le bon duc de foudray fist il mettre
Et enfermer ens ou chastel de cestre :
Ou il ya mainte ^g belle fenestre
Et maint hault mur :
Il me souvint du chastel de namur,
Quant ie le vi ; tant est il hault & dur.
La ne fu pas le bon duc trop aſseur,
Et a bon droit.
A vj. mile de la ville y avoit
Vn aut⁹ fort, que hault on appelloit.
Sur une roche moult hault assis estoit.
En cependent

^d esmoy. L. annoy. P.
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* meschappez. P.
2 Y

^f arme qui lui aide. P.

^g bonne. P.

Ala le duc a tout son ost devant :
 Ceulx de dedens orent pour ^h si t' ⁹ grant
 Qu'il ne soient que faire ; non obstant
 Que pour certain
 Savoient bien que le duc un seul grain
 Ne les pouoit grever ne soir ne main ;
 Car le chastel est si fort & si fain,
 Qua mon advis,
 On ne leust pas par force en dix ans ¹ prins ;
 Veu la montaigne ou il estoit assis :
 Et si estoit tresgrandement garnis
 De bonnes gens.
 Cent hommes darmes y avoit il dedens,
 Voire deslites, & garnis de grant sens
 De par le roy richart ; mais diligens
 Ne furent pas
 De bien garder l'entree ne le pas,
 Qui est estroite, & si faut pas pour pas
 Aler ^k a pie amont ; mais comme las
 Et pouereux ¹
 Le rendirent au duc, qui fut songneux
 D'entrer dedens, plus conques maiz Joyeux ;
 Car il y ot Cent mille mars et mieulx
 D'esterlins dor,
 Que le bon roy richart la en tresor
 Faisoit garder, & si avoit encor
 D'autres Joyaulx grant foison ; p' saint m^{or},
 Joy conter
 Qua deux cens mille mars dor estimer
 Pouoit on bien ce qu'on pot la trouver.
 Le duc henry en fist tout emmener
 Avecques lui.

^h paour si grant. L.¹ pris. P.^k amont a pie. P.¹ paoureux. L. P.

Ainsi fu Hoult rendus, com Je vous di,
Et tout lavoir du roy richart saisi.
Si estoit il dartillerie garny
Et de vitaille,
De pain, de vin, deaue douce & daumaille
Bien pour six ans. ^m tels gens pas une paille
Ne valent ^a mie ; car sans faire bataille
Ne eulx deffendre,
Au duc henry tantost le ^o voldrent rendre.
Pleust ore a dieu quil les eust tous faiz pendre.
La ne volt il pas longue^mt attendre,
Ains retourna
Tout droit a cestre, ou trestous ceulx manda
De son conseil, & lors ^p il leur pria
Que chascun die ce quil lui semblera
Bon estre fait.
^q Larchevesque de cantorbie a fait
Par devant tous ^r la reponse, & de fait
Dist ; beau seigneurs, le roy richart retrait
Si est en gales,
Ou il ya maintes montaignes males,
Par ou ne peut passer chairroy ne males :
Daut^o part est la mer, ou maintez ales
Peut on pesc^r.
De lui v^re ost ne ^a pourrez aprouc^r ;
Mais il convi^t devers lui envoier,
Et li Jurer & enconvenancier,
Que bonne paix
Voulez avoir a lui a tousjours maiz,
Maiz quil vueille jurer, q^o ^p lui faiz
Un parlement sera, ou les mauvais
Seront pugnis

^m telle gens une maille. P.^a pas. P.^o voient. P.^p moult. P.^q Lors Larchevesque. P.^r la reponse de fait. P.^a pourroit. L.

Par qui ses oncles furent a la mort mis.
Ainsi serez desoremais bons amis.

†

Et quil ordonne
Telle journee qui lui semblera bonne,
Et en tel lieu que chascune psonne,
Soit clerc ou lay, ch̃tr, ^u prestre ou monne,
‡ Le puisse voir ;
Car autrement ne les povez avoir,
Veu quil a bien maugre no⁹ le povoir
Dentrer en mer au matin et au soir
Pour sen aler :
Car il a fait du navire arrester
A Cornuay, Jay lay ouy compter,
Sil quil vous fault sur ce fait aviser
Ce mest advis.
Or en dites, mes seigneurs et amis.
Lors dit ch̃un, oncques maiz Je noys
Meilleur conseil, par dieu de paradis,
Comme le sien.
Le duc henry dist lors, tresbel et bien
‡ Fera le fait, et sera bon moyen.
Northomberlant le conte ancien,
Mon beau cousin,
Je lo quil parte demain au plus matin,
Sans retourner Jamaiz a quelque fin,
Jusques a tant que, par paix ou hutin,
Le roy amaine ;
Et † avecques lui ^c _{IIIJ}. lances mane,
Et mil arch̃rs, qui ‡ prenront assez paine ;
Car je desir plus que chose mondaine
A le tenir.

† Et lui crirez tres humblement mercis. P.

^u Presbitre, chevalier ou moine. P.

‡ La. L.

‡ Sera. P.

‡ quavec. P.

‡ deux cens lances. P.

‡ pourront. P.

Lors dist au conte, beau cousin, departir
Soiez soigneux, et de bien acomplir
Vre emprise ; car nul plus grant plaisir
Ne me povez
Faire ^b au monde : pour dieu or vous hastez ;
Et ie seray a cestre demourez,
Tusques a tant que vous ^c retournerez,
Ou que nouvelle
Aie de vous, qui mon cuer renouvelle
En plaisance. dieux doint quelle soit telle,
Dist le conte ; par sens ou par cautelle
Je lamenray.
Ainsi party le conte sans delay :
Tout au plus droit quil pot a cornuay
Prist son chemin, pensant & plain desmay
Comment pourra
Le roy avoir : ainsy fort chevaucha
Lui et ses gens, tant que il arriva
A un chastel, que flint on appella,
Qui est moult fort.
Dedens manda quon luy rendist le fort
De par le duc henry, ou tous a mort
Seront livrez sans leur faire deport
Ne nul respit.
Ainsi la porte par paour on ly ^d ouvrit :
Les gens du roy richart hors bouter fist,
Et de ses gens grant partie y comist
Pour le garder.
En ce chastel, que flint moez nommer,
Fu prins le roy, com vous orrez compter
Yci apres. or fist ses gens haster
Northomberlant

^b en ce monde. P.

^c retournes. P.

^d rendit. L.

De la tous droit ^e a la rothelant ;
 Ou il trouva chemin fort et pesant :
 Mainte montaigne et mainte roche grant
 A entre deux.
 Oultre passa le plus bel et le mieulx
 Qu'il onques pot, ^f alors fu moult joieux.
 Il envoya au chastelain, qui vieulx
 Chlr fut,
 Dire que tost le fort lui ^s fu rendu
 Ou nom de duc, ou il sera pendu,
 Lui & tous ceulx qui y seront tenu
 Sans en avoir
 Nulle pitie : non pas pour tout lavoir
^h Du royaulme neschapperont pour voir,
 Que de la mort le morsel recevoir
 Ne leur en face,
ⁱ Sil ne rendent le chastel & la place.
 Le conte ainsi le chastelain menace,
 Le quel en ot de peur toute la face
 Descoulouree ;
 Car il avoit garde mainte Journee
 Ou nom du roy le chastel et lentree,
 Qui est moult fort ; veu que la mer salee
 Vient es fossez ;
 Et daut⁹ part est ^k il moult hault troussez
 Sur une roche, et les murs fors & ^l lez
 De grosses tours est il bien reparez.
 Mais le viellart
 Ot si grant paour au matin & au tart,
 Qu'il lui rendi les clefs comie couart ;
 Et si lui ot prie le roy richart
 Moult doucement

^e alu a Rostellant. P.^f along. P.^s feust. P.^h De ce Royaume. P.ⁱ Silz ne rendeist. P.^k si moult. P.^l leez. P.

Quil ^m regardast ; veu que tresgrandement
Estoit garnis de vin et de froment ;
Car il y ot este prouchainnement
Et moy o lui.

Le chastelain au conte la plevy,
Ou nom du duc quon appelle henry,
Desoremaiz lui ^a rendr⁹ par tel sy
Quil demourroit

Toute sa vie chastelain la endroit.
Le conte en fu daccort : or ny avoit
Que dix mile de chemin assez droit
A cornuay,

Ou le roy fu en dueil et en esmay.
De la venue au conte riens de vray
^o Ne savoit il, maiz souvent dist, ne say
Que ce peust est⁹ ;

Glorieux dieux, qui me fistes nestre !
Que peut avoir mon beau frere dextestre ?
viii. Jours ya quil est ale a cestre
Pour accorder

Le duc & moy ; or nescet retourner.
Certes, Je croy quilz ont a endurer
Paine ou meschief : ie nen fay q̃ penser
^p Ne quen dire.

Ainsi le roy estoit a grant martire,
Veu le meschief, qui sur lui tire a tire
Venoit a fort pour le plus desconfire ;
Maiz non obstant

Graces rendoit a dieu le tout puissant.
Or est raison que de northomberlant
Sachiey le vray, et ce quala pensant
Pour mieulx avoir

^m le gardast. P.

^a rendi. L. Tenroit. P.

^o Ne scavoit, mes souvent. P.

^p Jen muir tout dire. P.

Le roy richart ; car il fot bien de voir
 ¶ Que se il scet sa force & son povoir
 Pour nulle rien ne se vouldra mouvoir
 De ses chasteaulx.
 Soubs une roche, qui de grans mangonniaux
 Est roide & haute, fist faire ij. monchiaulx
 De ses gens, qui furent frez & noviaux,
 Et desirans
 Davoir le roy, comme felons tirans.
 Hellas ! quelz gens ! questoient ilz pensans !
 Quant par lespasse de bien xxij. ans
 Pour droit seigneur
 Lorent tenu par grant joie & honneur,
 Et puis apres le deffaire a douleur,
 Il mest advis que cest si grant * erreur,
 Qua tousiours maiz
 On les devoit tenir pour t⁹ mauvaiz,
 Et que croniques * roumaulx en feussent faiz,
 A fin quon vist plus longuement leurs faiz
 Et vafselage.
 Le conte alors fu soubtil & saage ;
 Dist a ses gens, gardez bn ce pafsaige ;
 Et je men voiz p dessus le rivage,
 Moy sixiesme ;
 Et, se dieu plaist, ains quil soit demain prime,
 Au roy diray, ou par prose ou par rime,
 Telles nouvelles, sil nest plus dur que lime
 De fin acier,
 Je le feray, ce croy je, deslogier.
 Maiz gardez vous sur la mort de bougier,
 Jusques atant que verrez repairier
 Le roy ou moy.

¶ Que se il scet. P.

* crueur. P.

* nouveaulx. L. P.

Ainsi se mirent en gracieux ^tconvoy ;
Et le conte, sans faire nul effroy,
A cornuay pour acquittier sa foy
Si sen ala.
Devant la ville un bras de mer ya :
Maiz quant le conte par devant arriva,
Au roy richart un herault envoya
Pour demander,
Sil lui plaisoit, quil peust oultre passer
Par saufconduit, pour lui dire & conter
Comment le duc veult a lui accorder.
Lors le herault
Leaue passa, et ou chastel en hault
Trouva le roy, qui ot maint dur assault
Par tristesse : lors lui dist de cuer ^u hault,
Sire, le conte
De northomberlant, qui oncqs nama honte,
Macy tramis, afin que Je vous conte
^v Comment le duc henry paix bonne & prompte
A vous avoir
Veult : sil vous plaist, pour le vray mieulx favoir
Vous lui donrez saufconduit & povoir
De venir ca ; car autrement mouvoir
Ne sozerait.
Salsebery alors, qui la estoit,
Au roy richart dist, que tresbon seroit
De le fe' venir feul la endroit.
Lors au mefsaige
Dist tout en hault le roy en son langage,
De tresbon cuer ottroye le passaige
Au conte de northomberlant q^o saige
Et subtil fu.

Graces au roy. C. foiz en a rendu ;
 Du hault chastel est en bas descendu ;
 Leaue passa, ou le conte atendu
 Lot longuement.
 La lui conta la maniere comment
 Le roy richart tresamoureusement
 Lui ottroya saufconduit bonnement,
 Et lui pria
 De se haster : lors le conte monta
 En un vaissel, & leaue oultre passa.
 Le roy richart ens ^w en chastel trouva,
 Et avec lui
 Trouva le conte de Salsebery,
 Et levesque de karlille ^x aussi.
 La dist au roy, Sire, le duc Henry
 Macy tramis

[ENLUMINATION XI.]

Afin quacort entre vous ^y deux soit mis,
 Et que soiez desoremaiz bons amis.
 Sil vous plaist, Sire, & que Je soie oys,
 Je vous diray
^z Ce quil nous mande, & riens nen mentiray.
 Se vous voulez estre bon juge & vray,
 Et trestous celx qui cy vous nommeray
 Faire venir
 A certain Jour pour justice acomplir
 A westmonstre, le parlement ouir,
 Que vous ferez entre vous deux tenir
 Par loyaulte ;
 Et que grant iuge soit il restitue
 Dengleterre, comme lavoit este
 Le duc son pere & tout son parente
 Plus de cent ans.

^w ou. L. P.^x Autre sy. P.^y Vous et lui. P.^z Et quil. P.

^a Le nom de ceulx qui seront atendants
Le iugement ^b vueil dire : il en est temps
^c Sil vous plaist, sire. oil ; car desirans
Suy de savoir
Lesquelz ce sont. sire, sachiez de voir
Que ṽre frere, ie vous fay assavoir,
Est le premier : le second son devoir
Na pas bien fait ;
Cest de soudray le duc, qui est de fait
Mis en prison, et ou chastel retrait
De cestre ; pas ne scay quil a meffait
Au duc henry :
Laut⁹ est le conte de salsebery ;
Et levesque de kerlille ausi :
Le v^e. sicom ie lentendi
Oy nommer
A monseigñr, made lien : accorder
Vorent ^d ceulx cy, & vous conseil donner
De ṽre oncle faire mort endurer
Tres faultement ;
Et silz dient que non, le jugement
En atendant de ṽre parlement,
Ou vous serez couronnez haultement,
Roy & feigñr ;
^e Et la sera comme iuge greigneur
^f Le duc henry. f̃ans penser a f̃aveur
Ceulx qui aront fait mal vice ne erreur
Ou trayson
Seron pugniz : cest la conclusion
De monseigneur : autre ^g derrision

^a Les noms. L.
car bien fort desirans. P.
^g Desrision. P.

^b Diray, Il en est temps. P.
^d Cecy. P.

^e Et sera. P.

^c Si vous plaist, Sire,
^f De Duc. P.

Ne veust faire que par bonne raison,
 Certes, chr fire.
 Encor vous vueil une aut^e chose dire,
 Que promptemēt vueilliez Journee eslire ;
 Car cest la chose quou monde plus desire,
 Je le say bien ;
 Et si ne veult que sa ſrre & le sien,
 Ne du v̄re ne veult il avoir rien ;
 Car vous estes son droit roy sans moyen ;
 Et se remort
 En conscience du grant mal & du tort
 Quil vous a fait, par le mauvais enort
 De lennemi, qui nulle heure ne dort
 Ne ne sommeille ;
 Ains pour tenter corps humains toudiz veille ;
 Trestout ce fait lui a mis en loreille.
 Si que pour dieu, qui la mort non pareille
 Pendant en croix
 Souffroy pour nous, vueillez estre curtoiz
 A monseign̄r, qui est mas & destroiz ;
 Et lui vueilliez pardonner une foiz
 Vostre courroux,
 Et il vendra a mercy devant vous
 Treshumblement a terre les genoulx.
 Ce fait, apres comme beguins & doulx
 Vous en yrez
 Ensemble a Londres ; ou se tenir voulez
 Autre chemin, que li vous le prendrez ;
 Et lors fa le parlement criez
 Par le pais.
 De tout cecy foiez certains & fis :
 Jen jureray, sur le corps Jhu cris
 De main de prestre sacre, que tous mes dis,
 Et tout ainfi

Comme jay dit, tenra le duc henry
Tresloyaument ; Car il me le plevy
Sur le corps dieu quant je me departi
Derreinement
Davecques lui. or regardez comment
Vous voulez faire, Sire ; car longueñt
Ay demoure. lors lui dit sagement
Le roy richart ;
Northomberlant, or vous tirez a part ;
Et vous avez ains quil soit guerez tart
De nous responce, afin que le depart
Puissiez tost faire.
Lors veïsiez les gens ensus deulx traire.
La parlerent longuement de la faire
Quil avoient au conte oy retraire,
Tant q̃ le roy
Dist ; beau seigneurs, nous lui ferons ottroy ;
Car autre tour par mame Je ny voy.
Tout est perdu : vous le veez comme moy ;
Maiz Je vous Jure,
Quil en mourra de mort amere & sure,
Quelque chose que Je lui asseure ;
Considere loultrage & liniure
Quil nous a fait ;
Et ne doubtez que Ja parleñt fait
A wemonstre ne sera de ce fait ;
Car Je vous ^h avis de cuer se tresparfait,
Que pour mourir
Ne vous lairoie en parlement venir
ⁱ Contre le duc pour son vueil acöplir ;
Car Je scay bn quil vous feroit souffrir
Paine moult dure,

^h aim. L. P.

ⁱ Conte. L.

Et si seriez en trop grant aventure
 De recevoir la mort amere et sure ;
 Veu que plus^k font contre vous murmure.
 Maiz ne doubtez
 Que, maugre eulx, a tousiours maiz serez
 Mes bons amis de moy les plus privez ;
 Car Je vous ay bons & loyaulx trouvez
 Sans mal penser.
 Encor vous di que ieouldray mander
^l Gens parmi galles, et les faire assembler
 Secretement, et qua un jour trouver
 Nous les puiffons.
 Mais que parle au duc henry aions,
 Lors le chemin parmi galles prenrons ;
 Et sil demande pourquoy, nous^m le dirons
 Que de vitaille
 Na par dela valissent une maille ;
ⁿ Tout ont ses gens & sa bataille ;
 Et affin tele q̃ garnison ne faille
 Alons par la.
 Se bon vous semble, ainsi on luy dira ;
 Et je croy bn quil si accordera
 De tresbon cuer ; le conte le nous a
 Dit ensement :
 Et quant trouve ensemble arons no gent,
 Nous desploirons noz banieres au vent,
 Et devers lui yrons ° hastivement
 Et par effort.
 Car Je scay bien de certain, sur ma mort,
 Quant ilz verront mes armes, tel remort
 Aront au cuer, considerant le tort
 Quil maront fait,

^k Ont. P.^l Parmi Galles et les faire assembler. L.^m Luy. P.ⁿ Tout ont gaste. L. P.

° Hastement. P.

Que la moitie de ceulx qui se sont trait
Avecques lui le lairont, & de fait
Venront à nous : car bon cuer & pfaict
Ne peut mentir ;
Et nature les fera souvenir
Quilz me doivent pour droit seignr tenir
Tout mon vivant. Lors les verrez venir
A nous tout droit ;
Et vous savez que nous avons bon droit.
Dieux nous aidra, fe chũn bien le croit :
Se nous ne soĩmes autant en ñre endroit
Comme ilz seront,
Ja pour cela, se dieu plaist, ne lairont
Que la bataille naient ; & se ilz sont
Aucunement desconfiz ; ils seront
A la mort mis :
De telz ya feray escorcñr tous vifs :
Je nen prendroi tout lor de ce pais ;
Sil plaist a dieu que ie demeure vis
Et en sante.
Ainsi le roy leur a dit & conte ;
Et les autres si sont tous accorde
Disant ; Sire, le conte soit mande
De northomberlant ;
Et quon lui face faire tout maintenant
Le serement comme il a dit devant,
Sainsi le fait nous serons accordant
Trestout son dit.
Lors le conte sans plus de contredit
Fu appelez, & le roy lui a dit ;
Northomberlant, le duc cy vous tramist
Pour accorder •
Nous deux ensemble : fe vous voulez jurer
Sur le corps dieu que nous ferons sacrez,

Que tout le fait quavez voulu compter
 Est veritable,
 Sans y avoir pensee favorable
 Nulle quelconques, maiz fermez & estable
 Tenir laccort, come seigneur notable
 Nous le ferons.
 Car je scay bien que vous estes preudons,
 Ne pour avoir robes, joyaux ne dons
 Ne vous vouldriez pariurer : car li homs
 Qui se pariure
 A estiant que honte et iniure
 Ne peut avoir tout le temps q̃ il dure ;
 Et si convient P au derrain quil en muire
 A grant douleur.
 Lors respondi le conte ; monfeigneur,
 Faites sacrer le corps ñre seigneur ;
 Je iureray quil na point de faveur
 En ce fait cy,
 Et que le duc le tenra tout ensi,
 Que le mavez oy compter icy.
 Chũn deulx la devotement oy
 La messe dire.
 Le conte alors, sans plus riens cont⁹ dire,
 Fist le serement sur le corps nostre sire.
 Elas ! le sanc lui devoit bien desrire ;
 Car le contraire

[ENLUMINATION XII.]

Savoit il bien ; non obstant volt il faire
 Le serement tel que moez retraire,
 Pour accomplir son vouloir & parfaire
 Ce que promis •

Avoit au duc, qui lot au roy tramis.
 Ainsi furent entreulx leur compromis :
 Lun pensoit mal, & lautre encores pis ;
 Mais quant au roy,
 Il ne fist pas si grant mal ne desroy ;
 Car on dist bien souvent *force na loy* ;
 Et si ne fist serement ne ottroy
 Comme le conte.
 Il en mourra une foiz a grante honte,
 ¶ Sa dieu nen veut par contriccion conte ;
 Car ce quil fist tous autres maulx surmonte ;
 ¶ Car il me semble
 A ce fait ci nul autre ne ressemble,
 Quant vous larez oy trestout ensemble,
 Ce mest advis ; et pource ¶ qui bn amble
 Droit & avant
 Il regne & vit en prosperite grant
 Et domine en paix ; Jusques atant
 Que la mort vient, que chun atendant
 Est a toute heure,
 Qui defait grans & petis ; tout deveure ;
 Devant ses ¶ cops nulle riens ne demeure :
 Cest un morsel qui trop mauvaiz saveure.
 Or vueille dieux
 Quelle nous preigne en tel point, ques sains cieulx
 Puissons veoir sa face, & ses doux yeulx ;
 Et que vers nous vueille estre doux & pieulx
 Au jour darnier.
 Pour revenir a nre fait premier :
 Le conte au roy pria de savanchr,
 ¶ Disant, Sire, pensons de chevauchr,
 Je vous en prie ;

¶ Sa dieu nen rent par contriccion compte. L. fait par contriccion compte. P.

¶ Ce me semble. L. Comme il me semble. P. ¶ que. L. ¶ corps. L.

Car Je scay bien que le duc grant envie
 A de savoir se la paiz est bastie.
 Elas! le roy le mal ne savoit mie
 Ne le vouloir
 Quavoit le conte, qui le volt decevoir
 En la maniere que cy poez veoir.
 Le roy lui dist, il est temps de mouvoir
 Quant vous voudrez ;
 " Maiz ie lo bien que devant en alez
 A rotelant, et que la aprestez
 Soit le difner. Ainsi que vous voudrez,
 Lui respondi
 Alors le conte ; & de la separti.
 Le roy richart asez tost le suvy.
 Fort chevaucha le conte, tant quil vy
 Toutes ses gens
 Soubz la montaigne, & lors fu il contens ;
 Car il vit bn quilz furent diligens
 Du pas garder par bon v convoy & sens.
 Si leur conta
 Trestout le fait, et comment exploita,
 Et que le roy tantost a eulx vendra.
 Un chun deulx grant ioie en demena ;
 Car le desir
 Quilz avoient de leur feigñr tenir
 Estoit moult grant. apres se volt partir
 De cornuay le roy & sen venir
 A rotelant.
 Leaue pafsa, qui fu moult large & grant :
 Puis chevaucha ííij. miles avant,
 Tant que la roche, ou le conte au pendant
 Estoit tapis

" Mais je lo que. P.

v conroy. L.

Monta le roy, qui fu moult esbahis
Quant il les vit, disant, Je suy trays
Que puet ce estre? vray dieu de paradis,
Vueilliez * me aider.
Lors aux panons quon veoit balloier
Furent congneux; disant, a mon cuidier
Cest le conte, qui nous a fait traittier
Sur sa fiance.
Lors furent tous en amere doubtance.
Jeusse voulu bien alors estre en france;
Car je les vy pres de desesperance,
Et a bon droit
On ne doit estre ebahiz y se destroit
Estoient tous; car nulz deulx ne pavoit
Pour bien fouir eschapper la endroit,
Que retenus
Ne fust ou prins. mais, que soie entendus,
Je vous diray comment le roy venus
Fu si pres deulx, quil y avoit trop plus
A retourner
Jusqua la ville * que la roche avaler,
A la quelle batoit la haulte mer;
Daut⁹ coste on ne pavoit passer
Pour la rochaille.
Ainsi convint passer, vaille que vaille,
Ou estre mort, tout pmy la bataille
Des gens du conte, qui fu arme de maille
A veue dueil.
La demenoit le roy si tresgant dueil
Que pitie fu de veoir son accueil,
Disant souvent, vray dieu, que ie recueil
Meschief & paine!

* moy. P.

y sadestroit. L.

* qua. L.

Or voy ie bien que ceste homme menmaine
 Devers le duc, qui guerres ne nous aime.
 Vierge marye, royne souveraine,
 Vueilliez avoir
 De moy pitie ; car ie scay bien de voir
 Que perdus sui se ne me daigniez voir.
 Ainsi disoit le roy, qui nul povoir
 Navoit droit la ;
 Car nous ^a ne fumes que vint, ce me semble,
 Ou vint & deux : chascun ^b devala
 La haulte roche, qui au roy moult greva.
 Et Salsebery
^c Lui dit souvent, comme tout esbahi,
 Or voy ie ^{bn} que mort sui sans nul fi ;
 Car trop me het certes le duc henry.
 Elas ! pourquoy
 Avons nous cru le conte sur ^{fa} foy ?
 Certes pour nous a este grant desroy ;
^d Muir cest trop tart. Jehûs, en qui ie croy,
 Nous vueille aidier.
 Ainsi parlant nous convint aprochr
 Deulx, sicomme au trait dun bon archr.
 Lors le conte se vint a genoifr
 Trestout a terre

[ENLUMINATION XIII.]

Disant au roy, Je vous aloie querre,
 Mon droit seigneur, ne vous vueille desplere,
 Car le pays est esmeu pour la guerre,
 Com vous savez,
 Affin que mieulx soiez ^e asseurez.
 Lors dist ^f roy, ie feufse ^{bn} allez

^a nestions. L.^b se. L. P.^c Disoit souvent. P.^d Mais. L. P.^e asservez. P.^f le roy. L.

Sans tant de gens qui cy mande avez :
Il mest advis
Que ce nest pas ce que mavez promis :
ε Vous me desistes quon vous avoit tramis
Vous sixiesme : par dieu de paradis,
Cest tresmal fait,
Considere le serment quavez fait :
Il semble ^h advis que nestes par pfait
En loyaulte, qui avez tel retrait
Fait cy entour :
Sachiez de vray que ie feray retour
A Cornuay, ⁱ dont sui parti ce iour.
Lors dis le conte, monseigneur, deshonneur
Me mettez sus ;
Mais ie vous iure, par le corps de Jhus,
Qui pour nous tous fu en la croix pendus,
Puis que de moy estes icy tenus,
Je vous menray
Au duc henry le plus droit que pourray ;
Car je vueil ^{bn} que vous sachiez de vray,
Quil a dix Jours quainsi promis li ay.
Lors apporter
Fist pain et vin ; lui mesmes ^{pnter}
Le volt au roy, qui nosa refuser
^k Ce que le conte voloit de comāder,
Considere
Sa puisance : apres sont remonte,
A rotelant tout droit sen sont ale ;
Ou fort chastel ^l furent ilz bien disne
Et grandemēt.

ε Vous nous disiez. P.

^h amis que ne soiez. P.

ⁱ dont je suis party. P.

^k Ce quil vouloit la endroit commander. P.

^l fusmes nous bien disne. P.

Apres disner fist ^m ordonner sa gent
 Northomberlant, qui fu moult diligent
 De chevauchier a cestre droitement ;
 Car la estoit
 Le duc henry, qui le conte atendoit
 Avec ses gens, dont grant foison avoit :
 De sa demeure moult fort sesbaissoit ;
 Car riens ne scot
 De la besongne que la conte fait ot ;
 Comment le roy amenoit en son ost.
 De rotelant apres disner, tantost
 Sans plus attendre,
 Nous en vinmes tout droit a flint descendre,
 Qui au duc fu rendu sans le deffendre ;
 Ou quel chastel vint il lendemain prendre
 Le roy richart,
 Com vous orrez, ains quil soit gueres tart,
 Et trestous ceulx qui furent de sa part.
 Helas ! le dueil quil fist la nuit apart
 Trop bn ^a pourrez
 Considerer ; car il avoit assez
 De quoy le faire ; veu que de tous costez
 Ses ennemis veoit tous aprester
 Et desirans
 De le faire mourir comme tirans.
 Ceste nuit la fu ^o forment regretans
 Sa compaignie, la fille au roy des frans,
 Disant ainsi,
 Mon tres doulz cuer, ma sner, adieu vou di :
 Pour v̄re amour suy ^p demourez ainsi ;
 Car a mes gens oncques ne deservy
 De me destruire

^m appareiller. P.^a peuez. L.^o souvent. P.^p demene. P.

Si laidement ; maiz sil plait que ie muire,
A ! Jhū crist, mame vueille conduire
En paradis, car eschapper ne fuire
Je ne puis maiz.
Elas ! beau pere de france, Jamaiz
Ne vous verray ; ṽre fille vous laiz
Entre ces gens, qui sont faulx & mauvaiz,
Et sans fiance ;
Par quoy ie suis pres de desesperance ;
Car elle estoit ma ¶ioieuse plaisance.
Or vueille dieux qune foiz la vengeance
En vueillez prendre,
Sceu ¶ le fait, sans longueñt atendre ;
A fin que nulz ne vous en puist reprendre :
Le fait vous touche ; or y vueilliez entendre
Prouchainnement.
Elas ! ie nay vaisseaulx, gens ne argent
Pour envoyer devers vous en present :

¶ Ja laisse a vous,
¶ Or est trop tart : las ! pourquoy creumes nous
Northumberlant, qui en la main des loups
Nous a livrez ? ie me doubte que tous
Ne soions mors ;
Car cels gens cy nont en eulx nul remors.
Dieux leur confonde les ames & les corps.
Ainsi disoit le roy richart alors
A Salsebery,
Qui faisoit dueil onques greigneur ne vy ;
Et levesque de ¶kerlille aussi ;
Tous les autres chūn pas ne dormy
¶ Celle nuit la.

¶ seule souffisance. P.

¶ ce. L.

¶ Sa cornuay seusse encor vrayement. P.

¶ Jalasse a vous. P.

¶ Il. P.

¶ quierlille. L.

¶ Cette. P.

Northomberlant au duc henry manda,
 Trestoute la nuit que le roy amena.
 Le chevauteur droit a cestre arriva
 Au point du jour;
 Au duc henry compta trestout le tour
 Du roy richart, qui a flint fist seiour;
 Au cuer en ot grant ioie & grant baudour,
 Et a bon droit;
 Car en monde plus riens ne desiroit.
 y Au tour cestre trestout son ost estoit
 Logie aux champs, qui grant pais tenoit.
 Lors fist crier
 Qun chun feust tantost prest pour aler
 Avecques lui, ou les ^aouldra mener.
 Mainte trompette firent engles sonner
 Et retentir.
 Or vous vueil dire, sans plus rime querir,
 Du roy la prinse, et pour mieulx acomplir
 Les paroles quilz dirent au venir
 Eulx deux ensemble;
 Car retenues les ay bn, ce me fsemble;
 Si les diray en prose; car il fsemble
 Aucunesfoiz quon adiouste ou assemble
 Trop de langaige
 A la matiere, ^a de quoy on fait ouvrage.
 Or vueille dieux, qui nous fait a simage,
 Pugnir tous ceulx qui firent tel oultrage.

y Autour de Cestre. P.

zouldroit. P.

a par quoy on fait oultrage. P.

En ceste partie des afflicçons et douleurs esquelles le roy richart estoit ou chastel de flint atendant la venue du duc de lancastre; lequel se parti de la ville de cestre, le mardi xxij Jour daoust, en lan de lincarnation nre seigneur, mil ccc^{xx}_{iiij}. xix. a tout sa puissance; La quele ioy estimer a plus^s ch̄rs et escuiers a cent mille homme passez, ordonnez comme ^b pour entrer en bataille, Chevauchant pmi la greve de la mer, a grā ioie et a grant Dillectaçon de plaisir; Et ^c aussi desirant la prinse de leur droit & naturel seign̄r le roy richart. Le quel se leva, le dit mardi bien matin, accompaignie dē douleurs, de tristesse, d'afflicçons, de plains, de pleurs, et de gemissemens; oy la messe moult devotem̄t, comme ^d vray catholique, avecques ^e ses bons amis, le conte de Salsebery, levesque de kerlille, mēsiere estienne Scroup, et un aut^r ch̄r appelle ferbric; lesquelx pour adversite nulle ne pour fortune ^f quelconques que le dit roy eust, ne le vouldrent laisser ne relenquir. Encores avoit avecqs eulx un, qui fu filz de la contesse de Salsebery, le quel le roy richart avoit fait nouvel ch̄r en Jrlande, avecque le filz ainsne de duc de Lancastre, et avec plus^s autres, comme ie vous ay dit es premieres parties de ceste matiere; et si ^g estoit genico, un escuier gascon, le quel monstra b̄n la vraie amour quil avoit au roy richart; car oncques pour menaces de Ch̄rs ne d'escuiers, ne pour ^h priere nulle quelconques ne volt oster la devise de son seign̄r le roy, cest assavoir le cerf, disāt, ⁱ Ia Dieu ne plaise que pour hom̄e mortel Je oste lordre de mon droit seigneur, se li propre ne le commande; et tant que le duc de lancastre le scot, le quel le fist men^j honteusmēt et vilainement ou chastel de cestre, atendant de iour en iour que on lui trenchast la teste; car cestoit la com̄une renommee du peuple; et toutesvoies il nen moru pas, ficomme iay oy dire depuiz: maiz ie vous ^k scay b̄n a dire, ^l que il fu le derrenier portant lordre du roy richart en engleterre; et la monstra il b̄n quil nestoit pas favorable de legier, ne de leur generacion extrait. Et quant est de la generacōn et nature deulx, ilz ^m sont favor-

^b il entra. P.

^c ainsi. L. P.

^d bon. P.

^e ses amis. P.

^f queulxconques le dit Roy. P.

^g y estoit. L.

^h peril. P.

ⁱ a Dieu.

^k fay. P.

^l si il fu. P.

^m tient. P.

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ables de legier, eulx tenant tousiours au plus fort et au ^a mieulx parant, sans garder droit, loy, raison ne iustice ; et ce nest pas de maintenāt ; car pluſs foiz ont ilz deffait & destruit leur roy et feigñr, comme on le peut savoir par pluſs ystoieres & croniques. Et affin que ie ne ^o malongne pas trop de la matiere que iay ouverte, de leur nature ne de leur condiçõn ne vueil plus parler pour le pnt, maiz retourner au roy richart ; le quel, la messe oie, monta sur les murs dudit chastel, qui sont grans & larges par dedens, regardant venir parmy la greve de la mer le duc de lancastre a tout son ost, qui estoit merueilleusmēt grant, demenant tele ioie et consolacion, que iusques audit chastel ^p on ouoit le son & bruit de leurs instrumēs, cors, buifines, et trompettes. Et lors se recommanda en la sainte garde de ñre feigneur et de tous les sains de paradis, disant en telle maniere.

^a Helas ! or voy ie bien que la fin de mes iours aproche, puis quil fault que ie soie livrez ^r es mains de mes eñemis, lesquelz me heent a mort, & sans lavoir deſſervi. Certe, conte de northomberlant, vous devez avoir grant peur & freeur au cuer, que ñre fire dieux ne preingne vengeance du pechie q̃ vous feistes, quant vous le pariurastes ainsi vilainement pour nous attirer hors de cornuay, ou nous estions bien affeur. Or vous en vueille dieux rendre le guerdon. Ainsi disoit le roy richart au conte de Salsebery, a levesque de kerlille, et aux deux ch̃rs, Sire estienne Scroup et ferbric, plourant moult tendrement, et demenant grāt dueil fur les diz murs du chastel ; et tel que certes Je croy quen ce mortel monde na creature quelconque, soit iuif ou sarasin, les ^a avoir veuz eulx cinq ensemble, qui nen eust eu grant pitie & compaçõn au cuer. Ce dueil faisant, virent departir de lost du duc henry grant quantite ^t de gens, chevauchant a force desperons devers le chastel por favoir que le roy richart faisoit. En ceste premiere cõpaignie estoit larcevesque de Cantorbie, Mefsire thomas de persi, et le conte de rote-
lant, auquel le duc henry avoit oste la poſefsion de la cõnestablie

^a plus. L.^o aulonge. P.^p oyent le son. P.^a Helas ! Voy ie bien. P.^r entre les mains. P.^a avoit. P.^t des. L.

dengleterre et la duchie daumarle, quil tenoit par avant de par le roy richart : Maiz ie croy ^u fermement quil lui osta plus par fiction et pour aveugler la monde, afin telle con ne cuidast mie quil sceut riens du fait ne de la trayson, que aut^oment ; Et toutesvoies ne say ie pas sil en favoit riens ; maiz ie say ^{bn} tout c^otain que lui et Messire thomas de persi, lequel avoit este estuuart du roy, cestadire en francoiz grant maistre dostel, se partirent du port de mileforde, et emmenerent ses gens & son avoir, par quoy ilz furent destroussez en galles, comme ie vous ^v dit devant : et sen alerent devers le ^w duc comē il appert ; car ilz vindrent ou Chastel de flint tous des p^omiers, portant lordre du duc henry, non pas le cerf. larchevesque entra le premier, et les autres apres. Ilz monterent ou dongon. Lors le roy descendi des murs, au quel ilz firent tresgrant reverence agenoilliez a terre, le roy les fist lever, et tira larchevesque a part et parlerent moult longuemēt ensemble. Quilz dirent ie ne scay pas ; maiz le conte de Salsebery me dist apres, quil lavoit reconforte moult doucement, disant quil ne feust esbahis, et quil naroit nul mal de son corps : le conte de rotelant ne pla ^x point a ^y celle heure au roy ; Ains ^x salongnoit de lui le plus quil povoit, ainsi comme sil eust este honteux de se voir devāt lui. Ilz remonterent a cheval, et ^a sen retournerent au devāt du duc henry, le quel aprochoit fort. Car entre la ville de cestre & le chastel na que dix mille petites, qui valent cinq lieues francoyses, ou environ ; et nya haie ne buisson nul entre deux, fors la greve de la mer feulement, et les haultes roches & montaignes daut^o coste ; et sachiez de certain quil les faisoit bel voir venir ; car ilz estoient tresbien ordonnez, et si grant quantite, que tant quamoy ie ne vis oncqs tant de gens ensemble. Ce mest advis de tout lost du duc estoit principal capitaine messire henry de Persi, quilz tiennent pour le meilleur ch̄r dengleterre. Le roy remonta sur les murs, & vit que lost estoit a deux trais darc pres du chastel ; alors demena ^b grant dueil de rechief, et les aut^os qui estoient avecqs lui, ^c faisant

^u fixment. P. ^v ay dit. L. P. ^w Duc Henry. P. ^x pas. L. ^y cette. P.
^z selsloingnoit. L. ^a allerent. P. ^b grant dueil, et les autres. P. ^c faisoient. P.

La commune renommee de v're peuple si est telle, que vous les aviez par l'espace de xx ou xxij ans tres malheureusement & tresrigoureusement gouvernez, et tant quilz nen sont pas bn content; mais sil plaist a n're seigneur ie le vous aideray ^a a gouverner mieulx quil na este gouverne le temps pafse. Le roy richart lui respondi alors; Beau cousin de lancastre, puis quil vous plaist, il nous plaist bien. ^a Et sachiez de c'tain que ce sont les propres paroles quilz dirent eulx deux ensemble, sans y riens prendre ne adiouster. Car ie les oy et entendy assez bn; et si le me recorda le conte de falsebery en francoiz, et un autre ancien ch'lr, qui estoit des ^b conseilles du duc henry, le quel me dist en chevauchant a cestre, que la prise du roy & la destruccion avoient merlin & Bede prophecise des leur vivant; et que se iestoie en son chastel il le me monsterroit en la forme & manie⁹ comme ie lavoie veu advenir, disant ainsi:

Il aura un roy en albie, lequel ^c regnera l'espace de xx a xxij ans en grant honneur & en grant puissance, et sera alie & adioint avecques ceulx de gaule, lequel roy sera deffait es parties du nort en une place triangle. Ainsi me dist le ch'lr quil estoit ^d esc^{pt} en ^e un sien livre: la place triangle Il la proprioit ala ville de cornuay; et de ce avoit il ^fbonne raison; car ie vous say bien a dire ^f quelle est en triangle, comme se elle eust este ainsi compassee ^g par une vraie & juste mesure. En la d'ce ville de cornuay fu le roy assez deffait; car le conte de northomberlant le tira hors, co'me vous avez oy devant, par le traictie quil fist a lui; et de puis not nulle puissance. Ainsi tenoit le dit ch'lr ceste prophecie vraie, & y adioustoit g'nt foy & creance; ^h car il font de telle nature en leur pays, que en prophecies en fanthomes & sorceries croient ⁱ parfaitement; et en usent ⁱ volontiers: Maiz il mest advis que ce nest pas bn fait; ains est grant faulte de creance.

Ainsi comme vous avez oy vint le duc henry ou chastel et parla au roy, a levesque de kerville, et aux deux ch'lr, Sire estienne scroup & ferbric; maiz au conte de falsebery ne parla il point. Ains lui fist dire

^a mielx a gouverner. P.

^a Et sachiez que se sont. P.

^b conseillers. P.

^c regnera xx ou xxij. P.

^d ainsi escript. P.

^e son livre. P.

^f quelle est

triangle. P.

^g par vraie. P.

^h et aussi ceulx du pays en fanthomes. L.

p un chîr en telle maniere ; Conte de salsebery, sachiez de c^otain que
 'ny eut plus que vous ne daignastes pler a monseigñr le duc de lancaestre,
 quant lui & vous estiez a paris au noel derreniermēt passe, il ne parlera a
 vous. lors fu le conte moult esbahi et ot grant paour & freeur au cuer ;
 car il veoit bñ que le duc le haioit mortellement. le quel duc henry dist
 moult hault dune voix fiere & crueuse, amenez les chevaulx du roy ; et
 lors on luy admena deux petis chevaulx qui ne^k valoient mie xl frans.
 Le roy mōta sur lun, & le conte de salsebery sur lautre. Chūn monta a
 cheval, et partimes dudit chastel de flint l'environ deux heures apres
 midi.

En la forme & maniere que vous avez oy prist le duc henry le roy
 richart son seigñr, et lemmena a cestre, dont il estoit partis le matin a
 grant ioie et a grant consolacion. Et sachiez q̃ a grant paine eust on
 oy dieu tonnāt pour le grant bruit & son de leurs instrumens, cors,
 buisines et trompetes ; et tant quilz en faisoient retentir toute la greve
 de la mer. Ainsi entra le duc dedens la ville de cestre, au quel le
 cōmun peuple fist tres grant reverence en loant n̄re s̄r ; Et criant apres
 leur roy ainsi cōme par moquerie. Le duc lemmena tout droit ou chas-
 tel, lequel est moult bel, & moult fort ; et le fist logier ou dongon ; et
 lors le bailla en garde au filz du duc de clocestre et au filz du conte
 darondel, lesquelz le ^m haioient plus que tous les hommes du monde ;
 car le roy richart avoit fait morir leurs peres : la vit il son frere le duc
 dexcestre ; maiz il nosa ne ne pot parler a lui. Tantost apres s'assist le
 duc au disner, ⁿ et fist asseoir au dessus de lui larchevesque de Cantor-
 bie, et au deffoubz assez ^o loing le duc dexcestre, frere du roy richart, le
 conte de westmerland, le conte de rotelant, le conte de northomberland,
 et messire thomas de perfi ; tous ceulx furent assiz a la table du duc
 henry. Et le roy demoura en la tour avecq̄s sēs bons amis, le conte de
 Salsebery, levesque de kerlille, et les deux chîrs ; et de la en avant nous
 ne le ^p poions voir, se ce nestoit aux champs en chevauchāt ; et nous
 fist on deffendre que nous ne parlifions plus a lui ne a nulz des autres.

ⁱ neant plus que vous daignastes. L. ^k ne valoient xl francs. P. ^l en environs. P.
^m hairent. P. ⁿ et fist asseoir omitted in P. ^o loing de lui. P. ^p pourions. P

Le duc henry demoura ⁱⁱⁱ Jours a cestre, et tint moult grant conseil. ilz conclurent quil avoit trop grant quantite de gens, puis que le roy estoit pris; et que ce seroit assez de trente a quarante mille hommes pour mener le dit roy a londres; ¹ et que autrement le pais seroit trop greve, veu que t² grandement avoit este gaste au venir. Ainsi fist le duc retraire la plus grant³ partie de ^r ses gens, et parti de la ville de cestre le ⁱⁱⁱⁱ iour apr⁴ la prise, et prist le droit chemin a londres. Il arriva a liceflit, une tresbelle petite ville; et la leur ^s cuida le povre roy richart eschaper par nuit, et se laissa couler en une Jardinage parmy une fenestre dune grosse tour, ou ilz lavoient logie: maiz ie croy quil ne plaisoit pas a nre seigneur quil eschapast; car il fu aperceuz, et fu moult vilainement reboutes dedens la tour; et de la ^t avant, a toutes les heures de la nuit, il avoit ^x ou ^{xii} hommes armez qui le gardoient ^u sans quil pout dormir.

Or advint il ainsi que ceulx de londres oyrent les nouvelles de la prise de leur droit seigneur le roy richart; lesquelx se partirent a tresbelle compaignie; cest assavoir ^v ou ^{vj} des plus grans bourgeois ^v gouverneurs de la dce ville vindrent a force desperon a lencontre du ^s duc henry; et sachiez que Joy recorder a plus chtrs et escuiers que, tantost quilz furent arrives devers le duc, ilz lui requirent de par la comune de londres, que a leur droit seignr le roy richart on tranchast la teste, et a tous ceulx qui estoient pris avecques lui, sans ^v le mener plus avant; la quelle requeste le duc henry ne vöft faire ne accorder; et sexcusa le plus sageñt quil pot, ^s disant; Beaux seigneurs, ce feroit trop grant vitupere a tousiours maiz pour nous se nous le faisons ainsi mourir; Maiz nous le menrons a londres, et la fa iugie par le parlement. le duc se parti de liceflit, et chevaucha tant atout son ost quil arriva a covimtry, qui est tresbonne ville; maiz ains quilz y peussent venir, ^a lui firent les galoiz ^b moult de dommaiges & de despit, et tue-

¹ ou que le pais. P.^r sa gent. P.^s si cuida. P.^t en avant. L. R.^u sans point dormir. L. P.^v de gouverneurs. P.^s dit Henry. P.^v les mener. P.^s en disant. P.^a leur firent. P.^b moult dommaiges

et grant despit. P.

rent grant quantite de ^csa gent & detrousserēt : aucuneffoiz venoient ilz bouter le feu ou les anglois estoient logiez ; et certes Jen avoie ^dtresgrant ioie ; ^eet fi nestoit pas en la puissance des engloiz den prendre ^fnulz se d'aventure non. Et quant ilz en povoient ^gauçns atraper, ilz les lioient de cordes a la queue de leurs chevaulx, et les traynoient parmy les chemins plains de pierres : ainsi les faisoient mourir mauvaifz. Et a grant paine le duc passa leurs montaignes au plus tost et au mieulx quil pot, et arriva en la ^hdee ville de comintry ; Et y sejourna deux iours. Apres sen ala a Saint Alban, ou il a ^htresbonne ville & belle abbaie ; et dela tout droit a londres : quant il aproucha a v ou a vj mile pres de la ^hdee ville, le maire acōpaignie de ^tfggrant quantite de coñunes ordonnez & vestus cñun mestier ⁱpar soy de divers draps, royez & armez, vindrent alencontre du duc henry, a grant quātite dinstrumens & de trompetes, demenant grant ioie & grant consolaçōn : et la portoit on lespee devant le dit maire comme devant le roy. a ^klassembler le saluerent et le duc henry apres, au quel ilz firent trop plus grant reverence quilz navoient fait au roy, Criant en leur langaige dune haulte voix et espoventable ; vive le bon duc de lancastre ; et disoiēt lun a laut^o que dieux leur avoit monstre beau miracle quant il leur avoit envoie le dit duc ; et comment il avoit conquis tout le royaume denglet^ore en moins dun moys ; et que bn devoit estre roy qui ^lainsi savoit conquerir ; et en ^mleoient et gracioent ñre feigneur moult devotemēt, disant que cestoit sa voulente, et que aut^oment ne leust il peu avoir fait. Encores disoient les foles et incredules gens quil conquerroit une des grans parties du monde ; et le comparoient desia a alexandre le grant. ainsi disant & monopolant ⁿaproucherent de la ville ficomme a deux mile ; et ^ola sarresta tout lost dune partie & dautre : lors dist le duc henry moult hault aux coñunes de ladce ville ; Beaux seigneurs, vecy vñre roy ; regardez que vous en volez faire. Et ilz respondirent a haute

^c ses. P.	^d grant. P.	^e et nestoit. P.	^f un. P.	^g aulchun. P.
^h bonne. P.	ⁱ pour soy. P.	^k lassemblée. P.	^l aussi. P.	
^m loerent et gracierent. L.	ⁿ aprouchoit. P.	^o de la. P.		

voix, nous voulons quil soit mene a wemonstre : Et ainsi il leur delivra. A ^q celle heure il me souvint il de pilate, le quel fist battre ñre ^q seigñr ihu crist a lestache, et apres le fist mener devant le turbe des Juifa disant, beaux seigñrs, vecy vñre roy ; lesquelz respondirent, nous voulons qñl soit crucifie. Alors pilate en lava ses mains disāt, Je sui innocent du sanc iuste. Et ainsi leur delivra ñre seigñr. Aflez semblablement fist le duc henry quant son droit seigneur livra ^r au turbe de londres : afin telle que silz le faisoient mourir quil peust dire, ie sui innocent de ce fait icy.

[ENLUMINATION XV.]

Ainsy enmenerent les comunes et le turbe de londres leur roy a wemonstre : et le duc tourna au tour de la ville pour entrer par la maistre porte de londres, affin telle quil passast par la grant rue quilz appellēt la chipstrate. Il entra dedens la ville a heure de vespres et sen vint tout droit a saint pol : la crioit le peuple apres lui par les rues, vive le bon duc de lencastre ; et le benissoient en leur langaige, demenant grant ioie et consolaçon : et telle que ie croy que, ^s se ñre fire dieux feust ^t descenduz entre eulx, ils ne leussent pas fait plus grant : il descendi a Saint Pol, et ala tout arme devant le maistre autel faire ses oroisons. Apres retořna par le tumbel de son pere, qui est assez pres dudit autel. Et sachiez que cest une tresriche sepulture. La ploura il moult fort ; car il ne ^u lavouoit veue de puis que son pere y avoit este mis. Il demoura a Saint Pol v or vñ iours. ^v Apres se parti & sen ala a Saint Jehan de Jhrīm, hospital de templiers, qui est hors de la ville de londres.

Ces choses veues et considerees, lesquelles me faisoient moult de mal & de douleur au cuer, et auffi moy desirant estre hors de leur pais, alames devers le dit duc henry mon compagnon & moy, en lui suppliant quil no' voulfist ottroyer saufconduit pour revenir en france ; le-

^p cette. P.^q Sauveur. P.^r a la.^s si meme dieux. P.^t devenu mortel. P.^u lavoit veu. L.^v Et puis parti. P.

quel le nous ottroya voulent⁹s. Et ^x lors un pou apres, considere les rebellions les maulx les traysons et ^y desrisons quilz avoient fait a leur droit seigneur le roy richart, Jen filz un balade, laquelle se commence en tele maniere.

O tu henry, qui as en gouvernance
Pour le pnt la terre & le pais
Du roy richart, qui tant ot de puisance,
Le quel tu as hors boutte et demis,
Et tous fes biens apropiiez & mis :
A toy, qui es mirouer de traisons ;
Or scet chun conques maiz trahis homs
Si faulcement ne fu coïne tu as
^x Trahi roy. celer ne le ^a peus pas.
Jugier las fait par iugeñt infame.
Tu en perdras en la fin corps & ame.

Car faulcement, sans mander deffiance,
En larrecin, toy estant fourbanis,
Luy as emble sa terre : grant vaillance
Nest pas a toy, certes ce mest advis ;
Veu quil estoit hors sur ses ennemis
En irlande, ou mains durs horions
Receut dirlois, qui sont fiers coĩ lions.
Ton filz ainsne y fist chĩr : las !
Le guerdon a lui rendre oublias :
Cest grant peche : tout le monde tenblasme.
Tu en perdras en la fin corps et ame.

Car a ly nas tenu foy naliance,
Comme Jure lavoies & promis,
Quāt faintement, & en nom daffeurance,

^x apres mon reteur en France. P.

^y deviations. P.

^x Trahy ton roy. L.

^a pues. L.

Northomberlant par toy lui fu tramis,
 En promettant sur le corps dieu quamis
 Tu lui seroies, & que cestoit raisons :
 Ainsi le roy, ains quil en feust saisons,
 De ses chasteaulx wida & hault & bas,
 Vers toy sent vint t⁹ humblement : *helas !*
 Honteusement lemmenas a diffame.
 Tu en perdras en la fin corps & ame.

Princes & roys, chevaliers & barons,
 Francoiz, flameins, Alemans & Brettons
 Deveroient courre sur toy plus q̃ le pas ;
 Car tu as fait le plus horrible cas
 Conques fist hõms : cest pour toy ^b lai defame.
 Tu en perdras en la fin corps & ame.

Quant ios acheve ma balade,
 Je ne fui ^c maiz si t⁹ finalade
 Que Javoie este pardevant
 De courroux, & pour le mal grant
 Que Je leur avoie veu faire
 De leur seigneur ainsi defaire,
 Comme traitres et tirans.
 Plust a dieu que chun tirans
 Fust brief a leur destrucion :
 Ce seroit la salvacion
 Ce cuide ie, pour trestous ceulx,
 Qui de bon cuer courir sur eulx
 Yroient et de volente ;
 Car ilz sont en mal si ente,
 En faulcete et en oultrage,
 En fait, en dit, en langaige,

^b laide fame. L.^c pas. L.

Que certes ie croy fermement
Qu'il na desoubz la firmament
Generacion, qui ressemble
A la leur, ficomme il me semble ;
Voire considere leur fais,
Qui ne sont loyaulx ne pfais,
Selon droit raison et justice,
Ce mest advis ; maiz, ^dse ie visce
A le dire, pdonnez le moy ;
Car ie veu en eulx le desroy
Qui men fait si avant parler.

Ainsi quavez oy compter
Fui de leur pais revenus
Dargent et de robe assez nus ;
Et pensay souvent en mon cuer
Qu'il me failloit a quelque fuer
Savoir la fin de leur afaire,
Et comment il vorent parfaire
Ce quil avoient entrepris
De leur roy, quilz tenoient pris
A Wemonstre, comme Infame :
Ce fu pour eulx moult laide fame ;
Et fera tant quilz viveront.
Certes Jamaiz honneur naront ;
Au moins entre les gens loyaulx ;
Considere leurs t⁹fgns maulx.

Ainsi demouray longuement
A Paris, sans savoir cointent
Ilz firent du roy leur seigneur ;
Quilz tindrent a honte & douleur
Moult longuemt en leur prison,
Dont ilz firent grant mesprison ;

^d se Jay vice. L.

Tant qun clerc, que le duc henry
 En avoit mene avec ly
 Quant il se parti de paris,
 Retourna tristes & maris
 Pour le grant mal quil y ot veu ;
 Lequel assez bn retenu
 Lavoit ; car il le me compta,
 Quant retournez fu par deca,
 Disant quil ne voroit avoir
 Dengleterre pas tout lavoit,
 Et quil y dust user sa vie ;
 Tant ont ilz sur francoiz envie.
 Apres me dist comment le roy
 Avoient mis par grant defroy
 A wemonstre, & enferme.
 Quant le duc henry arive
 Fu a londres nouvellement,
 A Saint pol ala droitement,
 Et puis a Saint Jehan apres,
 Qui est hors des murs assez pres ;
 Cest un hospital des templiers.
 La fu le duc moult volentiers
 Quinze iours tous plains sans partir.
 Apres sen volt il departir,
 Et sen ala en sa conte
 De harford ; tout ainsi conte
 Le ma le clerc, qui y estoit,
 Et qui asez bien regardoit
 Trestous leurs fais & leur * convie,
 Qui nestoient pas en † plenuie.
 En la ditte conte se tint
 Trois sepmaines, & puis revint

* convine. L.

† plevine. L.

A londres ; car le cōmun mande
Lavoit. la ^zly fu commande
Que la journee fust elitte
Du plement. Ce moult delitte
Le duc henry ; et sans atendre
Il y vot de bon cuer entendre ;
Car cestoit son plus grant plaisir ;
Pour ce quil scot bien sans mentir
Que le roy y feroit deffait ;
Et que il^h seroit roy fait.

Ainsi fist assembler ses gens,
Qui furent asez diligens
A son mandement et conseil
Certes trop fort ie me merveil
Comment dieux souffrir leur povoit.
Le mal que chascun la pensoit.
Ce fu le premier Mercredi
Doctobre, sicomme je ⁱentendi,
Quilz furent tous ensemble mis.
^k Las ! le roy richart pou damis
Avoit en celle compaignie ;
Car ilz avoient tous envie
De le deffaire assez briefment ; ^l
Si firent il ; maiz vraiment
Je croy quilz le comparront chier ;
Car le iuste et vray iustichier,
Qui est la sus en paradis,
Connoissant leur fais & leurs dis
Une foiz les en pugnira,
Sautre pugniffion ny a.

[ENLUMINATION XVI.]

^z luy. L.

^h il y seroit. L.

ⁱ je lentendi. L.

^k Lors. L.

^l De le faire mourir briefment. L.

Ainsi firent leur assemblee,
Qui estoit de mal enpensee,
A Wemonstre, hors de la ville
De londres : ce nest pas guille.
Premierement tous les prelas,
Archevesques, evesques : las !
Quel pensee, quel courage !
Bien avoient au cuer la rage
De consentir tel parlement.
Après les ducs, premierement,
Marquis, contes et chevaliers,
Escuiers, varles et archiers,
Et plusieurs manieres de gens,
Qui nestoient nobles ne gens ;
Mais toutes faulx & felons.
La estoient par si grans mons,
Qua paine, loseroie dire,
En la Salle, sans contredire,
Entrerent les maieurs devant,
Lesquelx avoient par avant
Fait, ficomme Jouy compter,
Le siege royal aprester
Par tres gracieuse ordonnance ;
Car ilz avoient esperance
Deslire la un autre roy :
Si firent ilz par grant desroy,
Comme vous orrez cy apres.
Entour le dit siege asez pres
Estoient les prelas affiz ;
De quoy il y avoit plus defis.
Dautre coste tous les seigneurs,
Grans, moyens, petis & meneurs,
Afsiz par ordonnance belle ;
Oncques noy parler de telle.

Premier seoit le duc henry ;
Et puis, tout au plus pres de ly,
Le duc diorc, son beau cousin,
Qui navoit pas le cuer trop fin
Vers son nepveu le roy richart.
Après de ceste mesme part
Le duc daumarle se seoit,
Qui filz au duc diorc estoit ;
Et puis le bon duc de fouldray,
Qui fu tousiours loyal & vray.
Après seoit le duc dexcestre,
Qui ne devoit pas ioyeux estre ;
Car il veoit devant ly faire
Lapareil pour le roy deffaïre,
Qui estoit son frere germain.
De ce faire au foïr & au main
Avoient tous grant volente.
Après estoit de ce coste
Un autre, qui ot non le marquis,
Seigneur estoit de grant pais ;
Et puis le conte darondel,
Qui est asez Jeune et ysnel.
Après de norvic le conte
Ne fu pas oublie ou compte :
Aufsi ne fu cil de la marche :
Un qui fu conte de stanforde,
Le quel naimoit pas la concorde
De son seigneur le roy richart.
Encore seoit de ceste part
Un, q⁹ Jouy aïses nommer
Conte de panebroc et ber :
Et tout au plus pres de cely
Sist le conte de Salsebery,

Qui fu loyal iusqua la fin,
 Tant aima le roy de cuer fin.
 Le conte Dumestat y fu,
 Si comme ie lay entendu.
 Tous autres contes & feigneurs,
 Et du royaume les greigneurs
 Estoient a celle assemblee,
 Aians volente et pensee
 Deslire la un autre roy.
^m La estoient par bel aroy
 Le conte de northomberlant,
 Et le conte de westmerlant,
 Toute iour en estant sans soir ;
 Et pour mieulx faire leur devoir
 Sagenoilloient moult souvent :
 Je ne say pourquoy ne comient.

Larchevesque apres se leva
 De Cantorbie, & sermonna,
 Devant tout le peuple en latin ;
 Et pourposa jusquen la fin,
ⁿ Habuit Jacob benedictione' a patre suo :
 Comment Jacob avoit eu
 Benifon en lieu desau,
 Non obstant quil estoit laisne
 Filz, disant, cest verite.
 Elas ! quel tiexte de sermon !
 Pour monstrier en conclusion
 Le faisoit, que le roy richart
 Ne devoit avoir nulle part
^o A la couronne dengleterre ;
 Et que le royaume et la terre
 Deust le prince avoir eue.
 Ceste gent bien desconneue

^m Et la estoit. L.
 inverted in L. MS.

ⁿ Rubrick in L. MS.

^o The order of two following lines

Estoit ; quant par P vint & deux ans
Lavoient tous, petiz et grans,
Tenu pour droit roy et seigneur ;
Et puis apres par grant erreur
Lont par commun accort deffait.

Quant larchevesque ot parfait
Son sermon en latin langaige,
Un Juriste, qui fu moult saige
¶ Dotter, et si estoit notaire,
Se leva, et fist les gens taire ;
Car il commencha haultement
A lire la un Instrument,
Qui contenoit comment richart,
Jadiz roy dengleterre, apart
Avoit coneu et confesse,
Sans force de sa volente,
Quil nestoit ydoine ne digne,
Saige ne prudent ne benigne
Pour la couronne gouv^rner ;
Et quil la vouloit resiner
En la main dun aut^r preudomme,
Qui fust noble et plus sage homme
Quil nestoit. Ainsi par accort
Firent dire, fust droit ou tort,
Au roy richart en la prison
De londres par grant mesprison ;
Et puis en ce dit parlement
Lurent devant tous linstrument,
De quoy les tesmoings estoient
Evesques abbes, qui disoient
Et temoingnoient, bien le say,
Que instrument estoit tout vray.

P vint deux ans. L.

¶ Docteur. L.

Or regardez quel temongnage.
Oncques nouy homs tel oultrage.
Après la lecture parfaite
De linstrument, silence faitte
Fu par tous ; & puis se leva
Larchevesque, et repris a
Son sermon, prenant fondement
Sur le devant dit instrument,
Disant si hault que bien louy
Le peuple ; puis quil est ensi,
Et que le roy richart, Jadiz
Roy dengleterre, par ses diz
Et de sa bonne voulente
A reconnu et confesse,
Quil nest pas asés souffiant,
Convenable ne bien saichant
Pour le royaume gouverner ;
Il feroit tresbien davisier,
Et deslire un autre roy.
Elas ! beaux seigneurs quel desroy !
Ilz furent la iuge et partie :
Ce nestoit pas chose partie
Justement, ne de loyal droit ;
Car il ny avoit la endroit
Homme pour le roy ansien
Que trois ou quatre, qui pour rien
Neussent ose contredire
Tout ce quilz voudrènt faire et dire.
Ce fu moult grant derision ;
Car ilz firent conclusion
Tous ensemble, grans et petiz,
Sans estre deux ne trois partiz,
Quilz vouloient un roy avoir
Qui scut mieulx faire son devoir

Que le roy richart navoit fait.
Et quant larchevesque ot parfait
Et pardit en engles langaige
Sa voulente et son couraige,
Et le peuple ot respondu,
Selon ce quorent entendu,
Il commencha Jnterroger,
Et chun par soy demander ;
Voulez vous que soit ṽre roy
Le duc diorc ? par bon aroy
Il respondirent tous, nenil.
Voulez vous donc avoir son fil
Ainsne, qui est duc daumarle ?
De cely pluz nulz ne nous parle,
Respondirent a haulte voix.
Encore demanda une fois,
Voulez vous donc son filz avoir
Maisne ? ilz dirent, nenil, voir.
Dautres assez leur demanda ;
Maiz le peuple ne saretta
A nul de ceulx quil ot noĩmes.
Et lors larchevesque arestes
Est sans parler moult longueĩt.
Apres demanda haultement,
Voulez vous le duc de lencastre ?
Ouil, nous ne voulons nul autre,
Respondirent eulx tous ensemble
De si haulte voix, quil me semble,
Selon ce que Jouy compter,
Grant merveilles a recorder.
Apres louerent Jhu crist,
Sicomme contient leur eſc²pt.
Quant les evesques & prelas,
Qui de bien fe³ furent las,

Avecques des plus grans seigneurs,
 Les quels perdirët moult donneurs
 Le jour de ceste elexion,
 Orent linterrogasion
 Accordee sans contredire,
 Comme felons faulx et plains dire,
 Et tous les autres chevaliers,
 Escuiers, villains et archiers,
 Et toute la communaute,
 Ilz dirent touz p cruaute
 Quil estoit bien digne de mort
 Cellui, qui nyert de cest accort ;
 Et enfi par trois foiz fu faite
 Linterrogasion contrefaite,
 Faulce et plaine de malice.
 A tousiours leur fera lait vice.

Apres en firent instrumens,
 Lettres, chartres, * burles, presens
 Tous ceulx qui furent en la Salle,
 Qui nestoit villaine ne † salle,
 Ains fu moult richement paree
 Par maniere bien ordonnee.
 Se leverent tous deux ensemble
 Les archevesques, ce me semble,
 Et alerent au duc tout droit,
 Qui Ja roy eslu estoit
 De par tout le peuple commun ;
 A genoulx se mirent chascun
 † Deulx en disant ainsi ;
 Les fouvrains prinches qui sont cy,
 Et les prelas par bel aroy
 Teslisent, et tappellent roy :

* builes. L.

† sale. L.

‡ Deux humblement disans. L.

Regarde se tu ty consens.
Lors le duc henry, par grant sens,
Qui estoit pour leure a genoulx,
Se leva, et dist devant tous,
Quil acceptoit la royaute,
Puis ã dieux lavoit ordonne.
 Apres tous les interroga
Ly mesmes, et leur demanda
Si cestoit ainsi leur vouloir :
Ilz respondirent, ouil, voir,
Si hault, que ce fut graut merveille.
Ce ly mist v la puse en oreille
Telement, que sans plus atendre,
Il volt accepter x et entendre
A la couronne dengleterre.
Les archevesques, qui a terre
Furent agenoilliez, tous deux
De lire estoient moult soigneux
Le mistere, et tout ce a quoy
Estoit tenu le nouvel roy ;
Et par mainte serymonies
Offices et ydolatries
Ly metoient croix sur la teste,
Et sur tout le corps par grant feste,
Comme ilz ont accoustume la.
Lors les archevesques baisa
Tous deux ; et puis prindrent lanel
Du royaume, qui est bon et bel,
De quoy ilz ont acoustume
Que leurs roys soient espouse,
Qui est ce dient propre droit :
Entreulx le porterent tout droit

v la puce en l'oreille. L.

x et atendre. L.

A celui qui fu connestable,
 Qu'ilz tiennent Chir notable ;
 Ce fu le sire de persi ;
 Et quant de lanel fu saisi,
 Il le monstra generaument
 A ceulx qui furent la pnt ,
 Et puis apres sagenoilla,
 Et ou droit du roy imposa^y
 Le dit anel par espousaille ;
 Maiz ie nen donroit une maille,
 Puis que sans droit en sans justice
 Est fait et forme tel office.
 Je ne dit pas que ce ne foit
 Digne chose qui le feroit,
 Ainsi con doit tel chose faire :
 Et pour leur euvre mieulx pfaire,
 Le roy baisa parmy la bouche
 Le connestable ; a quoy^z touce
 Ce mistere ie ne say pas.
 Les deux archevesques le pas
 Revindrent par devers le roy,
 Qui estoit en tres bel aroy ;
^a Et tout droit par les bras mene
 Au siege royal, qui pare
 Estoit richement pres de la.
 Le roy devant sagenoilla,
 Et fist dedens ses oroifons ;
 Apres comme t⁹ flaignes homs,
 Parla a tous en general ;
 Aux prelas par especial,
 Et aux plus grans seigneurs apres,
 En latin langage et engles ;

^y seposa. L.^z et a quoy. L.^a Et droit. L.

Maiz quant il ot fine son dit,
Sans ce que nulz ly contredit,
Ou royal siege sest affiz.
Las ! le roy richart desaisis
En fu la pour toute sa vie :
Tant avoient sur ly envie :
Maiz se dieu plaist, ainsi feront
De celui ^bquimpose y ont.

Ou dit siege moult longuement
Fu assis, sans nul parlement
Faire, et sans noise nesune ;
Car entendis estoit chascune
Personne la en oroyson,
Priant par grant devosion
Pour la bonne prosperite,
Gouvernînt, paix & sante
Du roy nouvel qui orent fait.
Et quant chascun la ot pfaît
Ses oroisons, le connestable,
Qui nestoit pas encore estable
Ne ferme ou devant dit office,
Au quel ne doit avoir nul vice,
Fu apelle generaument ;
A genoulx se mist humblement
Devant henry et les seigneurs ;
La fu esleu des greigneurs
Connestable sans contredit ;
Et lors henry au devant dit
Connestable bailla en sa main
Le baston dor, qui soir et main
Le doit a prouesce esmouvoir,
Sil veult bien faire son devoir.

^b qui pose. L.

Après trestous en general
Eslurent nouvel marechal ;
Et puis par tresbelle ordonnance
Jurerent ferme foy fiance
A henry, en faisant hommage.
Et lors eflurent un tressage
Hoïme, qui chancelier fu fait ;
Et quant ilz orent ce parfait,
Encor ont ilz institue
La garde du seel prive :
Dautres offices grant foison
Firent eulx en conclusion.
Larchevesque apres se leva
Et a tous haulteïnt dita
Pluſ misteres en latin,
Eulx esmouvant q̃ le cuer fin
Prient pour la prosperite
Du roy & de sa royaulte.
En engles apres leur adit ;
Et quant il ot parfait son dit,
Tous en general font assis,
Uns & autres, grans & petis.

Alors se leva le duc henry ;
Son filz aisne par devant ly
Se mist humbleïnt a genoulx ;
Prince de galles devant tous
Le fist, & ly donna la terre ;
Maiz ie cuide bien que cōquerre
Ly fauldra, sil le vult avoir ;
Car les galloiz pour nul avoir
Ne le tenroient a seigneur,
Ce cuide Je, pour la douleur,
Le mal & le grant vittupere
Que les englois avec son pere

Avoient fait au roy richart.
La Jurerent chascun apart
Au dit prince foy, loyaute,
Aide, confort, feaulte,
Comme ilz avoient au duc fait.
Son second filz fist il de fait
Duc de lencastre ligement ;
Chascun en fu affes content.
Après tous les prelas ensemble,
Ducs, princes, contes, ce me semble,
Et tout le commun en la fin
Salurent de chief enclin
Le duc par tresgrant reverence,
Monstrant signe dobedience :
Et puis tous par comun accort
Eflurent, sans point de discort,
Pour le duc henry couronner,
Sicomme Jay oy compter,
Le propre iour saint Edouuart,
xe iij^e doctobre. moult tart
Leur estoit de si long seiour :
Autre rien ne firent ce iour ;
Fors tant quen la conclusion
Dirent, que de lelexfion
Au fort ne se refiouira,
Espoir decapitez fa.
Ainsi comme vous avez ouy,
Et que celui qui tout ouy
Le fait, et le parlement faire,
Ma voulu conter et retraire,
Fu deffait le roy ancien,
Sans droit, sans loy et sans moyen,
Sans raison, sans vraie iustice :
A tousiours leur sera lait vice.

Et quant ilz orent ce parfait,
 Et le bon roy richart deffait,
 Et enferme en leur prison,
 Dont ilz firent grant mesprison,
 Le dimenche apres plus prouchain
 Du couronnement, ^ca ses main
 A la court de londres mander
 Fist henry, et la assembler
 Les plus grans seigñrs denglet⁹ re ;
 Et pour los & honneur aquerre
 Fist devant tous grant quantite
 De chñrs ; ainsi compte
 Le ma cellui qui y estoit,
 Et qui pour le nombre afermoit
 Quarente et cinq, ne plus ne mains ;
 Son filz maifne, soiez certains
 Sicomme il dist, fu le premier.
 Apres sen volt il chevauchier
 Parmi londres ce propre iour,
 Sans faire a la court plus seiour ;
 Et estoit en sa compaignie
 La nouvelle chevalerie
 Tout ensamble bien ordonnee.
 Ainsi passa ceste iournee,
 Tant que ce vint le mercredi,
 Qui si devant pieca vous di,
 Quil devoit couronne porter.
 Si fist il ; et pour deporter
 Et honnourer plus haultement
 Le devant dit couronnement,
 Li porterent dessus sa teste
 Quatre ducs par mistere & feste

Un riche paille a or batu.
Le duc diorc le premier fu ;
Et puis le bon duc de souldray,
Qui ne le fist pas de cuer vray ;
Car il amoit le roy richart,
Et si fust tousiours de sa part,
Quelque chose con li fist faire :
Et pour leur massacre parfaire,
Le duc daumarle fu le tiers,
Qui leeuve faisoit voulent^s ;
Car il nestoit pas bien loial,
Comme vous orrez cy aval.
Le quatriesme fot bien son estre,
Et fu nomme duc de clocestre.
Ces quatre ducs, fust droit ou tort,
Porterent par commun accort
Le paille par desus leur roy,
Qui estoit en tresbel aroy ;
Et quant il fu roy couronne,
A la court sen sont retourne,
Ou le disner moult richement
Fu apreste, vecy comment.
Larchevesque de cantorbie
Fu le premier, nen doubtez mie,
A la table royale affis :
Après le duc henry ^dsaisis
Fu droit du milieu de la table,
Qui estoit par feste notable
Plus haulte deux pies & demi
Que les deux bous ; comme celi
Le me dit, qui pnt estoit ;
La longueur, ficomme il disoit,

^d assis. L.

Estoit de deux braces ou plus :
 Encor me dist il du surplus,
 Que pluseurs evesques nouviaux,
 Qui nestoient vrais ne loyaux,
 Maiz faiz sans droit & sans raison,
 Estoient en conslusion
 Affiz a la table du roy.
 Son filz aïne par bel aroy,
 Qui prince de galles fu fait,
 Tenoit la en sa main de fait
 Une espee pour le tournoy ;
 Maiz ^e a nul homme dire noy
 Que senefie ce mistere ;
 A la destre estoit de son pere ;
 Et tout au plus pres de celi
 Un chevalier y avoit, qui
 Tenoit le ceptre de la croix :
 A senestre, comme ie le ^f croix,
 Estoit le nouvel connestable,
 Et tenoit la devant la table
 Lespee de connestablie,
 Qui fu pour iustice estableie ;
 Maiz pour lors ne ouvrerēt pas ;
 Car sans mesure & sans compas,
 Comme gens plains diniquite,
 De mal et de desloyaulte,
 Persevererent en leur euvre ;
 Comme la leuvre le descueuvre.

La fu le nouvel mareschal,
 Qui tenoit le sceptre royal
 Par devant henry en estant,
 Conte estoit de westmerlant.

^e a nulluy signifie. L.^f crois. L.

Après de wervvic le conte,
De quoy ilz tiennent moult grant cõpte,
Fu ce propre iour panetier ;
Et si estoit grant bouteillier
Un, qui fu conte darondel,
Qui ^z est assez jeune et ysnel.
Le marquis ^a tranch au disner :
Ainsi le voldrent ordonner.
Le duc daumarle le fervi
De vin ; maiz ains que ^{de} fvi
Fust le duc, vindrent a cheval
En la sale le seneschal,
Le mareschal, le connestable ;
La se tindrent devant la table
Iusquatant con volt ^{de} fvir ;
ⁱ Et pour le mieulx agre ^{de} fvir,
Un chevalier, qui fu noïme
Thommas de noth, t^o bien arme
Comme por combatre en bataille,
Sur un cheval arme de maille
Entra en la sale disant,
Sil estoit nul, petit ne grant,
Qui voulfist maintenir ne dire
Que le roy henry ne fust sire
Et droit roy de toute engleterre,
Quil le vouloit darmes requerre
Voire quelles tout a oultrance.
La not nul homme qui a ce
Respondist ne mot ne demy.
Ainsi chavaucha tout parmy
La sale bn trois ^k tours ou quatre,
Desirant se vouloir combatre,

^z fu. L.^a trancha. L.ⁱ Et après veissez venir. L.^k cours. L.

Comme il demonstroït p son dit.
 Apres disner, sans contredit,
 Les plus grans seigneurs tous ensemble.
 Dengleterre, comme il me semble,
 Firent au duc henry hommaige ;
 Maiz les aucuns de bon courage
 Ne le firent pas vrayement ;
 Ains avoiët secretement
 Ja pieca macine sa mort ;
 Pource q̃ par force et atort
 Sestoït fait ce iour couronner.
 La voldrent ensemble ordonner
 Qune grande feste se feroit
 Au noel prouchain qui venoit
 A Windesore le chastel,
 Qui est molt fort & si est bel.
 Ainsi fu la feste ordonnee :
 Mais ceulx, qui avoiët pensee
 Dachever leur euvre et parfaire,
 Vorent la une emprise faire
 De jouter contre tous venans,
 Uns & autres petis & grans.
 Ce fu le bon duc de Souldray,
 Qui fu tousiours loyal & vray
 A son seigneur le roy richart.
 Salsebery fu de sa part.
 Ces deux ¹ firent de iouste enp²ise
 Contre tous, dont moult ie les prise,
 Afin telle que de soubz lombre
 De ³ la feste peussent nombre
 De gens armes ³ la amener,
 Pour mieulx leur vouloir achever :

¹ furent. L.² lemprise. L.³ a la. L.

Car cestoit leur plus grant desir
Du duc henry faire mourir,
Comme ilz avoient entrepris.
Maiz ils en furent depuis pris
Et mis a mort villainement ;
Car duc daumarlle, faulcement
Les trahi, dont il ot grant tort ;
Si estoit il de leur accort,
Et avoit iure avecques eulx
Foy, loyaulte, et quen tous lieux
Aideroit ceste euvre parfaire.
Encor savoit tout cest affaire,
Et estoit de leur alliance
Le duc dexcestre, qui a ce
Faire avoit cause foir & main,
Car il estoit frere germain
Du bon roy richart ancien,
Quil avoiët sans nul moyen
Deffait et oste la couronne
Dengleterre qui est moult bonne ;
Et pource nulz ne doit avoir
Merveilles se iceulx leur devoir
Vouloient faire de remettre
Le roy richart, qui devoit estre
Tout son vivant roy dengleterre,
En son royaume et en sa terre.
Maiz pour faire secretmēt
Mieulx leur fait, vous ° orrez com̃t
Le duc de souldray et le conte
De salsebery firent leur conte
Dachever ¶ ceste euvre et parfaire.
Ilz firent grans charettes faire,

° dirray. L.

¶ leur. L.

Et pourpenserent que dedens
 Mettroient grant foison de gens
 Bien abillies et bien armes,
 Qui seroient couvers ^a menes
 En lieu de harnoiz ^r aiouster,
 A fin quilz peussent mieulx entrer
 Ens ou chastel de Windesore,
 Ou le duc devoit estre. encore
 Leur estoit commande & dit,
 Que tantost, sans nul contredit,
 Quilz pourroient aperchevoir
 Leurs feigneurs, chascun son devoir
 Feist de tuer les portiers,
 Qui ^s les fors gardoient tous entiers ;
 Et ainsi celle euvre faisant
 Yroient leurs seigneurs courant
 Au duc henry pour mettre a mort,
 Sans li faire plus long deport.

En ce point leur fait sarresta,
 Tant que le noel aprouchia,
 Que le duc sen ala logier
 A Windesore pour iugier
 De la feste qui devoit estre.
 Et lors escriprent une lettre
 Le duc de souldray et le conte
 De falsebery, qui ne tient compte
 De riens fors de leuvre achever :
 A londres les firent porter
 Par un homme, qui fu faichant,
 Droit au conte de rotellant,
 Qui estoit duc daumarlle lors,
 En ly suppliant q̃ ses corps

^a é menes. L.^r a jouter. L.^s le fort. L.

Fust tout pres de venir vers eulx,
Pour acomplir leuvre et les veulx
Quilz avoient promis ensemble ;
Et que toutes ses gens ensemble
Face venir avecques luy ;
Afin que, sil nya nullui
Qui se vueille contre eulx deffendre,
Quilz les puissent tuer ou prendre,
Et mettre a mort sans nul respit.
Maiz quant le duc daumarle vit
Le mandement et contenu
Des lres, ou il fu tenu
Par sa promesse & foy baillie,
Faintement monstra grant envie
De partir bien hastivement
Pour obeir au mandement
Que les seigneurs ly orent fait.
Elas ! il nestoit pas parfait.
Jamaiz ne fa qui ny pere ;
Car au viel duc droit ^t son pere
Les lettres des seigneurs porta,
Ne de riens ne les deporta :
Si savoit il bien pour ^u c^otain
Que le duc son pere un seul grain
Naimoit eulx ne le roy richart,
Ains estoit de laccort et part
Du duc henry par lige hommage ;
Et quant il ot veu le langage
Des lres et toute la maniere
Par mautalent frousa la chiere,
Et fist asambler foison gens,
Disant, soiez tost diligens

^t diorc. L.^u de. L.

De mener mon filz vers le roy
 Pour ly compter le grant desroy
 Qui est contre lui pourpense :
 Mal orent le fait * en pense.

De son pere se disparti
 Le duc daumarle en tel pti
 Que hastivement sans atendre
 A Windesore ala descendre ;
 Sa lre au duc henry bailla,
 Et tout le fait ly aferma.
 Maiz le duc ne le creoit pas,
 Quant de londres plus q̃ le pas
 Vint le maire ce propre iour,
 Sans gueres faire seiour,
 Qui lui aferma de rechief
 Trestout le fait de chief en chief.
 Et quant henry la entendu
 Pour riens neust plus la atendu ;
 A cheval bien tost est monte
 De peur quil ne fust surmonte
 Ce iour la de ses ennemis :
 Ou chemin de londres est mis,
 Ou † et le maire avec ses gens
 Deulx haster furent diligens ;
 Maiz * sans quilz peussent venir
 A londres, ceulx qui grant desir
 Avoient de le mettre a mort,
 Estoiient ja dedens le fort
 De Windesore bien avant,
 Pour acomplir leur fait. Maiz qñt
 Ilz forent que le duc estoit
 Partiz, ilz furent moult destroit

* pourpense. L.

† Lui. L.

* ains, L.

Quant ne lavoient atrape,
Et quensi estoit eschappe.
De Windesore font retrais,
Et a surestre fe sont trais,
Une ville qui est ases pres
De la, ou ilz avoient tres
Grant quantite de leurs gens darmes,
Desirant tous de corps et * darmes
A remettre en possession
Le roy richart, qui par raison
Devoit estre son vivant roy.
Leurs gens firent mett⁹ en conroy
Tresbien et bel pour chevauchr.
Avec eulx avoit maint archier
Disant que le bon roy richart
Avoit fait de prison depart,
Et quil estoit la avec eulx :
Et pour le faire a croire mieulx,
Avoient pris un chappellain,
Qui ressembloit si de certain
Au bon roy richart de vifage,
De corps, de fait & de langage,
Quil nest homme qui le vist,
Qui ne certifiast et dist
Qui ce fust le roy ancien ;
Apelle estoit madelein.
Maintesfoiz le vy en Irlande
Chevauchier par bois & par lande
Avec le roy richart son maistre ;
Pieca je ne vy plus bel prestre.
Le defsus dist firent armer
Comme roy, et puis couronner

* dames. L.

Son heaulme moult richement,
 Afin con cuidast vraiment
 Que le roy fust hors de prison.
 La avoient entension
 De chevauchier par le pais
 Pour assembler tous les amis
 Et aliez du roy richart.
 Elas ! ilz le firent trop tart ;
 Car le duc henry sans attendre,
 Qui vouloit a leur mort entendre.
 Hastivement y envoia
 Tant de gens conques neschapa
 Nulz de ceulx quil voldrent avoir.
 Si firent ilz bien leur devoir
 Deulx deffendre moult longuefît :
 Maiz contre dix estoient cent
^b Ou plus, sicomme jouy dire.
 Comme felons faulx et plains dire
 Firent tant quilz orent la force,
 Et quilz les prindrent tous aforce,
 Dont ce fu pitie et dommaige ;
 Car la leur convint le passage
 De la mort amere endurer,
 Comme vous orrez cy compter.
 Au duc dexcestre tout premier
 Firent eulx la teste trancher :
 Apres au bon duc de souldray,
 Qui fu tousiours loyal et vray ;
 Et puis de falsebery le conte
 Noublierent pas en ce compte.
 Ces trois firent eulx mettre a mort
 Villainement & a grant tort :

^b Ou sicomme. L.

Après firent porter les testes
A Londres, ou on en fist grans festes.
La furent mises sur le pont
A lances clouuees amont
Si hault con les puet assez voir.
Maiz, pour vous en dire le voir,
Celle qui fu du duc dexcestre
Ny laisserent pas long temps estre ;
Pour ce quil avoit espousee
La fuer du duc, qune Journee
Et une nuit ny demoura.
Or vueilliez dieux, qui endura
La mort pour pecheurs rachetter
Des infernaulx paines denfer,
Avoir leurs ames es sains chieulx ;
Car ilz estoient en tous lieux
Loyaulx, preudommes, et hardis
c En fait, en pensée et en dis ;
Et tant quen trestoute englet^{re}
On ne saroit trouver ne querre
Ou Jourduy telz trois chevalliers ;
Car ilz demourerent entiers
Et loyaulx Jusques a la mort.
Maiz sil orent de dieu remort
Et de sa sainte passion,
Je croy selon mentenffion
Quilz sont en paradis la sus ;
Car comme martirs expandus
Fu leur sanc^d pour maintenir droit
Et loyaulte en tout endroit.
Un pou après firent savoir
Au bon roy richart tout le voir

^c Line omitted in L.

^d fait. L.

De la besoingne douloureuse,
 Qui lui fu a ouir piteuse ;
 Dont ce ne fu pas grant merveille :
 En plourant dit lors, appereille
 Toy, mort, & me viens sus courir.
 Nulz ne me puet plus secourir,
 Puis q̃ Jay perdu mes amis.
 Tres doulx dieux, qui en croix fu mis,
 Veuillez avoir de moy merchi ;
 Car vivre ne puis plus ainsi.

Après le roy de ces nouvelles,
 Qui ne furent e bonnes ne belles,
 En son cuer print de courroux tant
 Que depuis celle heure en avant
 Oncques ne menga ne ne but,
 Ains convint que la mort recut,
 Comme ilz ^f dient, maiz vrayement
 Je ne le croy pas ensement ;
 Car aucuns dient pour certain
 Qu'il est encore vif et sain,
 Enferme dedens leur prison :
 Cest pour eulx grant mesprison.
 Non obstant que tout en apert
 Firent eulx porter descouvert
 Un homme mort parmi la ville
 De londres, ce ne fu pas guille,
 A telle honneur et a tel feste
 Que pour roy mort doit estre faite,
 En disant que cestoit le corps
 Du roy richart qui estoit mors.
 La faisoit dueil le duc henry
 Par semblance, droit devant ly

e ne bonnes. L.

^f le dient.

Tenant le paille du sarceulx :
Après ly aloient tous ceulx
De son sanc par belle ordannance,
Sans avoir de ly connoissance
Ne des maulx quilz ly orent faiz.
Devant dieu leur fera grant faiz
Quant ce vendra au Jour derrenier,
Quil voudra les mauvais iugier
En la flame perpetuelle
Denfer qui sera Jmmortelle.

Ainsi, comme vous orrez compter,
Voldrent le corps mort emporter
A saint pol de londres tout droit,
Honorablement & a droit
Comme il appartenoit a roy.
Mais certainement pas ne croy
Que ce fust le roy ancien ;
Ains croy que cestoit madelien,
Son chappellain, qui de visage,
De grandeur, de long, de corsage
Le ressembloit si justement,
Que chascun cuidoit fermement
Que ce fust le bon roy richart :
Et se cestoit il, main et tart
Prie Je de vray cuer a dieu,
Qui est misericors et pieu,
Quil vueille es sains chieulx avoir lame
De ly, car il haioit tout blasme
Et tout vice, & par mon advis.
Noncques en li riens ie ne vis

& selon. L.

Fors foy catholique et iustice :
 Si ly fi Je sept mois service
 De ce que ie le povoy servir,
 Pour aucunement deservir
 Les biens quil mavoit promis ;
^b Et Certes il ne fu demis
 Ne trahy, fors tant seulement
 Pource quil amoit loyaument
 Le roy de france, son beau pere,
 De vray amour et singuliere
 Autant quomme qui ¹ fut en vie.
 Ce fu la rachine et lenvie ;
 Nonobstant quilz ly mirèt sus
 Quil avoit fait mourir les ducs
 Ses oncles par son fol oultrage,
 Et quil nestoit prudent ne sage
 Pour le royaume gouverner.
 Dautre chose assez compter
 Vous pourroie que chascun dit ;
 Mais certes ^k ie vous cuide avoir dit
 Le vray, comme ie puis entendre :
¹ Et si ie devoie lame rendre
^m Si demourroy Je en ceste colle ;
 Car comme gent mauvaïse et folle
 Heent francoiz mortellement,
 Silz osoient monstrier comment.
 Apres ce que le duc henry
 Ot acheve et accompli
 De son vouloir la plus grant pt,
 Et deffait le bon roy richart,

^b Et je ne crois quil fu dismis. L.¹ soit. L.^k ie cuide avoir dit. L.¹ Et si devoie. L.^m Demourroy je. L.

Le fist le cōmun couronner ;
Et puis apres volt ordonner
Ses embassadeurs et meffages
Sollempnes, qui furent moult fages,
Et les envoia a Callais,
Gēs deglise avecq̃s gēs lais.
Pour venir vers le roy de france,
Apportant l̃res de creance.
Levesque de duresme y fu,
Ainsi que ie lay entendu ;
Et de perfi meffire thommas,
Qui nestoit travaillies ne mas
De faire le vouloir de son maistre ;
Avecque un, qui sot bien son estre,
Con appelle par son droit non
Monseigneur guillaume heron.
Ces tous firent lors le passage
Pour venir excuser loultrage
Que leur roy nouvel avoit fait
Au roy de france, qui de fait
Li avoit fait si grant honneur,
Lui estant banis a douleur
Hors du royaume dengleterre.
Apres envoierent bonne erre
Les diz meffages un herault,
Qui fu saige, ^a soutif et caut,
A paris pour leur saufconduit ;
Car ainsi furent introduit
De leur maistre au departir.
Maiz on fist le herault partir

^a sontil e cault. L.

Bien brief de paris sans reponse,
 Et sans saufconduit ou semonse ;
 Car le roy ne volt pas souffrir
 Qua ly se venisent pour offrir ;
 Ains envoya par devers eulx
 A Callais, pour savoir leurs veulx,
 Maistre pierre blanchet henart,
 Quacuns dient de karbenart.
 Ces deux y alerent ensemble.
 La leur firent, comme il me fsemble,
 Reverence & honneur moult grant
 Les meffages angles, disant,
 Que tres grande mutasion
 Avoit eu en leur region ;
 Et quils avoient fait un roy
 Tout nouvel par le bon arroy,
 Et confeil du peuple comün
 Dengleterre, fans ce quaucun
 ° Deulx yeust trouve que redire ;
 Du quel roy ne savoient dire
 Le desir ne le grant ardeur
 Damour, quil avoit sans faveur
 Au roy de france, son cousin ;
 Tant lamoit de loyal cuer fin,
 Et ameroit toute sa vie ;
 Et que, tant quil seroit en vie,
 Se tendroit grandement tenu
 A ly ; car il lavoit receu
 En son pais moult grandement :
 Et pour P convourir fermement

° Yeust rien. L.

P renourrir. L.

Lamour et la tranquillite,
Bien, paix, aliance et fante
Des deux royaumes tout ensemble
Desire, felon ce quil nous semble,
Que mariage fe feist
En france, comme il nous a dit,
De la royne et de son filz
Le prince, ^qsoierent tous fiz,
Et de ly a une aut^e dame
Du sanc royal, qui son cuer dame ;
Et par ainsi pourroit venir
Es deux royaumes grant plaisir
Et grant abondance de biens,
Voire trestous les crestiiens
De ce monde en vouldroient mieulx ;
Et q̃ ferme paix en tous lieux
Des deux royaumes fust crie.
Maiz quant ilz orent bien contee
Leur raison devant les franchoiz,
Ilz les respondirent ainchois
Quilz se partiffent de la place,
Disant, seigneurs, ia dieu ne place
Que de ceste matiere yci
Respondons ne mot ne demi ;
Car cest une chose trop grant ;
Chargiez ne sommes plus avant
Fors seulement de rapporter
Toute vostre requeste et parler
Au roy de france n^{re} fire.
Ainsi sans plus parler ne dire

Se partirent eulx des engles,
 Qui de rechief leur firent tres
 Grant honneur et grant reverence.
 Tout droit retournerent en france
 A paris, ou le roy estoit,
 Qui assez grant desir avoit
 De savoir des angloiz le fait,
 Et comment ilz orent deffait
 Le roy richart et mis a mort.
 En plain conseil firent rapport
 Les messages devant le roy,
 Racomptant par tresbel aroy
 Des engles toute la maniere,
 Et comment par humble priere
 Defirrirent un sauf conduit.
 Lors le conseil, comme bien duit
 Et sage, fu daccort ensemble
 Con envoieroit, ce me semble,
 MESSAGES destat tout pareil
 A eulx, pour ouyr leur conseil
 Et ce quilz vouldroient requerre ;
 Et quil mettent paine denquerre
 De leur fait et de leur ^r couvine ;
 Et quilz rendent brief la royne,
 Comme ilz ^s sont tous obligiez
 Par leur foy, et seaulx fichiez
 Aux Instrumens, qui furent faiz
 Quant le mariage parfaiz
 Fu du roy et de sa compaignie ;
 Et que nefun deulx ne se faigne

^r couvine. L.^s y sont. L.

De les ^t ensouvner bien souvent,
Ou quilz seroient autrement
Faulx, pariures et desloyaulx ;
Et quil en pourroit trop de maulx
Avenir es deux regions ;
Ne qua autres oppinions
Nulle quelconque fors acelle
Nentendent ; et con ^u leur celle
Riens a dire qui soit de droit ;
Et quil fen voient trestout droit
A boulongne, fans plus attendre,
Pour ouyr, savoir et entendre
Ce que engles voudront proposer.
Lors partirent sans reposer
De paris, en mois de fevrier,
Levesque de chartres premier,
Et monseigneur de hugneville,
Sans arrester na champ na ville,
Tant qua boulongne sont venu.
Maistre pierre blanchet y fu ;
Auffi fu maistre goutier col.
Ceulx endurerent dur & mol
Afez, ains quilz peussent ravoir
La royne ; car riens de voir
Ne leur tenoient les englois,
Veu que lespace de vint mois
Dura la profecufion,
Ains que la restitution
^v Feissent de la jeune royne,
Atendant tousiours la termine

^t ensom'er. L.^u ne leur. L.^v Fissent. L.

Quelle eust douze ans accomplis ;
 A fin que ses faiz et ses dis,
 Et ce quilz ly eussent fait faire
 Neust on peu iamais deffaïre.
 Mais requis furent si souvent,
 Et *souvnes par francoïse gent,
 Eulx demonstrant qua t^ogrant tort
 La tenoient, veu laccort
 Qui en fu fait au mariage,
 Quilz ordonnerent son passage.
 Droit le mardi, xxv^{me}
 Jour de Juillet, environ prime,
 Passa de doves a callais
 La royne des englois, mais
 Ce fu en lan mil quatre cens
 Et un, sicomme ie lentens,
 Tresgrandement acompaignie ;
 Car elle ot en sa compaignie
 Des plus grans dames dengleterre.
 Quant descendus furent a terre,
 Hugneville, qui fu passés
 Avecque elle, ne fu lassés,
 Ains escript tantost a boulongne
 Aux embassadeurs la besongne ;
 Et comment elle estoit passée ;
 Et quilz avoient tous en pensée
 De la restituer et rendre,
 Comme ilz ly orent fait entendre.

† Le dimenche apres, derrenier Jour
 De Juillet, sans plus de seiour,

* sommez. L.

† Le dimenche, derrenier Jour. L.

Parti de Callais la royne
Avec engles, qui de termine
Ne porent plus par droit trouver,
Tant les firent franchois ^z souvner ;
Maiz lamenerent trestout droit
A lolinghehen. La endroit
Alerent ceulx au devant d'elle,
Qui en savoient la nouvelle.
Ce fu de Saint pol le droit conte,
Ainsi que chascun le raconte,
Et les ambaffadeurs de france
Avec lui, qui grant diligence
Avoient mis pour la ravoir.

Deffoubz lolinghehen pour voir
Fu la royne descendus
En une tente, que tendus
Orent englois en la valee,
Par man^{re} bien ordonee.
Vindrent devers elle les dames
De france, qui de cuer et dames
La desiroient moult veir.
Un pou apres voudrent partir
De la, ainsi comme il me semble ;
Et emmenerent tous ensemble
La royne a la chappelle
De lolinghehen, qui est telle
Que chascun scet, qui la veue ;
Et quant elle fu descendue
Ilz la firent entrer dedens
Avecques a^{ses} pou de gens,

^z sommer. L.

Fors les embassadeurs de france
 Et dangleterre, qui a ce
 Faire avoient asez mis.
 Quant ilz furent ensemble mis
 En la chappelle, un chevalier,
 Qui dengloiz est tenu moult chier,
 Cest Sire thommas de persi,
 Prinist a parler, disant ainsi ;
 Le roy henry, Roy dengleterre,
 Mon souverain seigñr en terre,
 Desirant lacomplissement
 De ^a sa promesse ligement,
 Et de voulente trefaffine,
 A cy ma dame, la royne
 Dengleterre fait amener,
 Pour le rendre et restituer
 A son pere, le roy de franche,
 Bien deliee, quitte et franche
 De tous liens de mariage,
 Et de t⁹ tout autre servage,
 Debte ou obligation ;
 Et que, sur la dampnaçon
 De son ame ainsi le prenoit
 Et oultre plus, q̃ elle estoit
 Auffi saine et auffi entiere
 Quau Jour que dedens sa litiere
 Fu amenee au roy richart ;
 Et fil estoit nul, quelque part
 Fut, roy, duc, conte, crestiien
 Ou dautre estat, grant ou moien,
 Qui vouldist a ce contre dire,
 Il trouveroit, sans plus rien dire,

Ne sans querir plus long conseil,
Un homme destat tout pareil
En engleterre soustenant
Ceste querelle, et par devant
Tout bon Juge exposeroit
Son corps que tout ainsi estoit.

Et quant il ot dit son vouloir
Treffagement, sachiez de voir,
Le Conte de Saint Pol lui dist,
Que loue en fut Jhefu crift ;
Et quainsi le creoient eulx
Fermement sans estre doubteulx.
Lors Sire Thommas de Persi
La Jeune royne saisi
Par les bras en plourant moult fort,
Et la livra par bon accort
Aux messages, qui furent la :
Et auffi on leur delivra
Certains lres de quittance,
Quavoient promis ceulx de france :
Et sachiez que les deux parties,
Ains que de la fussent parties,
Plourerent moult piteusement :
Mais, quant ce vint au partement
De la chappelle, La royne,
Qui son cuer de bien enlumine,
En admena tous les engles
Et les dames, qui firent tres
Grant dueil aux franchoises tentes ;
Et fi estoient leur ententes
De disner la trestous ensemble ;
^b Et firent ilz, comme il me semble.

^b Si firent. L.

Maiz quāt ce vint apres disner,
La royne fist ordonner
De tres beaux Joyaux grant foison,
Et les fist pñter par don
Aux grans dames et aux feigneurs
Dengleterre, qui de douleurs
Et de dueil plouroient moult fort.
Maiz la royne reconfort
Leur donna, et prist congie deulx.
Et lors renouvela leurs deulx,
Quant davecques eulx fe dult partir.

Ainsi se voldrent departir
A celle heure angloiz et franchoys ;
Maiz Je scay bien de vray, ainchois
Que la royne dengleterre
Fust loings une lieue de terre,
Trouva monseigneur de Bourgongne,
Qui estoit venu de Boulongne,
En enbuche secretement ;
Avec ly estoient present
De nevers le conte son filz
Aifne, soiez en tous fiz ;
Si fu Anthoine mon feigneur ;
Encor y ot un grant seigneur,
Con appelle par son droit nom
Monfeigneur le duc de bourbon :
Ceulx estoient acompaignie
De vc. lances tout a pie,
Rengies sur les champs & armes,
A fin que, se les voulentes
Des engloiz fust mal retournee,
Ou quilz eussent en penfee
De la royne remener,
Pour aucun estrif ou parler

Quilz eussent peu ent⁹ eulx avoir,
Que chascū de ceulx leur devoir
Eussent fait de la rescoure ;
Et quilz eussent laisie coure
Sur engles a fort leurs chevaulx,
Parmi montaignes, plains & vaux,
Tant que, par force & maugre eulx,
Leussent ramenee entreulx
Au roy de france, son beau pere.
Maiz Je vueil bien quil vous apere
Quilz norent mestier de faire ;
Car les englois voldrent parfaire
Delle la restitution
Dengleterre en sa region,
Et de tous ses joyaulx auffi
Quelle avoit, quant elle parti
De france apres son mariage :
Et depuis fist elle paisage
Par mi france jusqu'a paris,
Ou maintes larmes & maint ris
Fu jettee pour sa venue.
Or prions dieu, qui sa char nue
Leiffa humblemēt en croix pendre
Pour pecheurs rachetter & rendre
Hors des mains des faulx ennemis
Denfer, qui ne sont nos amis,
Quil vueille brief prendre vengeance
Des grans maulx et desconnoissance,
De loultrage et Jniuste fait,
Que les mauvais engloiz ont fait
A leur Roy et a leur royne.
Maiz que ce soit en brief termine ;
Car Je vous jure, a dire voir,
Que Je le desire moult voir,

Pour le mal que Jay veu ent⁹ eulx :
 Et se chascun favoit leur veulx
 Et comment ilz heent franchoiz,
 Je cuide fermement, ainchoiz
 Que trois mois fussent acomply,
 Con verroit maint vaiffel empli
 De garnison et de vitaille
 Pour eulx aler faire bataille ;
 Car ce font tresmauvaises gens,
 Et de bien faire negligens :
 Chascun le puet veoir clerement :
 Et se parle trop largement
 Ay deulx, en aucune maniere
 Qui desplaïse, ^c dumble priere
 Requier et de cuer sans amer
 Con le me vueille pardonner ;
 Car Je prens sur dieu & sur mame
 Qua mon pouvoir mal ne diffame
 Je nay dit deulx quilz naient fait ;
 Veu que sept mois entiers leur fait
 Vy et chevauchay avecque eulx,
 Par plu^s contrees et lieux
 En yrlande & en engleterre :
 Et fi me vult moult fort requerre
 Et prier de bon cuer auffi
^d Le bon conte de Salfebery,
 Quant il fu pris avec le roy
 Richart, que de tout le desroy
 Et defloyale traison
 Voulfiffe faire mension,
 Se retourner povoie en franche ;
 Et certes de voulente franche

^c durable. L.^d Le cone. L.

Et de cuer loyal ly promis ;
Et pour ceste cause Jay mis
Paine dacomplir la promesse
Que ly fy en la grant tristesse
Et peril ou Je le laiffay ;
Et auffi pour ce que Je scay
De certain con neust peu savoir
De la prise du roy le voir,
Et comment il fu faulsement
Par traittie & par parlement
Atraiz hors ^e de ses forts chastiaux,
Qui sont en galles bons & biaux,
Du conte de northomberlant,
Comme Jay dit ycy devant.
Si prie a tous ceulx de cuer fin,
Qui verront Jusques a la fin
Ce traittie que Ja voulu faire
Des engloiz et de leur affaire,
Que, se Jay mespris en rimer
En prose ou en leonimer,
Con men tiengne pour excuse ;
Car Je nen fui pas bien ruse. ^f Amen.

*Ce livre de la prinse du Roy
Richart dengleterre est a mons^r
Charles daniou, Conte du Maine
et de mortaing, et gouverneur
de languedoc.*

CHARLES.

^e de ses chastiaux. L.

^f Explicit. L.

II. *An Inquiry concerning the Death of Richard the Second.*
By THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. S. A. in two Letters addressed
to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.

LETTER I.

Read 27th May, 1819.

Dear Sir,

There is perhaps no important event in English history which is involved in greater obscurity than the death of Richard the Second. It is much to be regretted, therefore, that so little light has been thrown upon it by the very curious contemporary narrative which you lately communicated to the Society through the medium of Mr. Webb's spirited translation. Had the writer remained in England till after the King's decease, it cannot be doubted that he would have enriched his work with such details of it as his honest diligence could not have failed to collect. As it is, we have merely his testimony that suspicions were entertained of foul play, and that he himself believed the body which was exposed to public view was not Richard's, but was that of Maudelen his chaplain; not knowing (by reason, probably, of his absence from England) that Maudelen, who is said to have counterfeited his Master in the revolt of Richard's adherents, had already paid the penalty of his fraud, by suffering public execution in a way which rendered further deception impracticable*. Availing myself of the strong interest which

* He was hanged, and afterwards beheaded. Walsingham, Hist. p. 404, edit. Parker, and p. 353, edit. Camden. Otterbourne, p. 229. The best, and, except the "Relation de la Mort," &c. hereafter noticed, the only early authority I have found for the fact of his having personated Richard when living, is Froissart, tom. IV. p. 345, edit. 1559. His person was probably well known, as he was in authority about the king, and was one of the witnesses to his will. See Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. VII. p. 684, and vol. VIII. pp. 20, 21, and 77.

In

this chronicle has attracted towards the fate of Richard, I shall not hesitate to submit to the Society a brief notice of such early authorities as have presented themselves to me on this doubtful question.

It will not, I think, be difficult to shew, that the commonly received story of the assassination of Richard by Sir Piers of Exton, and his eight followers, with battle-axes, cannot now be traced to any authentic source. The contemporary English historians, it will hereafter be seen, agree in giving accounts which are in every respect widely different. Mr. Malone, however, (in a note on Shakspeare, in which he has cited some authorities on the subject,) is wrong in supposing that the Exton narrative owed its first notice to Fabyan, about a hundred years after the event. It had been previously related by Caxton, in his additions to Hygden's Polycronicon, first printed in 1482; but the earliest promulgation of it, which I have found, exists in the French manuscript entitled "*Relation de la Mort*," &c. in the Royal Library at Paris, first quoted, I believe, by Carte among our English historians, and from which copious extracts have been made by M. Galliard. But, besides that the exact date of this manuscript is by no means satisfactorily ascertained, and that the writer, in common with his countrymen, was a partizan of Richard, we shall be disposed to place but little reliance on him, when we compare his general details with those of our own contemporary chroniclers^b. His inaccuracies are, in fact, those of a foreigner writing on the affairs of our country, when few facilities existed of obtaining correct information. Even at the present period, with the unbounded advantages of the press, we know how little credit we should be inclined to give to such records of passing events in Eng-

^b Among the errors of this French author is a remarkable one respecting Sir Simon Burley. See p. 207 of the English translation contained in vol. II. of the "*Account and Extracts of the MSS. in the Library of the King of France*." London, 1789. The anecdote, there related, of the queen's intercession with the Earl of Arundel for the life of a gentleman, named in the MS. *John Carnailly*, is a complete misrepresentation of the fact. The intercession was made, not with Arundel, but with the Duke of Gloucester, and was on the behalf, not of Carnailly, but of Sir Simon Burley, Richard's guardian.

land as we might find in a French memoir or newspaper. What, then, must have been the risks of misrepresentation, when both the press and the post were unknown! These observations are not meant to apply to the writer of the chronicle translated by Mr. Webb, any more than to Froissart. Both of them were *eye-witnesses* of much that they have related, and so far are they to be credited; but we know into what inaccuracies Froissart has been betrayed, when he relied on the information of others. The editors of the Benedictine collection of the historians of France, have complained of the incorrectness of our early English writers with respect to French affairs; and the charge may perhaps be justly retorted, with some few exceptions, on their own chroniclers of all ages.

Whatever may have been the foundation of this French story, its first appearance in an English dress appears to have been (as I have before noticed) in Caxton's additions to the Polycronicon, where it is related in terms which seem to have been borrowed from the Parisian manuscript. But it should be observed, that Caxton adds, that the common opinion of *Englishmen* was, that King Richard died otherwise; and he then proceeds to give an account of his death by voluntary starvation. It is still more remarkable, that in his *Chronicle*, printed only two years before, viz. in 1480, Caxton takes no notice whatever of the Exton story, but says, "And than anon dyed King Richard in the Castle of Pountfret in the North Contre. In ther he was enfamyned unto the dethe by his kepar, for he was kept ther four or five dayes from mete or drynke. And so he made his ende in this worlde, yet moche peple in Englo'd, and in other landes, sayd that he was alive many yere after his death^c; but whether he were alive or dede forth

^c These widely circulated rumours which agitated the country for some years after Richard's death, and which obtained an extensive belief among his partizans, serve at least to negative the *notoriety* of the story of his assassination. Two years after his death, the reports of his being still alive and in Scotland had gained such credit that Henry found it necessary to issue the proclamation "*super fabricatoribus mendaciorum*," which bears date the 5th of June 1402, and is preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. VIII. p. 261.

they held their fals oppynyons and byleve that men hadden in moche which come to grete meschyef and foule dethe." From this it would appear, that the French story had only reached Caxton between the years 1480 and 1482, and that it was by no means a popular tale in this country. Fabyan subsequently related it, noticing the other story, as Caxton had done, but adding, that this (meaning the Exton relation) is "of moost wryters testified and alleged." To what writers he alluded it seems now in vain to enquire.

After Fabyan's work appeared, the story was copied by other respectable writers, particularly by Hall^d and Holinshed^e. They relate it, however, among other accounts, Hall leaving it to the judgment of his

In 1404, *after* the manifesto of the Percies had appeared, and their first rebellion had been crushed by the battle of Shrewsbury, these rumours were revived, and an impostor assumed the title of the deceased king, with the encouragement of Serle, who had been one of Richard's servants, and of the old Countess of Oxford, the mother of his favourite. This impostor (whose name does not appear in that character in our histories) was Thomas Warde of Trumpington, according to the proclamation in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. VIII. p. 353, from which it will be found that William Serle and Amye Donet were specially excepted from an Act of Grace, with this Thomas Warde, "*que se pretende et feigne d'estre Roy Richard*." The believers in this fraud appear to have been very numerous, particularly among ecclesiastics. From a marginal note in Hearne's handwriting, in his copy of Archbishop Parker's edition of Walsingham, now in my possession, it appears that the Abbots and Monks of St. John's, Colchester, and St. Osyth, were among the deceived. Hearne's authority was an imperfect MS. of Walsingham in the library of Magdalen College, from which he has inserted collations. Such was the doubtful state of the public mind on the question of Richard's death for many years after that event had occurred. The story in Boece of Richard's escape to Scotland, and his burial at Stirling, will be noticed subsequently in the text, in addition to which the following odd passage will be found in "Ane Tractat of a part of ye Yngliss Cronikle," printed from Asloan's Manuscript, at the Auchinleck press, under the superintendence of the late Sir Alexander Boswell. After noticing that Richard had destroyed some Scottish monasteries, it is added "that this King Richert murdret mony of his lords in Yngland, and was exild in to Scotland, ye qwhilk deit a beggar and out of his mynd, and was erdit i ye Blak Frers of Striuling." Sign B iiij. Could it have been Thomas Warde who thus continued his imposture after his object had been completely frustrated?

^d P. 20, edit. 1809.

^e P. 517, edit. 1587, vol. II.

reader to distinguish the true one ; and Holinshed (through some error, perhaps, of his printer,) citing in the margin Walsingham as the author who had furnished it, though he had just before truly represented that writer as ascribing Richard's death to voluntary starvation. In Holinshed's Chronicle it was found by Shakspeare, who seems to have selected it as the incident best suited to the taste of his audiences. A monarch heroically defending himself against a host of assassins, with a battle-axe which he had wrested from one of them, afforded materials to the poet for a picturesque catastrophe. The powerful genius of Shakspeare conferred immortality on the fiction ; but, without insisting on its improbability, it is quite clear that it could not have been the true story, since, long after it was supposed to have occurred, it was, as I shall hereafter shew, wholly unknown to the Percys and their adherents.

The most complete proof, however, of the falsehood of this tale of assassination, was reserved to be discovered in the present age, when the tomb of Richard in Westminster Abbey was accidentally laid open, and the skull having been examined, "there did not appear upon it" (to use the language of an eye-witness, Mr. King) "any such marks of a blow or wound upon it as could at all warrant the commonly-received history of this wretched King's unhappy end. A small cleft, that was visible on one side, appeared, on close inspection, to be merely the opening of a suture from length of time and decay, and was, besides, in such a part of the head, that it must have been visible when the visage was exposed, had it been the consequence of a wound given by a battle-axe, it being at the top of what the anatomists call the *os temporis*!" This proof must be considered as decisive, unless, indeed, we revive the improbable and exploded suspicion, that the corpse which was exposed, and afterwards buried, was not that of Richard. Were other reasons wanting, the pious care of Henry 5th, in removing the body from Langley, and causing it to be interred with

^f *Archæologia*, vol. VI. p. 316.

suitable honours at Westminster, forbids the belief that he would have omitted to ascertain that he was thus paying a debt of gratitude to the true remains of his early patron ^g.

There will then remain two statements for the choice of the historian, each having the testimony of contemporary writers in its support. One of them is, that the King died of grief and voluntary famine ; the other, that his starvation was inflicted by the cruelty of his successor.

The former of these will be found in the two historical works of Thomas of Walsingham, an author of acknowledged credit, who was living at the time of Richard's death ^h. He relates, that when Richard, in his confinement at Pontefract Castle, heard of the disasters which had frustrated the attempts of his friends to restore him, he voluntarily starved himself, as it was reported ⁱ, and expired on Saint Valentine's day. His body was removed to the Tower, and publicly shewn ; after which, the King and the citizens of London celebrated his Requiem in St. Paul's Cathedral. The funeral took place at Langley, under the direction of the Bishop of Chester and the Abbots of St. Alban's and Walsingham ; but the customary hospitalities to those who assisted in the ceremony appear to have been omitted ; for Walsingham says, that, when their labour was ended, there was nobody who would invite them to dinner.

This account, in its material points, is confirmed by three writers of those times, namely, by Thomas Otterbourne ^k, by the Monk of Evesham who wrote the Life of Richard which Hearne has edited ^l, and by the continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland ^m. The latter author asserts that the King refused food for five days and nights. With respect to

^g For an account of the favour shewn to Henry the Fifth in his early youth by Richard, and which may be supposed to have influenced his mind in performing this apparent act of gratitude, see T. de Elmham, *Vita et Gesta Hen. V.* p. 5 ; and also T. Liv. For. Jul. *Vita Hen. V.* p. 3.

^h *Hist. Ang.* p. 405, and *Ypodigma Neustria*, p. 158, in Parker's edition, fol. 1574, or at p. 363 and 556 in Camden's Reprint, fol. 1603.

ⁱ " Ut fertur." The author uses the same expression in his *Ypodigma Neustria*."

^k P. 228, as published by Hearne.

^l P. 169.

^m Gale and Fell, tom. I. p. 495.

the exposure of the corpse, Otterbourne, who was living at the time, says, that that part of it was uncovered by which it might be known; that is to say, the face from the lower part of the forehead to the throat. Froissart says, that more than twenty thousand persons came to see the King, who lay in the litter, his head on a black cushion, and his face uncovered. Hardyng the chronicler was one of these spectators^a. Notwithstanding this exposure, the story afterwards prevailed, and is related by Hector Boece, that Richard escaped to Scotland, where he lived a religious life, and was buried at Stirling.

In opposition to the authorities which represent Richard as the victim of his own vexation and despair, the first document in point of importance, as well as in the order of time, is the letter of defiance which the Percys sent to King Henry in the field, immediately before the battle of Shrewsbury. In this important record (which owes to you its publication in its original state^o), Henry is roundly charged with having caused Richard to perish from hunger, thirst, and cold, after fifteen days and nights of sufferings unheard of among Christians. The more elaborate and detailed articles put forth against Henry, at a subsequent period, by Archbishop Scroop, repeat the charge, in different words, but to the same effect. It is remarkable, however, that the

^a So it appears in the Lansdown MS. in the British Museum, though not in Grafton's two editions, collated and re-edited by Mr. Ellis. The Lansdown MS. was Hardyng's first performance, presented to Henry the Sixth, and comes no lower than 1436. The following stanza, in which Richard's death and the exposure of his corpse are described, contains many variations from the printed text.

Sone after so the Kyng Richerde that dede
And brought to Poules with grete solempnyte.
Men sayde he was forhungred, and lapte in lede,
Bot that his masse was done and dyrige,
In herse Rial, *his corse lay there I se*
And after masse to Westmynster was ledde,
Whar placebo and dyrige he hedde.

^o See *Archæologia*, vol. XVI. p. 140, and Mr. Ellis's edition of Hardyng's *Chronicles*, p. 353.

Archbishop states the fact of Richard's violent death to be only common report ; his words being "*ut vulgariter dicitur.*"^p It would seem, therefore, that the truth of the surmises contained in the declaration of the Percys, had rather lost than gained ground in the two years which intervened between the promulgation of the respective instruments.

Sir John Fortescue (as quoted by Stow^q, from a work which Mr. Malone supposes to be somewhere existing in MS.) says, that " King Richard was imprisoned in Pomfret Castle, where xv days and nights they vexed him with continuall hunger, thirst, and cold, and finally bereft him of his life with such a kinde of death as was never before that time knowne in England." This passage, however, seems to be only a literal translation from Archbishop Scroop's manifesto, — otherwise, as Fortescue was living at Richard's death (though then very young), some weight might have been allowed to his authority. It should be remarked, however, that he was first an adherent of the house of Lancaster, but afterwards conformed himself to the government of Edward the Fourth, when he composed an apology for his conduct, which Selden saw, and from which the passage in question has perhaps been extracted^r. Froissart, in mentioning Richard's death, says he " could not learn the particulars of it, nor how it happened," and he adds in a subsequent page, that " his death had been expected some time, for it was well known he would never come out of the Tower alive^s." It is extraordinary that this admirable and in general well informed writer, should have expressly stated that Richard's death took place in the Tower, though all other authors concur in fixing that event

^p Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. II. p. 365. This document appears to be preserved in another form in MS. Bodl. 623, according to the obliging information of the Rev. B. Bandinell, who has favoured me with an extract from it.

^q Stow's *Annals*, p. 325, edit. 1631.

^r I have not been able to discover this MS. either by my own enquiries or by the search which has been kindly made for it at my request by Mr. Bandinell.

^s Mr. Johnes's translation. The whole passage is remarkable for its feeling, and is highly characteristic of that noble simplicity which distinguishes Froissart from all other chroniclers.

at Pontefract Castle. Hardyng, who was a partizan of Richard and the Percys, contents himself with relating, that "men sayde *forhungered* he was^t," without noticing whether the starvation was forced or voluntary. And William Wyrcester, though he wrote his annals many years subsequent to the event, simply tells us that Richard was conveyed to Pomfret, where, after a few days, he died.^u

These are all the original authorities which I have been able to collect; and it must be confessed that the truth is not to be satisfactorily extracted from them. The popular opinion has certainly been (especially in later times) that this misguided Monarch owed his death to the cruel policy of the Usurper. Mr. Hume (who does not appear, indeed, to have examined the question with much diligence), observes, in his masterly character of Henry, that "the steps have always been so few between the prisons of Princes and their graves, that we need not wonder that Richard's fate was no exception to the general rule." But it may on the other hand be remarked, that men are generally too apt, upon light grounds, to impute the deaths of Princes to violent causes. Few, very few, of our Sovereigns have died without exciting temporary suspicions of this nature. In the present case, the general conduct of Henry does not appear to warrant a conclusion that he could have inflicted on his unfortunate kinsman the wanton barbarities which his enemies have ascribed to him; nor are the evidences of the crime, even unaccompanied with its aggravations, either strong in themselves, or unexceptionable as to the quarters from whence they proceed. To remove, in any single instance, the foul stain of murder from an English Monarch would be a gratifying atchievement. I must candidly admit, however, that, in this instance, the materials for such

^t P. 357, Mr. Ellis's edition.

^u "Et cito post Rex Ricardus ad Castrum de Pumfrete transmissus est, ubi post paucos dies obiit." *Annales Rerum Anglicanum*, printed at the end of Hearne's *Lib. Nig. Scac.* p. 451. It may be proper to add, that in the short *Chronicle of Godstow*, subjoined by Hearne to his edition of Roper's *Life of More*, the words are, "tandem à cibo & potu per IIII^{or} vei quinque dies restrictus famis inedia expiravit." p. 237.

an undertaking are but scantily afforded. All that can in fairness be advanced is, that the murder of Richard has no right to be deemed, as it has latterly been, an established and indisputable fact, but ought rather to be ranked among the HISTORIC DOUBTS, which, in the darker periods of our annals, were left unexplained, and which time has but little contributed to develope.

I remain always, my dear Sir,

Most sincerely your's,

THOMAS AMYOT.

London, 18th May 1819.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S.

Secretary.

LETTER II.

MY DEAR SIR,

HAVING in a former Letter communicated to you a notice of such original authorities as I had been able to collect on the doubtful question of Richard the Second's death, you will readily believe that my attention was strongly excited by the interesting paper which you read at our last meeting. If you do not consider Mr. Webb's diligent and profound researches to have exhausted the subject, you will, perhaps, in the absence of more important matter, be disposed to lay before the Society the grounds of my dissent from his general conclusion.

I ought, in the first place, to observe, that I have much pleasure in finding that Mr. Webb, without having seen my former communication, confirms my reasons for rejecting the popular story of Richard's assassination by Sir Piers, of Exton. The question at issue between us lies therefore in a narrow compass. It is simply, whether the death of that

monarch was occasioned by compulsory starvation, or by grief and voluntary abstinence :—the object of the enquiry being to determine, whether the original authorities, on which alone reliance can be placed, have a tendency, on the one hand, to fix on Henry the suspicion (for *proof* is out of the question) of having caused or connived at the murder of his predecessor, or, on the other, to rescue his memory from so foul an imputation. Mr. Webb's opinion more than leans to the *former* of these conjectures. My own, which was before cautiously expressed in favour of the *latter* of them, has been, on further examination and reflection, strengthened, if not confirmed, for the reasons which I will now submit to you.

The authorities referred to by Mr. Webb, in support of the story of Richard's death from starvation by his keepers, shall be first considered : These (to omit the later ones, for the reasons which Mr. Webb has himself assigned for rejecting them) are, Hardyng, Fortescue, the challenge of the Percys, and the manifesto of the Yorkshire insurgents.

To begin then with Hardyng, I must contend that, even if his testimony had been unequivocally given on the side on which it has been ranged by Mr. Webb, it ought not to be deemed of much weight. For Hardyng was a devoted partizan of the Percys, and fought in their ranks at the battle of Shrewsbury. But in fact, all that he says on Richard's death is comprized in the words "Men sayde *forhungered* he was," without one syllable being added, except to describe the solemnities of the mass at St. Paul's, at which King Henry assisted, and to blame that monarch for causing the corpse to be buried at Langley, instead of Westminster. It is true that the Harleian and Selden Manuscripts of this Chronicle contain the challenge of the Percys, but this appears to be given merely as an historical document ; and though Hardyng has added to it some information of a curious nature, which he had heard from the Percys, relative to Richard's deposition, and the claims of the Earl of March, not a word further escapes him on the King's death, for which so good an opportunity was thus afforded. It will be said, perhaps, that his Chronicle was written in the reign and

under the influence of Henry's grandson. This is true only of the Lansdown Manuscript, which I have referred to in my former letter, and which differs materially from all the others, though not as to the fact in question. The other manuscripts were completed by him to the time of Edward the Fourth, when it became the fashion to revile Henry's memory—a fashion in which Hardyng might have indulged without any sacrifice of principle. Under such circumstances, not to find him a foe is to count him a friend, and as such, therefore, I shall be bold to claim him.

Next, as to Sir John Fortescue, it does not appear, as I formerly observed, in what work of his the passage quoted by Stow is to be found.—Mr. Malone supposes it to be existing somewhere in manuscript, but I have in vain endeavoured to trace it, nor does Mr. Webb quote it from actual examination. It is quite clear, however, that the passage, as given by Stow, is merely a literal translation from the challenge of the Percys. As for Fortescue himself, it will be sufficient to remark that this very eminent lawyer, after having been a favoured servant of the House of Lancaster during their prosperity, and a faithful adherent to them in their adversity, found it necessary, when their fortunes were finally extinguished, to surrender his conscience, at the close of a long and useful life, into the hands of their triumphant rival. It is, in fact, from his *Apology* for this abandonment of principle, which Selden had seen in manuscript, that Mr. Malone supposes the passage in question to have been extracted by Stow. Shall we be justified in attributing much weight to opinions thus newly formed, at the age of almost ninety? Or shall we not rather grieve that a great mind was thus reduced to the necessity of inventing excuses to itself, for changes which it had no longer the firmness to resist?

We now come to the challenge of the Percys, which we must admit to be in boldness and vigour worthy of the gallant Hotspur of our great Dramatist. He does indeed, in the language of Shakspeare, throw "a brave defiance in King Henry's teeth." But let us pause a little before we receive this condemnation from the mouth of an enemy, and from

the bitterest of all enemies, a disappointed and insulted friend. Roused as the angry passions of the Percys were, with their very existence at stake, it cannot be surprizing that they should have availed themselves of the admitted obscurity of Richard's death, by imputing murder to the object of their vengeance. Accordingly, they *did* charge it on him, and they charged it roundly. Fifteen days and nights of starvation must be allowed to be ample for a captive already worn out by grief and long imprisonment! Subsequent writers have humanely reduced the period from fifteen to four or five days. It is impossible not to feel that "harsh rage, pride, haughtiness, opinion, and disdain," such as are imputed to Harry Percy by his uncle Worcester, must have had some share in the formation of this furious instrument.

But on turning from this to the long and very elaborate manifesto of Archbishop Scrope and the Yorkshire insurgents two years afterwards, we shall find a considerable diminution in the force of the charge—not indeed that one single day is abated out of the fifteen allotted to the starvation, but the whole story is qualified by the diluting words "*ut vulgariter dicitur*." So that in two years, the tale, which had before been roundly asserted as a fact, must have sunk into a mere rumour. In no case would the evidence of such mortal foes be credited in any court, but little indeed can it claim even a hearing, when it comes in the subdued tone of "*ut vulgariter dicitur*."

Let us now consider the comparative value of the authorities in favour of Richard's death by grief and voluntary starvation. Among the principal of these are four of our Chroniclers, three of them undoubtedly contemporary, and the fourth probably so^a. These are, Walsingham, Otterbourne, the Monk of Evesham, who was Richard's biographer, and the Continuator of the Croyland Chronicle. But these, it will be said, were monks. Let it be always remembered—nay more—let it be always *gratefully* remembered, that it is almost

^a It cannot now be ascertained whether the writer of the passage in the Croyland Chronicle was contemporary, but it seems probable that the continuations of this Chronicle were made in the abbey from time to time, as events occurred.

entirely to monks that we owe our knowledge of the chain of events during what are called the darker ages, which, without their aid, would have been dark indeed. However meanly we may estimate their taste or skill as writers, still their general veracity, on civil affairs at least, and where the immediate interests of their institutions were not concerned, is unimpeachable. Nor are their historical works liable to the reproach of a servile adherence to the kingly authority; for, besides that their records of passing events were often perhaps not circulated beyond the walls of their own convents, their allegiance was given to their pontifical, not their regal sovereign, to whom, indeed, in various instances that might be cited, they were in avowed opposition. In the present case, as there is no suspicion of partiality, the statements of these writers may be safely taken to be such as their opportunities would allow them to collect.

But there is another authority, bearing an illustrious name, for which I am indebted to Mr. Webb, not having before seen the Cottonian manuscript to which he refers. It is that of Gower, one of the fathers of English poetry, whom Richard had patronized. His celebrated poem, the "*Confessio Amantis*," was composed, as he tells us in his prologue, at the command of that prince, who, meeting him in a boat on the Thames, invited him into the royal barge, and desired that "some newe thinge he shulde booke." I cannot omit the opportunity of observing, that this well-known anecdote may have suggested to Gray the beautiful image of Richard's early prosperity:

"In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes,
"Youth at the prow, and pleasure at the helm."

Gower's authority supports the story of voluntary starvation. I must admit that it would have been more valuable if he had not, like Fortescue, transferred his homage in his old age to a new sovereign. But if we suppose that, contrary to his written testimony, he believed Henry to have been the author of Richard's death, he certainly took an odd method to please his newly-adopted patron, by even touching

on an event which, in that case, could not fail to excite the most painful recollections.

The reply which Henry made to the charge contained in the challenge from the Duke of Orleans is thought by Mr. Webb to bear the impression of guilt. Upon this it may be observed, that in the Duke's *first* Letter, dated more than two years after Richard's death, not a word is said by him on that question. It was not till after he had received an answer from Henry, expressed in terms of undisguised haughtiness, that he ventured even to insinuate the offensive charge, and which was then couched only in a parenthesis of doubtful import ^a. Henry's reply, on the contrary, appears to me to be as bold and decisive as honest indignation could make it. It is true that he offers to rest the proof of his innocence on the issue of a personal combat, not on the evidence of Richard's keepers. But let it be remembered, that in that age an appeal to arms was held the most sacred of all, as well as the most decisive of the truth contended for. It would have been a strange departure from the chivalrous manners of the times, if, instead of this unqualified denial and defiance, Henry had transmitted to his challenger a file of depositions made before a coroner's inquest. That he subsequently avoided the combat, as Mr. Webb supposes, can hardly be inferred from the words of Montrelet, who merely relates that these adversaries never met, and that their quarrel remained as before.

It now becomes necessary to advert to an observation which Mr. Webb has made, in reply to Sir Robert Howard, who notices Henry's attendance on Richard's funeral as a presumptive proof of innocence. This suggestion Mr. Webb rejects, considering that Henry's subsequent, early, and continued visits to Pomfret Castle, afford evidence that he felt no pangs of remorse for his crime. But surely this argument involves a *petitio principii*. The guilt is first to be established, in order that the conclusion may be drawn. The more natural inference from these visits would have been, that no remorse was felt, because

^a Monstrelet, I. c. 9.

there had been no crime to occasion it. In that superstitious age, had the guilt been real, the roofs of Pomfret would have rung with "shrieks of an agonizing king!" and, at every banquet within its walls, the murderer would have been "pushed from his stool," as an act of retributive justice, by the "horrible shadow," the "unreal mockery," of him whose claims of hunger had been so cruelly resisted.

The last circumstance noticed by Mr. Webb (on which, however, he lays but little stress) may be dismissed with brevity. I allude to the tale contained in the French Chronicle of Lurbe, as quoted by Louvet, that one of the suspected murderers had suffered a violent death at Bourdeaux, Richard's native city. Nothing is proved by this statement, supposing it to be true, except the ungoverned fury of a mob devoted to their townsman's memory, and whose passions had probably been inflamed, for obvious purposes, by King Henry's enemies in France.

Perhaps a brief examination of the character of Richard may afford some countenance to my belief, that an immoderate indulgence of grief and despair might have occasioned the termination of his unfortunate life. That character, as it may be collected from the contemporary Chroniclers to whom I have referred, exhibits a mind more deficient in energy than in talent, and wanting firmness rather than grace to sustain the prominent part which he was called upon to perform. It is not necessary to do more than slightly advert to the gloomy close of his great predecessor's reign, so strikingly contrasted with its meridian splendours in the beautiful and well-known lines of Gray. At that period Richard was a boy of eleven years old, deprived of the counsels of a father, of whom he had known little more than the illustrious name, and of a grandfather, hardly less renowned, whom he had only seen "expire a driveller and a show." He found his country torn by faction, his court beset with flatterers. The protection, too, which he had a natural right to demand from his relatives, was withheld from motives of selfish ambition. From this unpropitious commencement, what but a reign of disasters could be anticipated? Yet it was not long before circumstances of the most trying description called forth from

Richard a display of qualities which proved him worthy of a better fate. History can hardly present us with a more interesting picture than that of a youth of sixteen gallantly facing multitudes of his lawless subjects, and with persuasive dignity, and admirable presence of mind, converting them to peace and loyalty from open and savage rebellion. But the fire thus elicited was soon smothered, though its occasional flashes at remote intervals served to show that it was not wholly extinguished. Richard proved himself, indeed, a lover, and even a patron, of the fashionable literature of the day, but his attachment to pleasure rendered him indolent and capricious; and he thus became the ready prey of favourites, who urged him to seek in extended prerogative the means of feeding his wasteful expenditure. The sequel of his history is well known. After struggling, often with dexterity and address, but generally without judgment or decision, to attach to him by turns the contending factions of the State, he was at length obliged to relinquish a Crown which he had only played with as a toy, ignorant of its value till it was about to be wrested from him. At his deposition, his conduct shewed a mixture of dignity and weakness, of irritation and submission, not easily to be reconciled; and it is from these strangely-compounded qualities that I am induced to credit his final act of self-devotion. Had his character possessed more vigour, and less sensibility, a different result might have been expected. When the last efforts of his few remaining friends had entirely failed, his mind was neither firm enough to encourage hope, nor dull enough to slumber in passive resignation. He looked up with despair to the precipice from which he had fallen, and buried himself in the first wave that was ready to receive him.

If we turn from Richard to his successful rival, the contrast will be sufficiently striking. Henry was grave and circumspect, temperate yet decisive. Mr. Hume, though he holds him guilty of Richard's murder (apparently, indeed, without having undergone the trouble of much investigation), has yet allowed him, in a high degree, the virtues of prudence and vigilance, of courage and moderation. Still, it will be

said, he was an usurper; and as, in the language of Shakspeare, "things bad begun strengthen themselves by ill," the step from usurpation to murder is held to be but a slight one. But before we proceed to consider how far either policy or inclination might have urged Henry to the crime from which I am endeavouring to clear him, let us pause to enquire into the nature of this usurpation. Whatever might have been the injustice of some of the charges against Richard—whatever might have been the weakness or falsehood of Henry's pretended title through his maternal ancestor—let it be recollected that it was by the *Parliament of England* that the change of Sovereigns was not only sanctioned but effected. If Henry was reproached as an usurper by the adherents of his predecessor, in France as well as in England, so in later times was William. A parallel has been already noticed by Mr. Hume between the Revolution now under consideration and that of 1688. The former may perhaps be described as a rude archetype, a rough and blotted draft, of the latter act, differing from it less in principle than in form and detail. While Henry, therefore, was seated on his throne by the voice of Parliament, and while the deposed king was imprisoned by the express and unanimous will of that body, his motives to commit so foul a crime as murder require some proof. That *policy* could have supplied them is surely questionable; for, so long as the subdued and unpopular captive lived, the claims of Edmund Mortimer would have remained dormant, while, on Richard's death, they were almost immediately brought forward by the Percys. The evils produced by Richard's Government were too recent to be forgotten, but Mortimer was youthful and untried. In any case, can it be believed that the prudent, sagacious Henry, whose reputation was his best safeguard, would have hazarded it by an act little likely to remain long undiscovered? Still less would he have adopted either of the modes pretended to have been used in carrying such a purpose into effect. According to the Exton story, *nine* persons were employed to perform what might, with far greater security, have been effected by the secret hand of one of them. And in the other

case, starvation would appear to have been of all expedients the least eligible, as well as beyond all others the most horrible. Such an act (to use the words of Dr. Johnson, applied to an incident in the tragedy of Lear,) "must always compel the mind to relieve its distress by incredulity." The moderation and forbearance shewn by Henry in many well-known instances, may surely claim to protect his character from so foul an imputation.

I shall conclude by observing, that in the absence of proof, good taste should teach us to abstain from the vulgar practice of uniformly ascribing all important events to violent causes.* With writers and with readers of a certain class, the powers of nature seem to be paralyzed; and a fever, a dropsy, or a consumption can no more terminate a reign in history, than it could be allowed to furnish out the fifth act of a tragedy. But there is something more than good taste concerned in the question before us. If the proofs of Henry's innocence be wanting, so are those of his guilt: and the Laws of England, as merciful as they are wise, always presumes the accused person to be innocent, until his guilt be proved. It would be hard indeed to extend this proud privilege to a British subject, yet deny it to a British King.

I remain, dear Sir,

Most truly your's,

THOMAS AMYOT.

James Street, Westminster, 13th Jan. 1823.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S.

Sec. S. A.

* Mr. Webb, however, is not chargeable with the bad taste above alluded to, since he justly condemns it's general influence, though in the question before us, he thinks that the suspicion of Henry's guilt is fairly to be entertained.

III. *Some Remarks on the early use of Carriages in England, and on the modes of Travelling adopted by our Ancestors. In a Letter addressed by J. H. MARKLAND, Esq. F. R. S. and S. A. to THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. S. A.*

Read February 22, 1821.

Inner Temple, 20 February, 1821.

IN the subjoined letter,^a which, as a family relic, I lately communicated to Mr. Lister Parker, and which has since been read to this Society, allusion is made to a stage-coach in 1663. This led me to en-

^a To his honoured Father Edward Parker, esquire, at Browsholme, these,

Leave this letter wth ye Post Master, at Preston, in Lankashire, to bee sent as above directed.

Honoured Father.

My dutie premised, &c. I got to London on Saturday last, my journey was noe ways pleasant, being forced to ride in the boote¹ all the waye, ye company y^t came up wth mee were persons of greate quality, as knights and ladyes. My journey's expence was 30s. this traval hath soe indisposed mee, y^t I am resolved never to ride up againe in ye coach. I am extreamely hott and feverish, what this may tend too I know not, I have not as yet advised wth any doctor. As for newes wee have onely this, y^t ye queene is very well recovered, but tis thought she is not yet with childe. Justice Hyde (who was one of ye Judges of ye Common Pleas) is now called to bee Lord Cheife Justice. Doctor Hinckman, who was Bishop of Saulsbury, is translated to London. Collonel Hutchinson, who was one of the regicides, is taken in this last Plott; hee was apprehended at Newarke, and brought to London (by his Majestyes speciall command) upon Saturday last: wee had his company on some parte of the roade. Our forraigne newes is onely such as you have in ye country; ye Turke procede vigorously in Hungary. I desire y^t all my manuscripts may bee sent up wth speede. This is all but y^t I am your dutifull and obedient sonne

London, 3d Novembris —63.

EDW. PARKER.

¹ See pages 469—472.

quire into the antiquity of wheeled carriages, and the modes of travelling formerly adopted in this country, and should you consider the fruits of my researches sufficiently interesting to merit the attention of the Society, you are at liberty to lay them before that body.

With respect to the invention of carriages and their construction at different periods, much has been already said by Beckman,^b and other writers. The topics that I have chosen may be classed as follows: 1. The antiquity of wheeled carriages in England, and the different kinds employed. 2. The modes of travelling practised by our ancestors. 3. The gradual advancement of carriages into general use, and the opposition which for a considerable period they experienced from various causes: and lastly, some remarks on carriages devoted to public accommodation.

These enquiries are not only of a more novel character than those before alluded to, but are probably better calculated to interest the Society; inasmuch as they will partially illustrate the manners and customs of our ancestors. Whatever throws light upon either of these subjects must always have its value; and this consideration will perhaps be deemed a sufficient apology for my directing the notice of the Society to the following pages.

The *application* of this invention may at least fairly challenge inquiry; as, next to the discovery of printing, and to the diffusion of the productions of the press, the facilities afforded to correspondence, and to personal communication between remote parts of the Empire, have assuredly tended most effectually to the present civilization of Great Britain.

These facilities are rapidly encreasing to an extent of which our ancestors could have formed no conception, and which frequently excites our own amazement. Every petty village in the kingdom has direct and constant communication with the metropolis, and intelligence from the seat of government, which a century ago would

^b History of Inventions and Discoveries, vol. I. p. 111.

have slumbered for several days in its progress, is now carried to the extremest point of the kingdom in nearly the same number of hours.^c

Our earlier customs, doubtless, bore a strong resemblance to those of other countries where the feudal system prevailed, and in nothing more than in the encouragement of all military and chivalrous exercises, for which the *breed of good horses* was of essential importance. Under the influence of this feeling, other and more artificial modes of conveyance would be regarded both as degrading the man who made use of them, and the animal employed. Our female ancestors despised both distance and weather; and the Wife of Bath, whose praise it was that, "*girt with a pair of sporrres sharpe,*" "*upon an ambler esily she sat,*" would doubtless have felt herself insulted had a carriage been selected for her use. Indeed, amongst roads scarcely passable by man or beast, a vehicle, of whatever kind, must have proved any thing but luxurious to the occupier.

Before treating of wheeled-carriages, we may notice a mode of conveyance which was long used, especially by females of rank on occasions of ceremony, and by the sick. This was the *horse litter*, of which mention is made at very early periods of our history, and which was unquestionably imported from the luxurious climes of the south.^d It was also employed in carrying the dead. William of Malmsbury tells us that the body of William Rufus was placed upon a *rheda caballaria*, a kind of horse-chariot; or, as Fabian translates it, horse-litter;^e and King John (according to Matthew of Westminster) was conveyed from Swineshead *in lectica equestri*, i. e. the horse-litter.^f The custom of

^c It is stated that news of the abdication of James the Second did not reach the Orkneys until three months after that important event took place.

^d "They shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord, out of all nations, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters,¹ and upon mules, and upon swift beasts,² to my holy mountain Jerusalem." Isaiah lxvi. ver. 20.

^e In the Polychronicon it is termed a *horse-bere*. Strutt's Horda, I. 45. ^f Ibid. II. 89.

¹ *Horselitters*, Coverdale, Bishops Bible, Tyndale.

² *In Carrucis*, Vulgate. *Carts*, Coverdale, Tyndale, Bishops Bible.

being carried in a litter, Mr. Lamb observes (in the interesting notes appended to his translation of Catullus), "arose in Bithynia, and was thence introduced into Rome. Six or eight slaves were the number usually employed. Massinger (he continues), who is ever correct in his description of ancient manners,"^g mentions

"The litter borne by eight Liburnian slaves."

ROMAN ACTOR, Act i.

And again in the Bondman, Act i.

————— 'Tis a strong limb'd knave ;
My father bought him for my sister's litter.
O pride of woman ! coaches are too common,
They surfeit in the happiness of peace,
And ladies think they keep not state enough,
If, for their pomp and ease, they are not borne
In triumph on men's shoulders."

"Juvenal satirizes this practice as effeminate, but as it was in this way possible to journey through passes, and over mountains, where horses and carriages could not pass, it was not always a mere luxury."^h

In Sicily there is no other way of travelling through the mountainous passes at the present day but in a *letiga*, which I have been told is a mode of conveyance far more terrific than luxurious.

During several centuries, and even after the introduction of coaches, the use of litters continued both in England and France.ⁱ In the

^g It might be said, and more correctly, that Massinger describes the manners of his own times, and an observation that Mr. Gifford makes elsewhere may be applied here with equal truth ; that Massinger, "like his contemporaries, gives the customs of his native land to his foreign scene. He speaks indeed of Syracuse ; but he thinks only of London."

Mass. II. p. 13. 34.

The introduction of Sedans, to which this passage in the Bondman may have some relation, is attributed to the Duke of Buckingham. (See p. 468.) A patent was granted, in 1634, to Sir Saunders Duncombe for the exclusive letting, &c. of Sedan chairs, as will be afterwards noticed.

^h Lamb's Trans. of Catullus I. 137.

ⁱ In the year 1527, when Wolsey visited France to negotiate a peace, we find that the Dame Regent, the king's mother, entered Amiens, "riding in a very riche chariot ; and with her therein was the Queen of Navarre her daughter, furnished with a hundred and more

account given of the reception of Katharine of Spain in London, when she came over to marry Prince Arthur, in 1501, we find them coupled with *Chares*; whether the latter were covered or not, or in what respect they differed from the litter, does not appear. I am, however, inclined to think that they generally had a roof, as they are frequently termed close-chares. Perhaps, the chief distinction between a horse-litter and a "chare," in point of construction consisted in the former being without wheels. In one of the illustrations to Mr. Johnes's translation of Monstrelet, the plate, No. 7, (entitled "the Entry of Eleanor of Austria, Queen to Francis I. into Toulouse,") seems intended to convey the representation of a litter lashed on the backs of two horses, one before and the other behind, and covered by a canopy carried by eight attendants.

It may be further observed, that the litter appears to have been the more dignified carriage, and was generally used on state occasions only as a conveyance for a single personage of high distinction; whilst the chare was employed on journeys as well as in processions, and usually accommodated several persons of inferior rank. Thus on the departure of Queen Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. to Scotland, she is described as riding on a "faire palfrey," but after her was "convayd by two footmen one varey riche litere, borne by two faire coursers varey nobly drest, in the wich litere the sayd qwene was borne *in the intryng of the good townes*, or otherways to her good playsur." Behind came a "char richly drest, with sixe faire horsys leyd and convayd by thre men, in the wich were four ladyes lastinge the sayd voyage."]

more of ladies and gentlewomen following, every one riding upon white palfreies; besides diverse and many ladies, some in riche *horse-litters*, and some in chariots." (Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* I. 389.) The king, though attired with the utmost magnificence, according to the military spirit of the age, rode into the city on "a goodly genet."

] Leland's *Collectanea*, IV. 267. I gladly avail myself of an early occasion to thank the intelligent friend to whom this letter is addressed, for these extracts, and for the various information connected with the present subject, which he has most kindly imparted.

That chares were conveyances distinct from the litter further appears from the list of presents made in 1604, by the Duke of Florence to the royal family, where we find them thus particularized: "To the Queene 11 moyles and a litter," and to the prince "a verie fayre chayre."^k The description of the Princess Katherine's reception so fully illustrates the present subject, that the following extract has been borrowed from it:

"Item, That a rich litter be ready to receive and convey the said Princess to the West door of the Church of St. Paul's.

"Item, That three horsemen in side saddle and harness all of one suit, be arrayed by the Master of the Queen's Horse, to follow next to the said Princess's litter.

"Item, That a fair palfrey, with a pillion richly arrayed, and led in hand for the said Princess, do follow next unto the said horsemen.

"Item, That five charres diversely apparelled for the ladies and gentlemen, be ready the same time at the said tower, whereof one of the chief must be richly apparelled and garnished for the said Princess, and the other four to serve such ladies as be appointed by the Queen's Chamberlain, and that the same follow in such order as the said Chamberlain shall appoint.

"Item, That betwixt every of the said charres, there be five or six palfreys of such ladies as shall come to the feast for the attendance given upon the Queen's Grace.

"The third day after the day of marriage, the said Prince and Princess to depart from the Bishop of London's Palace, adjoining St. Paul's, towards Baynard's Castle, to go to Westminster with the King's grace; and that the said Princess so departing shall ride in her litter, or on her spare horse, with the pillion behind a lord to be named by the King, and eleven ladies on palfreys after her, &c."^l

In 1589, Sir Francis Willoughby applied to the Countess of Shrewsbury for her horse-litter and furniture, on behalf of his wife, whose sickness was such as not to allow her to travel "either on horseback or in a *coache*."^m The use of the litter, as a *state* carriage, continued to

^k Hunter's Hallamshire, p. 94.

^l Northumberland Household-book, p. 449, transcribed by Bishop Percy from Harl. MS. 69. (25.)

^m Hunter's Hallamshire, p. 90. In Commenius's work, *Orbis sensualium pictus*, first published in 1631, we find mention of the following vehicles as then in use: 1st. the hanging waggon or coach (*currus pensilis*) drawn by six horses, and used by great persons. 2d. the chariot

the time of Charles the First. Mary de Medicis, the Queen mother of France, on visiting her daughter Queen Henrietta in 1638, entered London in a litter, embroidered with gold, and carried by two mules, having previously travelled from Harwich in a coach.^a The latest mention of the use of a litter that I have met with, is in Evelyn's Memoirs, who states that he travelled in one from Bath to Wotton with his father, then in a declining state of health, in the year 1640.^o

The reign of Elizabeth is generally cited as the period when coaches were introduced into England; and under that term, *carriages* of every kind have been considered as included; but long anterior to that reign, vehicles with wheels, under the denomination of *chares*, *cars*, *chariots*, *caroches*, and *whirlcotes*, were used in England. Indeed it must be obvious, that amongst a people who had made any progress towards civilization, and who had communication with countries where wheeled carriages were in use, their introduction would not be long wanting, though prejudices might prevail against their general adoption. Erroneous conclusions have frequently been drawn by not attending carefully to terms, which in the lapse of time frequently change their signification. In the Northumberland Household-book almost every species of vehicle is termed a *carriage*, with the exception of the Earl's *chariot*, and this was not employed to carry *persons*, but certain parts of the "chapell -stuff, and wardrobe-stuff." From this application of the word *chariot*, it is evident, as Bishop Percy observes,^p "that it bore no resemblance to the modern carriage of that

chariot drawn by two horses, and the same number it is stated were employed in carrying horse-litters (*arcera lectica*). This work is quoted by Strutt as illustrative of English customs, but the author wrote in high Dutch, and his descriptions and accompanying prints apply to Holland.

^a Antiq. Repertory, 1st edit. vol. I. p. 261.

^o Evelyn's Diary, vol. I. p. 9.

^p Northumberland Household-book, p. 447. Chariots of this description were doubtless appendages to all great establishments. In the inventory of the effects of the second Earl of Cumberland, at Barden Tower, taken after his death in 1572, are the following items:

"It'm, the old chariott, with 2 pair of wheeles bound with iron, and cheynes belonging thereto xxxx.

"It'm, one charrett, with all apperteyninge." Whitaker's History of Craven, p. 238.

name, nor was it intended for the same use, but was simply a large waggon, drawn by six or seven of the stronger kind of horses, called on that account 'large trotting horses.' The chariot-men or waggoners, who accompanied it, had a nag or smaller horse allowed them to ride by its side."

Dr. Percy's statement is strengthened by a document which Mr. Ellis pointed out to me amongst the Cottonian Charters (XI. 71), whereby Anne, the Queen of Richard the Second, in the 17th of that king's reign, granted an annual stipend of 40 shillings, during her life, to Robert Westende "*purvoieur de noz Chariettes*." If these carriages were to be provided *yearly*, and in *numbers*, it seems obvious that they must have been required for the conveyance rather of things, than of persons.

Of this description must have been those carriages of which Froissart speaks, when relating the return of the English, from their first incursion into Scotland under Edward III. "En celle cité (Durennes) trouverent ils leurs *charrettes* et *tout leur charroy*,¹ qu'ils avoient laissé xxxij jours au devant, en un bois, à minuict si comme il est racompté cy dessus : et les avoient les Bourgeois de Durennes trouvez et amenez en leur ville, à leurs cousts et fait mettre en vuides grâches, *chacune charrette à son pēnoncel, pour les recognoistre*." Si furent moult joyeux les seigneurs, quand ils eurent trouvé leur *charroy*." (Froissart, Chron. Paris, 1574, vol. I. ch. xix.)

Chariot thus primarily signified a *waggon*, as the French word is translated in Cotgrave's Dictionary, 1692; and in many passages of scripture, where in the present translation mention is made of *waggons*, most of the early versions have the word *chariot* or *charett*.² Thus, in Numbers, vii. 3, "Six covered *waggons*" are, in Matthew's Bible, 1537, translated "six

¹ Translated by Lord Berners, by the general term, "Carriages."

² Lord Berners renders *pēnoncel*, "cognisauce, or armes:" we have here therefore a proof of the early practice of distinguishing wheeled carriages by the armorial bearings of the owner. They were certainly painted upon *coaches* on their introduction into England. Vide p. 463.

³ So the French translate it. The Vulgate has *plaustra*. Wicliff comes near to the present translation, viz. *waynes*.

covered *charettes*.”^t So in Tyndal, Coverdale, &c.^u In the Polychronicon, the body of Richard the Second is described as having been placed upon a *chariot* covered with black, which was probably nothing more than a species of waggon,^v and as the word was afterwards given, (according to Cotgrave) to “a kind of litter borne up by an axeltree and two wheels, used heretofore by citizens’ wives, who were not able or not allowed to keep ordinary litters,” its present application is obvious.

Strutt states, that the Chæp or chariot of the Anglo Saxons was used on civil occasions for the conveyance of distinguished personages, the others riding in carts.^w Of this machine (which he calls a four-wheeled hammock, and which must have afforded bad accommodation even for a single person,) he has given a representation, taken from an illumination in a MS of the Book of Genesis, in the Cotton Library, (Claud. B. iv. ^x). A more correct copy of it, with a second illustration

^t A marginal note in an edition of the Geneva translation, printed by Barker in 1599, compares “covered charets” to “horselitters to keep the things that were carried in them from weather.” The terms “Charett,” “Wagon,” and “Coche,” were employed about the time this translation was made, with little discrimination.

“Tho, up him taking in their tender hands,
They easily unto her *charett* beare :
Her teme at her commaundement quiet stands,
Whiles they the corse into her *wagon* reare,
And strowe with flowers the lamentable beare :
Then all the rest into their *coches* clim.”

Faery Queen, B. III. Canto iv.

^u Northumberland Household-book, p. 448.

^v “King Rycharde deed, was layde in a lytter, and sette in a chayre, covered with blacke baudkynne, and foure horses all blacke in the chayre, and two men in blacke leadyng the chayre, and four knyghtes all in black folowyng.” The King’s head was on “a blacke quisschen, and his visage open.” Froissart, Lord Berners’ Translation, (Ed. 1812) II. 76%.

^w Horda, I. 45.

^x Mr. Ellis regards this MS. as a production of the earlier part of the eleventh century. By Strutt it is described to be of the ninth century.

from the same manuscript, will be found in the accompanying plate. (Figg. 1 and 2.)

The *chare* to which some allusion has already been made, was unquestionably of very early origin in this country, and was probably the parent of close carriages.

In the *Squyr of Low degre*, a poem that has by some been considered anterior to the time of Chaucer,^y is one of the earliest descriptions of a chare. The father of the Princess of Hungary thus describes it, when enumerating the amusements that he has in store for her :

“ To-morrow ye shall on hunting fare,
And ride, my daughter, in a *chare* ;
It shall be cover'd with velvet red,
And clothes of fine gold all about your head,
With damask white, and azure blue,
Well diaper'd with lilies new—
Your pomelles shall be ended with gold,
Your chains enamell'd many a fold ;
* * * * *
Jennets of Spain that ben so white,
Trapp'd to the ground with velvet bright.

Chaucer also describes the *char* of Zenobia, as being

“ With gold wrought and pierrie.” *Canterbury Tales*, ver. 14366.

And again, “ The char of gold” *of the king of Thrace*. *Ib.* 2140.

The word chariot, in our present translation of the Bible, is termed *chare* in Wicliff's version ; “ he turnyde aghen sittinge in his chare and redynge Isaie the prophett, and the spirit seide to Philip neighe then, and joyne thee to this chare.” *The Dedis of Aposlis*, chap. 8. ^z

^y Ellis's *Specimens of early English Poetry*, I. 339.

^z In Harmar's translation of Beza's Sermons upon the three first chapters of the Canticles, printed at Oxford, 1587, (Sermon XXVIII. p. 374.) the passage stands, “ King Solomon made himselfe a *coche* of the wood of Lebanon.” (Chap. iii. ver. 9.) This word has at different times been rendered *palace*, *bed*, and in the authorized version “ *chariot*.”

Stow, speaking of Wat Tyler's insurrection in 1380, states, that Richard the Second "being threatned by the rebels of Kent, rode from the Tower of London to the Mile's-end, and with him his mother, because she was sick and weak, in a whirlicote."^a

"Of old times, (the historian observes,) coaches were not known in this island, but chariots or *whirlicotes* then so called; and they only used of Princes, or Men of great estates, such as had their footmen about them."

After remarking that in the following year, Richard married Anne of Bohemia, who introduced the fashion of riding upon side-saddles, he adds, "and so was the riding in those *whirlicotes* and chariots forsaken, except at coronations and such like spectacles. But now of late years, the use of coaches, brought out of Germany, is taken up and made so common, as there is neither distinction of time, nor difference of persons

In Wicliff it is a *chaier*. In the Vulgate *ferculum*. The Hebrew makes it a *bridal couch or room*. This tends to prove that the true derivation of the word is from *coucher*, and that it implied originally a moveable couch or bed. We need not, therefore, resort with Minshew for the etymology of the word, to Kutzsche (a verbo Hungarico Kotczy), or to Cuchey, the Cambridge Carrier; yet the following passage, selected from the diary of Cuspinian, Mayor of Vienna, (which I owe to the researches of my friend Mr. Douce,) goes to establish the former. The writer is speaking of a visit made to that city in 1515 by Maximilian, and the Kings of Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland. "*Ingredebantur toto die Viennam currus, quadrigæ, et bigæ Hungarorum, & Polonorum. Vehabantur multi in curribus illis velocibus, quibus nomen est patriâ linguâ Kottschi.*" Vide *Germanicarum rerum Scriptores varii Marquardi Freheri* (1637, fol.) II. 312.

^a The journey made by this princess at the commencement of the same rebellion, as related by Froissart, was wonderfully expeditious for those times, and her indisposition, to which Stow alludes, might proceed from the fatigue and anxiety consequent upon it.

"The same daye that these unhappy people of Kent were comynge to London, there retourned fro Canterbury the kynges mother, Princes of Wales, comynge from her pylgrymage; she was in great ieopardy to haue ben lost, for these people came to her chare (*sailloiet sur son char*) and delt rudely with her, whereof the good lady was in great doute lest they wolde have done some villany to her or to her damosels: howbeit God kept her, and she came in one day fro Canterbury to London, for she never durst tarry by the waye."—Froissart, ut supra, vol. I. 641.

observed, for the world runs on wheels with many whose parents were glad to go on foot.”^b

The whirlicote and chare were probably very similar in point of construction, but if the former was an improvement, it did not supplant the use of the latter, as we have the following proof of the chare being used in 1432 by the queen mother, Joan de Navarre, the second wife of Henry IV. and instances have been already given of this vehicle being employed at a much later period.

In a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester and Durham, and the High Treasurer (dated 13th July, 10th Henry VI.) the king states,

“ And be cause we suppose she (Queen Johanne) wol sone remoeve from the plas wher she is nowe, that ye ordeine hir also horses for ii chares, and lat hir remoeve thens into what oyer place wythin owre roiaume that hir lust.”^c

From the preceding notices we may infer that the horse-litter and chare were the most ancient modes of conveyance employed by persons of rank in this country; that they were rarely, if ever, used, but on occasions of ceremony or in cases of sickness, and that the chariot which Mr. Pegge regards, “as the elder vehicle, or rather the coach in its infancy,”^d was originally nothing more than a waggon or cart.

In the introduction of wheeled carriages, we followed our continental neighbours, but in what country of Europe they had their origin is a point of controversy, which cannot be easily settled. According to Denina (in a tract entitled “*Sur la question que doit-on à l’Espagne*” p. 38) the Spaniards merit the invention. Twiss, in his account of Spain (p. 324), says, “in 1546, the first coach was made use of in Spain.” Father Semedi states that the Italians obtained them from China, (see Sir George Staunton’s *Embassy to China* II. 75.) The French, as it is not unusual with that nation, prefer a claim in favour

^b Stow’s *Survey of London and Westminster*, by Strype, 1720, vol. I. B. l. 242.

^c Rot. Parl. IV. p. 248.

^d *Anecdotes of Old Times*, pp. 273, 275.

of their own country, "Les carrosses sont de l'invention des François, et par consequent toutes les voitures qu'on a imaginées depuis à l'imitation des carrosses."^e

As early as 1294, by a public ordinance of Philip the Fair, for suppressing luxury, citizens' wives were forbidden to use carriages. "Premiere-ment nulle bourgeoise n'aura char."^f This regulation must have been rigorously enforced, as we find how much more limited was their use at a subsequent period. "Ces voitures sont plus modernes qu'on ne l' imagine communément. L'on n'en comptoit que deux sous François I. l'une à la Reine, l'autre à Diane, fille naturelle de Henri II. Les dames les plus qualifiées ne tarderent pas à s'en procurer: cela ne rendit pas le nombre des équipages fort considérable."^g

From the following passage it would seem that coaches were unknown both in France and England in the time of Luther, provided the term *currus* is to be rendered as in the old Dictionaries by the term coach or caroach. "In Angliâ et Galliâ non est usus curruum, sed tantum bigarum, et lecticarum—usus quadrigarum ignoratur nullos habent procubitores, qui signa darent."^h

At the coronation of some of our monarchs, prior to the reign of Elizabeth, we find carriages in use, however rarely employed by them upon other occasions; "chariots covered, with ladies therein," followed the litter of Katherine on her coronation with Henry VIII.ⁱ and likewise accompanied Anna Boleyn when triumphantly conveyed through London.^k Queen Mary rode through London to Westminster in 1553,

^e Encyclopédie, 1751, tome II. art. *Carrosse*.

^f Ibid.

^g Ibid.

^h "Colloquia, meditationes, &c. &c. D. Mart. Luth. in mensa prandii & cœnæ, & in peregrinationibus observata & fideliter transcripta." Frankfort 1571. 8vo. tom. I. fol. 199 verso.

ⁱ Hollinshed's Chron. III. 548.

^k Hollinshed's Chronicle, III. 781. This Queen's litter is worth describing, "Then came the Queene in a litter of white cloth of gold, not covered nor bailed, which was lead by two palfries clad in white damask doone to the ground, head and all, led by hir footman. Over hir was borne a canopie of cloth of gold, with foure guilt staves and foure silver bells. For the bearing of which canopie were appointed sixteene knights, foure to beare it one space on foot, and other foure another space, &c."

"sitting in a chariot of cloth of tissue drawn with six horses."¹ Sir Edward Hastings immediately afterwards, leading her horse in his hand, and then followed another chariot with cloth of silver and six horses, containing Elizabeth and Anne of Cleves. Queen Elizabeth also used a chariot in proceeding to Westminster upon her coronation.^m When the same queen visited Warwick in 1572, the bailiff is said to have "approached nere to the *coche* or chariott wherein her majesty sat," and the queen "caused every parte and side of the coche to be openyed that all her subjects present might behold her, which most gladly they desired."ⁿ

It may be apprehended that the luxury of carriages was for some time confined almost exclusively to the capital. The weight of these machines, the clumsiness of their construction,^o and the state of the roads, would prevent their being commonly employed in journeys; and

¹ Hollinshed's Chron. IV. 6. ^m Ibid. 158. ⁿ Progresses, vol. IV. pt. I. pp. 57, 60.

^o That they had no springs is very clear, from the Water-Poet's assertion, that in the paved streets of London, "men and women are so tost, tumbled, iumbled, and rumbled." Even in Sir William D'Avenant's time, it seems that our coaches were far behind those of our neighbours in elegance and convenience. In the "first day's Entertainment at Rutland castle" there is a smart controversy between a Parisian and a Londoner, which deserves to be referred to as preserving some curious particulars of the contrasted modes of living in the two capitals. The Parisian, after some sharp comments on the domestic arrangements of the English, adds, "I have now left your houses, and am passing through your streets, but not in a coach, for they are uneasily hung, and so narrow that I took them for sedans upon wheels. Nor is it safe for a stranger to use them till the quarrel be decided whether six of your nobles sitting together shall stop and give place to as many barrels of beer. Your city is the only metropolis in Europe where there is a wonderful dignity belonging to carts.² Master Londoner, be not so hot against coaches; take advice from one that eats much sorrel in his broth."

¹ D'Avenant's Works, fol. 1673, p. 351, &c.

² "Coach and sedan you bothe shall reverence, and ever give way to beere (or brewers) cart wheresoever you shall meete him, either in citie or countrie, as your auncient and elder brother." "Coach and Sedan, pleasantly disputing for place and precedence, the Brewer's Cart being moderator. London, printed by Robert Raworth for John Crooch, 1636." From this curious and rare tract several quotations are given in the following pages.

here it may not be amiss, by some examples, to illustrate the modes of travelling adopted by our ancestors at different periods.

Harrison, in his valuable description of Britain, prefixed to Hollinshed's Chronicle, states, "Our princes and the nobilitie have their cariage commonlie made by carts, wherby it cometh to passe, that when the Queene's Majesty dooth remoove from anie one place to another, there are usuallie 400 carewares, which amount to the summe of 2400 horses, appointed out of the countries adjoining, whereby hir carriage is conveyed safely unto the appointed place. Hereby also the ancient use of somers and sumpter-horses is in manner utterlie relinquished, which causeth the traines of our princes in their progresses, to shew far lesse than those of the kings of other nations."^p

Henry the fifth earl of Northumberland, when on a journey, appears to have been accompanied by no less than seventeen carriages, filled with every needful article of household furniture, and by thirty-six horsemen.^q The appearance of the travellers must have been highly picturesque, and their progress must in some respects have resembled the removal of a patriarchal family.

In the 17 Hen. VIII. (1526) Henry Clifford, on his creation as earl of Cumberland, rode from Skipton to London with thirty-three servants, at an expence of £.7. 15s. 1d.^r The journey was undertaken in the summer, "at that season of the year in which all families of fashion at present are hastening into the country. But in the dreadful state of the roads at that time, a state which continued with little amendment till the introduction of post-carriages and horses, together with their concomitants the toll bars (not half a century ago), winter journeys to London were formidable undertakings."^s

This nobleman by his will directs, "that c m'kes be bestowed on the highwayes in Craven, & c m'kes within Westmoreland;" a testamentary bounty which, doubtless, proceeded from a personal feeling of its neces-

^p Hollinshed's Chron. vol. I. 370.

^q Northumberland Household-book, p. 153.

^r Whitaker's Craven, p. 256.

^s Ibid. p. 262.

sity. Similar bequests of opulent individuals in later times are recorded. John Lyon, the founder of Harrow School, who died in 1592, directed by his will, that the rents and profits of certain lands should be expended in repairing the roads from Edgware and Harrow to London;[†] and Sutton, the founder of the Charter House, in 1611, bequeathed various sums for amending "the highways" between Islington and Newington, and elsewhere.[‡] These instances prove, that even in the immediate neighbourhood of London, the highways were at these periods in a neglected, or perhaps nearly in an impassable state.

From the Household-book of the Kytson family, of Hengrave, in Suffolk, commencing 1572, the following particulars, illustrative of our present enquiry have been derived.[¶]

"1572, March.

"For my m^r his charges in riding to London, and for the dinners and sopers of xiiij men at London, accompting horse meate and other charges by the waye thither warde, and for the hire of ij post horses from London to Ware, at vjs. viij*d*.—vli. xvjs. j*d*.

"For one week's standing of my m^r his foot-cloth nagge, with ijs. for bread, vs. vj*d*.

"In reward to the blinde harper at Ware, xij*d*.—to the chamberlein there, iiij*d*.—amongst the pore folk by the waye, iiij*d*." [¶]

"1573, June.

"For my m^r charges in coming from London, viz. horse meate and man's meate iij*l*. xiiij*s*. x*d*."

[†] Lysons' *Environs*, vol. II. p. 582. [‡] Bearcroft's *History of the Charter House*, p. 85.

[¶] In investigating the manners and customs of past ages, the household-books of our nobility and gentry are valuable storehouses of information. For the free use of the one here quoted I am indebted to my friend Mr. Gage, of Lincoln's-inn, in whose "*History and Antiquities of Hengrave*," will be found many interesting extracts from this curious record of his ancestors.

[¶] Donations to minstrels, and alms to the poor, were probably common expences attendant upon travellers of rank at this period. They occur, as I am informed by the Rev. Mr. Hunter, in the accompts of Sir William Saint Loe, captain of the guard to Queen Elizabeth, when travelling from Chatsworth to London in August 1560; who often relieved "old soldiers" upon the road. Sir William's retinue consisted of 13 horses. The inns appear to have furnished them not merely with comforts, but with many of the luxuries of the table.

" 1574.

" Wednesday afternoon, December 1st. my m^{res} entering London, p^d until she was entered the city, viz. for her dyett wth all her men in that space, ljs. ix^d. — for the horses meet, lvijjs. iiij^d. — for firing, ijs. ix^d.

" In reward at Mr. Bedal's house, where my m^{res} lodged the first night, vjs. viij^d.

" In rewarde to the musicians at Ware, iijjs.

" For the hire of certain horses to draw my m^{res} cooch from Whitworth to London, xxvjs. viij^d.

" Delivered to my m^{res} to give by the way in her little purse, xxs.

" To the carrier for the carriage of sundry things, amounting to lxxx. c. wayght, at ijs. iiij^d. 1e c.—ixli. vis. viij^d.

" To the hire of certain men to attend upon his cart by the waye, being charged with plate, iijjs.

Mary Queen of Scots, whilst under the surveillance of the Earl of Shrewsbury, appears to have travelled on horseback in her various journeys; and in a letter from that nobleman to lord Burghley, written in terms that do little honour to his feelings, he alludes to a fall that the Queen had sustained from her horse, when travelling from Sheffield to Buxton, in 1580. *

In a letter from this nobleman to his agent Thomas Bawdewyn, we have the following picture of a journey that the former purposed from the North to London, in 1582. " I thynke my compeny wylbe xx gentylmen, & xx yemen, besydes ther men, and my horse kepⁿ. I thynke to sett forwards aboute the xi of September from Wyngfeld to Lestar to my bedde, & so make but iiii dayes journey to London."—" If the corte remene at Otelandes, you must forse I have sum *carages* for convey of my beddyng for self, and sum pallets for sum of my folkes to lye about me."† Hume has observed, that our inns about this period "could afford nothing tolerable;"‡ and this might be the case in the North and in some other parts of England, but the observation, as a general one, is contradicted by Harrison, who says expressly, "our innes are verie well furnished with naperie, bedding, and tapisserie, especiallie

* Lodge's Illustrations, II. 239.

† Lodge's Illustrations, II. 284.

‡ Hist. Eng. III. 463.

with naperie; for beside the linnen used at the tables, which is commonlie washed dailie, ech commmer is sure to lie in cleane sheets. If the traveller have an horsse his bed dooth cost him nothing, but if he go on foot he is sure to paie a penie for the same.”^a

About the year 1640, the wife of Henry, last earl of Cumberland, in a tedious journey from London to Londesborough, which occupied eleven days, either from the state of the roads, or disdaining to adopt metropolitan luxuries, appears to have ridden the whole way on horse-back. Her retinue must have been considerable, having 32 horses in her train. The expence attending the journey amounted to £.68. 18s. 9d.^b

In the “Correspondence of Sir George Radcliffe” we have many proofs of the serious inconvenience that attended travellers in the early part of the seventeenth century; and the following is a curious instance of the simplicity of manners which prevailed at that period. The Editor observes, “at this time (1609) the communication between the North of England and the Universities was kept up by carriers, who pursued their tedious but uniform route with whole trains of pack-horses. To their care were consigned not only the packages, but frequently the persons of young scholars. It was through their medium also that epistolary correspondence was managed, and as they always visited London, a letter could scarcely be exchanged between Yorkshire and Oxford in less time than a month!”^c

From a passage in one of the Paston letters,^d written about the close of the fifteenth century, we find that few opportunities occurred of transmitting letters from Norwich to London, except through the agency of persons who frequented the fairs held in the former city. The various means that were employed for the transmission of letters, prior to the establishment of post offices, would be a curious subject of investigation.

In the South of England, at a period long subsequent to the above,

^a Hollinshed's Chron. I. 414.

^b Whitaker's Craven, p. 321.

^c Correspondence of Sir George Radcliffe (1810), p. 36. ^d Vol. II. p. 72.

the state of the public roads appears to have been equally defective, and the following statements evince that, during the Augustan age of our literature, public convenience and accommodation in travelling were almost wholly neglected.

In Dec. 1703, Charles king of Spain slept at Petworth, on his way from Portsmouth to Windsor, and prince George of Denmark went to meet him there. "We set out (as one of the attendants relates) at six o'clock in the morning to go for Petworth, and did not get out of the coaches (save only when we were overturned or stuck fast in the mire) till we arrived at our journey's end. 'Twas hard service for the prince to sit fourteen hours in the coach that day without eating any thing, and passing through the worst ways that I ever saw in my life: we were thrown but once indeed in going, but both our coach, which was the leading, and his highnesses body coach, would have suffered very often, if the nimble boors of Sussex had not frequently poised it or supported it with their shoulders from Godalmin almost to Petworth; and the nearer we approached to the Duke's house the more unaccessible it seem'd to be. The last nine miles of the way cost us six hours time to conquer them, and indeed we had never done it if our good Master had not several times lent us a pair of horses out of his own coach, whereby we were enabled to trace out the way for him; they made us believe that the several grounds we crost, and his grace's park, would alleviate the fatigue, but I protest I could hardly perceive any difference between them and the common roads." ^e

In the time of Charles, surnamed the proud duke of Somerset, who died in 1748, the roads in Sussex were in so bad a state (as I am informed by an intelligent correspondent), that in order to arrive at Guildford from Petworth, persons were obliged to make for the nearest point of the great road leading from Portsmouth to London. This was a work of so much difficulty as to occupy the whole day, and the duke had a house at Guildford which was regularly occupied as a resting place for the night by any part of his family travelling to London. A MS. letter

^e Annals of Queen Anne, Lond. 1704, vol. II. Appendix.

from a servant of the duke's, dated from London, and addressed to another at Petworth, acquaints the latter that his Grace intended to go from London thither on a certain day, and directs that "the keepers and persons who knew the holes and the sloughs must come to meet his Grace with lanthorns and long poles to help him on his way."

To return from this digression. It has been stated by Anderson, Hume, and other writers (probably upon the authority of Camden) that the invention of coaches was brought hither from France in 1580, and that the first ever publicly seen was the equipage of Henry Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel. It is further stated, that this nobleman made a present of the same to Queen Elizabeth, who went in it from Somerset-house to St. Paul's Cross in 1588, to return thanks on the destruction of the Spanish Armada.^f Some part of this statement is evidently incorrect. The Earl of Arundel died in 1579; the date of 1580, therefore, as applied to him, is erroneous.^g Whatever influence this nobleman's example might have had in the introduction of a peculiar kind of carriage, or in leading to the more general adoption of coaches, we have proof from Stow, as well as from the Household-book of the Kytson family and elsewhere, that they were in use some years anterior to the year 1580.^h In 1556, Sir T. Hoby offers the use of his coach to

^f The first engraved representation of an English coach is probably to be found in the fine old print of the Palace of Nonsuch, by Hoefnagel, which bears the date of 1583. (Braunii Civitates orbis terrarum, vol. V. plate I.) Queen Elizabeth is there seated in a low heavy machine, open at the sides, with a canopy, and drawn by two horses only. Her attendants follow her in a carriage of different form, with an oblong canopy. The driver of the latter carriage rides on one of the horses, but the queen's coachman is seated on the front of the coach, though it appears from the tract before referred to, entitled, "*Orbis sensualium pictus*," that it was a long time after the invention of coaches before the box was added to them. These curious carriages are given in the accompanying Plate, Figg. 5 and 6; and in Fig. 6, the boot of the coach, which is mentioned in page 472, is clearly distinguishable.

^g This discrepancy in dates has, I find, been also noticed by Dr. Pegge, in his *Curialia*, page 276.

^h The price which this vehicle bore at this early period is also given in the same document:

Lady Cecil.ⁱ Stow in his Chronicles relates, that "in the year 1564, Guiliam Boonen, a Dutchman, became the Queene's coachman, *and was the first that brought the vse of Coaches into England.* After a while, diuers great ladies, with as great jealousie of the Queen's displeasure, made them coaches, and rid in them vp and downe the countries, to the great admiration of all the beholders, but then by little and little they grew vsuall among the nobilitie and others of sort, and within twenty yeeres became a great trade of coach-making." In "the Summarie of the English Chronicles," by this writer, we are also told that, "this yere (1564) Walter Rippon made a coche for the Earle of Rutland, which was the first coche that ever was made in England."^k It may likewise be doubted whether we did not copy the

ment: "1573. For my m^{res} coche, with all the furniture thereto belonging, except horses, xxxiiij*li.* xiiij*s.*

"For the paynting of my m^r and my m^{res} armes upon the coach, i*s.* vjd.

"For ij coche horses bought by Mr. Payton x*li.* xiiis. iiij*d.*"

Sir William Dugdale's Diary affords us the same information, as to the price of a chariot at the close of the following century.

"1681. Payd to Mr. Meares, a coachmaker, in St. Martin's Lane, for a little charriot, wch I then sent down into y^e country £23. 13*s.* 00*d.* And for a cover of canvas £01. 00*s.* 00*d.* Also for harnesse for 3 horses £04. 00*s.* 00*d.*"

ⁱ Mr. Douce in one of his interesting communications on the subject of this enquiry, observes, "although this quotation from the Burghley Papers (III. No. 53) presents probably the earliest *specific date* of the use of coaches in England, we must infer that they were known before, though probably not long before. Bishop Kennet, in a note that I found among his papers, mentions that J. Chamberlayne Esq^r. of Petty France has a picture of his grandfather, on which is this inscription—Sir Thomas Chamberlayne of Prestbury in Gloucestershire Ambass^r from England to Charles V. Philip II. and to the King of Sweden in Flanders. He married a lady of the house of Nassau, and from *thence* also he brought the *first coaches* and the first watches that were seen in *England.* He was born in the reign of Edw. IV. and died in the reign of Q. Elizabeth—This curious inscription therefore leaves the *exact time* of the introduction of coaches into England in a state of uncertainty."

^k "The said Walter Rippon," Stow continues, "made the first hollow turning coche, with pillars and arches, for her majesty, being then her servant. Also, in anno 1584, a chariot

Dutch, rather than the French, as Macpherson, in his "Annals of Commerce," states that as early as 1560, five hundred coaches were in use at Antwerp amongst persons of distinction.¹

The fashion that prevailed thus generally at Antwerp, probably spread with great rapidity over the continent, as in 1588, Julius, Duke of Brunswick, issued a spirited proclamation, prohibiting to a certain extent the use of carriages amongst his vassals.^m A few years afterwards the evils alluded to by the Duke appear to have reached this country, and for reasons, somewhat similar to those assigned in his proclamation, the attention of the English Parliament was drawn to the increase of this fashionable luxury.

chariot throne with foure pillars behinde to bear a canopie, with a crowne imperiall on the toppe, and before two lower pillars, whereon stooode a lion and a dragon, the supporters of the armes of England." The roof of a coach is still called the *imperiale*, in French, though now uncrowned, and the term is in use in England, though applied differently.

¹ Hist. of Commerce, II. 133.

^m This document has been given by Beckman (Hist. Invent. I. 118), but it so fully illustrates the subject, by shewing in what light carriages were regarded by a warlike people, that I have inserted an extract of it. After reciting how much the Germans were formerly celebrated in war for their manly virtue and intrepidity, the duke laments that, in his Electorate, skill in riding had declined, and proceeds to remark, as a chief cause of this degeneracy, "that our vassals, servants and kinsmen, without distinction, young and old, have *dared* to give themselves up to indolence *and to riding in coaches*, and that few of them provide themselves with well equipped riding horses, and with skilful experienced servants, and boys acquainted with the roads: not being able to suffer any longer this neglect, and being desirous to revive the ancient Brunswick mode of riding, handed down and bequeathed to us by our forefathers, we hereby will and command, that all and each of our before-mentioned vassals, servants, and kinsmen, of whatever rank or condition, shall always keep in readiness as many riding horses as they are obliged to serve us with by their fief or alliance; with polished steel furniture, and with saddles proper for carrying the necessary arms and accoutrements, so that they may appear with them when necessity requires: we also will and command our before-mentioned vassals and servants, to take notice, that when we order them to assemble, either altogether or in part, in times of turbulence, or to receive their fiefs, or when on other occasions they visit our court, they shall not travel or appear in coaches, but on their riding horses." Lünig. Corp. jur. feud. Germ. ii. p. 1447.

“ Saturday, 7th November, 43^o Eliz. 1601.

“ The Bill to restrain *the excessive use of coaches* within this realm of England was read *secundd vice*, and rejected —

“ Hereupon motion was made by the Lord Keeper, that forasmuch as the said Bill did in some sort concern the maintenance of horses within this realm, consideration might be had of the statutes heretofore made and ordained touching the breed and maintenance of horses.ⁿ And that Mr. Attorney-general should peruse and consider of the said Statutes, and of some fit Bill to be drawn and prefer’d to the house touching the same, and concerning *the use of coaches*; and that he should acquaint therewith the committees appointed for the Bill before mentioned, for assurance of lands;^o which motion was approved by the House.^p

In 1605, Macpherson states^q that coaches began to be *in pretty general use* amongst the nobility and gentry in London, and the watermen were not tardy in exclaiming against a fashion so prejudicial to their calling. “ The sculler told him he was now out of cash, it was a hard time, he doubts there is some secrete bridge made over to hell, and that they steale thither in *coaches*, for every justice’s wife and the wife of every cittizin must be jolted now.”^r Another writer at a later period utters the following invective. “ Coaches and sedans (quoth the waterman) they deserve both to be throwne into the Theames, and but for stopping the channell, I would they were, for I am sure where I was woont to have eight or tenne fares in a morning I now scarce get two in a whole day; our wives and children at home are readie to pine, and some of us are faine for meanes to take other professions upon us.”^s

ⁿ 27 Hen. VIII. c. 6. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 13. and 9 Eliz. c. 8.

^o See 44 Eliz. cap. 1.

^p D’Ewes’s Journals of all the Parliaments during the reign of Queen Elizabeth (edit. 1682), p. 602.

^q Annals of Commerce, II. 167.

^r “ A Knight’s conjuring done in earnest discovered in jest.” By Thomas Dekker, London 1607.

^s “ Coach and Sedan,” ut supra.

Taylor, the water poet, felt this professional jealousy at their introduction, and frequently rails against them in his homely yet once popular verses.

“ Carroaches, † coaches, jades, and Flanders mares,
Doe rob vs of our shares, our wares, our fares :
Against the ground we stand and knocke our heeles,
Whilest all our profit runs away on wheelles ;
And whosoeuer but obserues and notes,
The great increase of coaches and of boates,
Shall finde their number more then e'r they were
By halfe and more within these thirty yeeres.
Then water-men at sea had seruice still,
And those that staid at home had worke at will :
Then vpstart helcart-coaches were to seeke,
A man could scarce see twenty in a weeke,
But now I thinke a man may daily see,
More then the whirries on the Thames can be.” *

Notwithstanding popular clamour, coaches multiplied, and with

† We have here an additional proof, to those adduced by Archdeacon Nares in his valuable dictionary, (art. Caroch) that a caroch and coach differed from each other. The following quotation cited in that work would denote that they were respectively suited to town and country.

Nay for a need, out of his easy nature,
May'st draw him to the keeping of a coach
For country, and caroch for London.

Green's “ Tu quoque,” O. P. vii. 28.

From this passage it might be suspected that the *carroach* (a name borrowed from the French) was the carriage of luxury, the *coach* of mere utility for travelling, but in the well known letter of Lady Compton, the rich heiress of Sir John Spencer, written at the commencement of the 17th century, the terms are otherwise used. Amongst other moderate stipulations, that lady requires two coaches for herself, and a third for her women. Also “ att any tyme when I travayle I will be allowed not only *carroaches* and spare horses for me and my women, but I will have such *carryadges* as shall be fittinge for me all orderly.” The latter were for conveying her own wardrobe, and that of her women. The words soon became confounded, and coach, with occasional exceptions, was generally used.

* Taylor's Works (1630). “ A Thiefe.”—Again, Taylor vents his spleen in prose :
“ This is the rattling, rowling, rumbling age, and *the World runs on Wheelles*. The
hackney-

added splendour, as early in the 17th century, the number of horses attached to them was increased. "The stout old Earl of Northumberland," says Wilson, "when he was got loose, hearing that the great favorite Buckingham was drawn about with a coach and six horses (which was wondred at then as a novelty, and imputed to him as a mastring pride) thought if Buckingham had six, he might very well have eight in his coach, with which he rode through the city of London to the Bath, to the vulgar talk and admiration. Nor did this addition of two horses by Buckingham grow higher than a little murmur. For in the late queen's time there were no coaches, and the first had but two horses; the rest crept in by degrees, as men at first venture to sea. And every new thing the people disaffect they stumble at, sometimes at the action for the person, which rises like a little cloud, but soon vanishes. So after, when Buckingham came to be carried in a chair upon men's shoulders, the clamour and noise of it was so extravagant, that the people would rail on him in the streets, loathing that men should be brought to as servile a condition as horses. So irksom is every little new impression, that breaks an old custom, and rubs and grates against the publick humour." v

So rapid was their increase in the early part of the 17th century, that in 1636 upwards of 6,000 coaches appear from the following extract

hackney-men, who were wont to haue furnished trauellers in all places with fitting and seruiceable horses for any iourney (by the multitude of coaches) are vndone by the dozens, and the whole Common-wealth most abominably iaded, that in many places a man had as good to ride vpon a wooden post, as to poast it vpō one of those hunger-staru'd hirelings: which enormity can be imputed to nothing, but the coaches intrusion is the hackneyman's confusion. Nor haue we poore water-men the least cause to complaine against this infernal swarm of trade-spillers, who like the *grashoppers*, or *caterpillars* of *Egypt*, haue so ouerrun the land, that we can get no liuing vpon the water; for I dare truely affirme, that euery day in any tearme (especially if the Court be at Whitehall) they do rob vs of our liuing, and carry 560 fares daily from vs, which numbers of passengers were wont to supply our necessities, and enable vs sufficiently with meanes to doe our Prince and Countrey seruice."—"The World runnes on Wheelles." Taylor's Works, p. 237.

v Kennett's Hist. of Eng. II. 790.

to have been kept in London and the neighbourhood—" I speake not as if I did altogether condemne, and disallow of coaches in the generall. It is most fit and requisite, that Princes, Nobilitie, the more eminent and abler among the Gentry, should bee allowed their coaches and carroches, and all others who hold any place of dignitie either in Church or Commonwealth, as our Bishops, the Reverend Judges, Doctors of Divinitie, Law, Physicke, with the Chiefe Magistrates of eminent and honorable cities; but what, I pray you, are the coaches of these few, to that multitude at this day in England? when in London, the suburbes, and within foure miles compasse without, are reckoned to the number of six thousand and odd." ^v The patent to Sir Saunders Duncombe for letting to hire sedan chairs, for 14 years, was granted in 1634; the preamble of which sets forth, "that the several streets and passages within London and Westminster, and the suburbs of the same, are of late time so much encumbered and pestered with the unnecessary multitude of coaches therein used, that many of our good and loving subjects are by that means oftentimes exposed to great danger, and the necessary use of carts and carriages for the necessary provisions of the said cities and suburbs thereby also much hindered." A rivalry was thus excited between the coach and sedan, which gave rise to the publication under their respective names, to which frequent reference has been made, and in which they are thus described.

"The one (the sedan) was in a suite of greene, after a strange manner, windowed before and behind with isenglasse,^{*} having two handsome fellows in greene coats attending him, the one ever went before, the other came behind; their coates were lac'd downe the back with a green-lace sutable, so were their halfe sleeves, which perswaded me at first they were some cast suites of their masters; their backs were harnessed with leather cingles, cut out of a hide as broad as Dutch collops of bacon."

"The other (the coach) was a thick burly square sett fellow, in a

^v "Coach and Sedan," ut supra.

^{*} i. e. Talc, at this time also commonly called Muscovy glass.

doublet of black leather, brasse button'd downe the brest, backe, sleeves and winges, with monstrous wide bootes, fringed at the top. with a net fringe, and a round breech (after the old fashion) guilded, and on his backside an atchievement of sundry coats in their proper colors," &c. &c. — "Hee had onely one man before him, wrapt in a red cloake, with wide sleeves turned up at the hands, and cudgell'd thick on the backe and shoulders with broad shining lace (not much unlike that which mummers make of strawen hatts) and of each side of him, went a lacquay, the one a French boy, the other Irish, all sutable alike."

Sir W. Petty states that between this period (1636) and 1676, a further increase took place in "the number and splendour of coaches, equipages, and household furniture." ^y—Thus in the course of a century a manifest change occurred in the opinions and habits of our ancestors. Long had carriages been viewed as something more than "polite extravagancies." Aversion and contempt were expressed towards those of the male sex who occupied them, so unlike "the sonnes of Mars, the glorious brooches of our nation, the deadly foes to all sloth and effeminacie." ^z Amongst our older dramatic writers, they furnished a topic against which the shafts of ridicule might be safely directed; nor can we wonder at this, if so strong a prejudice existed as Aubrey ^a has described: "In Sir Philip Sydney's days, so famous for men at armes, 'twas then held as great a disgrace for a young gentleman to be seen riding in the street in a coach, as it would now for such a one to be seen in the streets in a petticoate and waistcoate; so much is the fashion of the times now altered." ^b Yet the charge of effeminacy, and the general exposure to ridicule, did not revive the chivalrous spirit "of

^y *Treatise of Political Arithmetic*, by Sir W. Petty.

^z *Taylor's Works*, p. 237.

^a *Aubrey's Lives*, &c. II. 554.

^b This feeling was probably general. In the beginning of the 16th century, "when the electors and princes did not choose to be present at the meetings of the States, they excused themselves by informing the emperor, that their health would not permit them to ride on horseback; and it was considered as an established point, that it was unbecoming for them to ride like women." Beckman, *ut sup.* I. 114.

Sir Philip Sydney's days." Lilly, in his "Alexander and Campaspe,"^c says "They that were accustomed on trotting horses to charge the enemy with a lance, now in easie coches ride up and down to court ladies." (Act iv. sc. 3.)

And Bishop Hall thus vents his satire against his degenerate countrymen :

"Is 't not a shame to see each homely groome
Sit perched in an idle chariot roome
That were not meete some pannel to bestride
Sursingled to a galled hackney's hide?"^d

In the "Return from Parnassus,"^e is a reflection of a graver character :

"Nor can it nought our gallant's praises reap,
Unless it be done in staring cheap
In a *sin-guilty* coach, not closely pent,
Jogging along the harder pavement." ACT i. Sc. 1.

Evelyn, in his "Character of England," 1659, says the Londoners called them *Hellcarts*. Thus retaining the opprobrious epithet given by Taylor some years before. (Vide p. 466.)

Conveyances for *public* accommodation were probably contemporaneous, or nearly so, with private carriages, or they might have come into use so soon as the latter ceased to be regarded as mere luxuries, and suitable for the higher orders only. Stow, in his Annals,^f speaks of long waggons for passengers and commodities about the year 1564, and which he states to have been similar to those that travelled to the metropolis at the beginning of the following century (1605) from Canterbury and other considerable towns. These long waggons became afterwards designated "Caravans," and the circumstance of their being constructed for a great number of persons, added to the clumsiness of the vehicle itself, and the state of the roads, will easily account for their slowness of motion. In 1610 an inhabitant of Stralsund in Pomerania

^c Edit. 1632. First printed in 1584.

^e First printed in 1606.

^d Book IV. Satire vi. published in 1597-8.

^f Edit. 1631, folio, p. 867, col. 2.

offered to bring from that country to Scotland, coaches and waggons, with horses to draw, and servants to attend them ; accordingly a royal patent was granted to him, conferring an exclusive privilege, for fifteen years, of keeping coaches to run betwixt Edinburgh and Leith. ^c

From the diary of Sir William Dugdale, recently discovered, I have been obligingly furnished, by Mr. Hamper, with the subjoined notices. ^h The earlier of these precede the date of Mr. Parker's letter. The series proves, that, by the means of Stage Coaches, a frequent communication between the Metropolis and various parts of the Country was established as early as the middle of the 17th century, and that, notwithstanding the force of prejudice, our ancestors were not tardy in availing themselves of so useful a discovery.

^g Brewster's Encyclopæd. art. Carriage. A tradition exists in Scotland, as I am informed by Sir Walter Scott, that chaises or chariots were first introduced into that country in 1745. The nobility were accustomed to travel previously in vehicles resembling Noah's ark, and the gentry upon horseback ; but, in that memorable year, the Prince of Hesse appeared in a carriage of the description just mentioned, to the admiration of all Scotchmen, who regarded it " as a coach cut in half."

^h 1659. May 2nd, I set forwards towards London by Coventre Coach ; 4th I came to London.

1660. March 13, My dau. Lettice went towards London in Coventre Waggon.

1662. June 28th, Given 16s. in earnest, and for my passage wth my man in Aylesbury Coach on Thursday next.

1663. Jan. 27th, I went to Baginton (with his own horses it would appear) ; 28th to Towcester ; 29th to St. Alban's ; 30th by St. Alban's Coach to London.

1677. Apr. 8th, I went to Coventre ; 9th thence to Woburne by Chester Coach ; 10th to London.

1679. July 16th, I came out of London by the Stage Coach of Bermicham to Banbury.

1680. June 30th, I came out of London in Bedford Stage Coach to the Earle of Aylesburie's house at Ampthill.

From the diary of a Yorkshire Clergyman, which the Rev. Mr. Hunter kindly transmitted, I gather that in the Winter of 1682 a journey from Nottingham to London, in a Stage Coach, occupied four whole days. One of this gentleman's fellow travellers was Sir Ralph Knight, of Langold in Yorkshire (an officer in Monk's army) ; so that Mr. Parker was not singular in having as his companions in such a conveyance, " persons of greate quality as Knights and Ladyes."

Wood, in his Diary, (which, from its minuteness, may be ranked amongst the most curious pieces of biography in the English language,) first mentions a stage-coach under the year 1661, in which Dr. Clayton, the unpopular warden of Merton College, entered Oxford. Six years afterwards, Wood informs us, that he travelled to London by the same conveyance. The journey from Oxford occupied two days, and we may remark, as evincing the more serious light in which travelling was regarded a century and a half ago, that notwithstanding the many attractions which London held out to a person possessing his antiquarian zeal, and habits of research, Wood, though residing within 60 miles of the capital, had attained his 35th year before he visited it. A conveyance was afterwards invented, called the "Flying coach," which completed the journey between Oxford and London in 13 successive hours. Of this, Wood early availed himself; and in his mention of the *boot*¹ that was placed on each side of the coach, he partly explains that appendage to the vehicle, to which Mr. Parker alludes, and which

¹ These appear to have been projections at the sides of coaches for the accommodation of passengers, who, in occupying them, sat with their backs to the carriage. They were probably uncovered. The present construction of the carriages of the Lord Mayor and Speaker, in which their officers are so placed as to look out at the side windows, may have originated when the boot was disused; but "Mr. Speaker's coach, however cumbrous, gives an inadequate idea (as the editor of Bassompierre's Embassy to England, in 1626, justly observes) of the vast machines of former days, which were rather closets on wheels, than what we would call coaches." p. 80.

Allusions to the boot are frequent in our older writers, but the following quotation gives sufficient explanation upon so important a topic:

"The coach is a close hypocrite, for it hath a couer for any knauery, and curtaines to vaile or shadow any wickednes: besides, like a perpetuall cheater, it weares two bootes and no spurs, sometimes hauing two paire of legs in one boote, and oftentimes (against nature) most preposterously it makes faire ladies weare the boote; and, if you note, they are carried backe to backe, like people surpriz'd by pyrats, to be tyed in that miserable manner. and throwne overboord into the sea. Moreouer, it makes people imitate sea-crabs, in being drawne side-wayes, as they are when they sit in the boote of the coach, and it is a dangerous kinde of carriage for the commonwealth, if it be rightly considered." "The World runnes on Wheelles." Taylor's Works, p. 240.

that gentleman states he was forced to occupy, with so much inconvenience to himself.

The advantages attending this more expeditious mode of travelling, do not seem to have been immediately appreciated; and, either from the badness of the roads, or the fear of highwaymen, the journey was accelerated or retarded according to the season of the year, as it appears from the Oxford Almanack of 1692, that from Michaelmas to Lady-day, the original plan was adopted, and two days were again occupied in travelling this short distance.

The writer of a tract in the Harleian Miscellany (vol. VIII.) entitled "The grand concern of England explained, in several proposals offered to the consideration of the Parliament," (London 1673); suggests, amongst other matters, "that the multitude of stage-coaches and caravans now travelling upon the roads, may all, or most of them, be suppressed; especially those within 40, 50, or 60 miles off London; and that a due regulation be made of such as shall be thought fit to be continued." Some of the writer's arguments are sufficiently futile, but the information afforded by his tract will render a brief analysis of it not uninteresting.

"These coaches and caravans," he observes, "are one of the greatest mischiefs that hath happened of late years to the kingdom, mischievous to the publick, destructive to trade, and prejudicial to lands.

"1. By destroying the breed of good horses, the strength of the nation, and making men careless of attaining to good horsemanship, a thing so useful and commendable in a gentleman.

"2. By hindering the breed of watermen, who are the nursery for seamen, and they the bulwark of the kingdom.

"3. By lessening of his majesty's revenues."

It appears that at that time a coach with four horses carried six passengers; a caravan with four or five horses, twenty or twenty-five. The writer considers that "passage to London being so easy, gentlemen come thither oftener than they need, and their ladies either with them,

or quickly follow them by the same conveyance.”^k That as to the poor, “they cannot be profited thereby; for waggons, or the long coaches first invented, and still in use, would be most for their interest to travel in, being far less expensive than the other.”

He complains of the expence incurred upon the road, the charges from London to Exeter, Chester, or York, being 40*s.* in summer time, and 45*s.* in winter, for each person; “so that, with other expences, in summer time the passage backward and forward cost 4*l.* 11*s.*; in winter, 5*l.* 1*s.* and this only for eight days riding in the summer, and twelve in the winter.”

As to horses, the rates of letting appear at that time to have been from 6*s.* to 12*s.* a week.

The writer lastly proposes that the number of stage-coaches should be limited; one to every shire-town in England, to go once a week backwards and forwards, and to go through with the same horses they set forth with, and not to travel above 30 miles a day in summer, and

^k Upon this point the author of the tract before referred to (Coach and Sedan) writes with much warmth:

“And Coach, twice or thrice a yeare, you must needes take a boone voyage to London with your ladie, under a cullor to bee new cullour’d, guilded, or painted, covered, seated, shod, or the like, when her errand indeede is, as one saith well, speaking to such ladies as love to visit the citie;

‘To see what fashion most is in request,

How is this Countess, that court ladie drest.’

“Hence it happens, Coach, that by your often ambling to London, Sir Thomas, or Sir John, sinks (as in a quicksand) by degrees, so deep into the merchant, mercer, or taylor’s, booke, that hee is up to the eares, ere hee be aware; neither can he be well drawne out without a teame of vsurers, and a craftie scrivener to bee the fore-horse, or the present sale of some land, so that wise men suppose this to bee one maine and principall reason, why within a coach journey of a day or two from the citie, so many faire inheritances, as have beene purchased, by lord majors, aldermen, merchants, and other rich citizens, have not continued in a name to the third, yea, scarce the second generation, when go farre north or westward, you shall find many families, and names both of the nobilitie and gentrie, to have continued their estates, two, three hundred yeeres and more, in a direct succession.”

25 in winter. He recommends all coaches to be suppressed within 40 or 50 miles of London, where he states, that they are no way necessary, and yet so highly destructive.

Sir Robert Howard's comedy, called "The Committee," though it does not appear to have been printed till 1665, describes with apparent exactness the manners of the times immediately preceding the death of Charles the First, and from this play it is evident that stage-coaches were in use many years before Wood's notice of them, or the date of Mr. Parker's letter. In the opening scene, the characters arrive in London by the Reading stage-coach. That this was not one of the caravans before noticed, nor any undignified vehicle, is apparent, from the language used by the committee-man's wife, a very ostentatious personage, who, though she thinks it necessary to apologize for riding in a stage-coach, her own being in disorder, makes a boast of her having formerly done so in company with the mayor and mayoress of Reading. From two other passages in this play, it appears that the coach carried six inside passengers; and it may perhaps be not unamusing to notice, that the gratuity which this lady thinks proper to give the coachman for the care of herself and two of her family is, as the coachman describes it, "a groat of more than ordinary thinness;" a remark which he accompanies with a sneer at the liberality of the "new gentry" of those days.

Sensible that I have trespassed too largely upon the attention of the Society, from having been led into the present subject much further than I originally purposed, I now hasten to conclude this paper with one or two observations that result from the preceding inquiry.

The love of loco-motion—the thirst for intelligence and improvement that characterize the present age, not only distinguish us from our forefathers, whose gravity of manners and burthensome costume, were well fitted to the cumbrous machines which they employed, but likewise from the inhabitants of every other country. The frequency and celerity of communication between the extremities of Great Britain, have almost extinguished all provincial distinctions in language, dress, and manners; and the peasantry of remote districts (Northumberland and Cornwall

for instance), will probably ere long be ignorant that a peculiar dialect, and peculiar customs, once marked the natives of those counties as separate people. This change is viewed with distrust by some persons who cherish early recollections with partiality, and who contemplate in its results, evils somewhat similar to those entertained upon the first introduction of carriages. But in determining how far a discovery of importance will prove advantageous, a degree of prescience is requisite which we are often incapable of exercising; and in what various instances have not the prophecies and apprehensions of the ablest statesmen proved groundless? A useful invention, though its progress may be retarded, can never be stifled in a country where the principles of genuine freedom are cherished. The mischievous effects of sumptuary laws, once regarded as founded on the wisest principles of political economy, had been felt, and acknowledged, or with the prejudices that existed against the use of carriages, the parliamentary prohibition contemplated in Queen Elizabeth's reign would undoubtedly have passed into a law. How far such a procedure might have retarded this country in the march of civilization and improvement, very little consideration will enable us to decide. Projects which are only problematical in their consequences, and not decidedly mischievous, when struggling into life, are not to be suppressed by law, nor even to be the subject of interference; their operation must be left to time and experience, and those unerring tests of truth will always determine their value and importance.

I remain, my dear Sir,

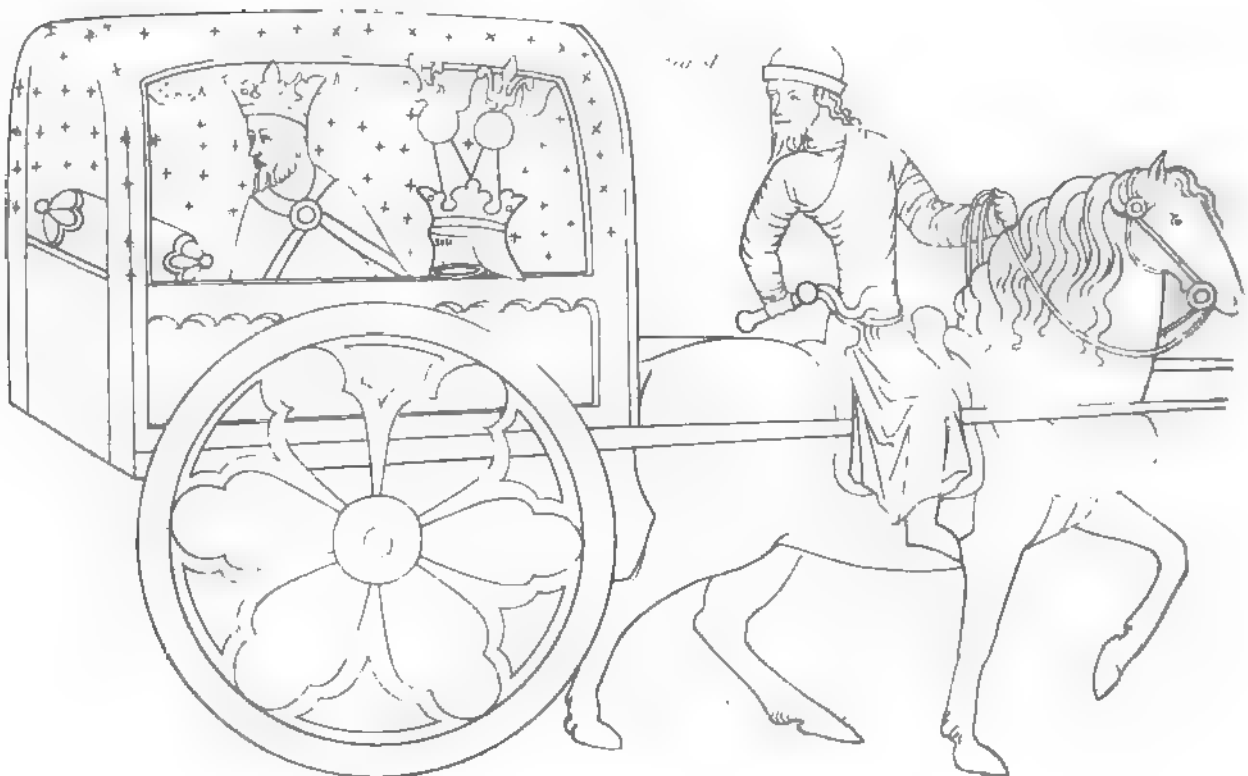
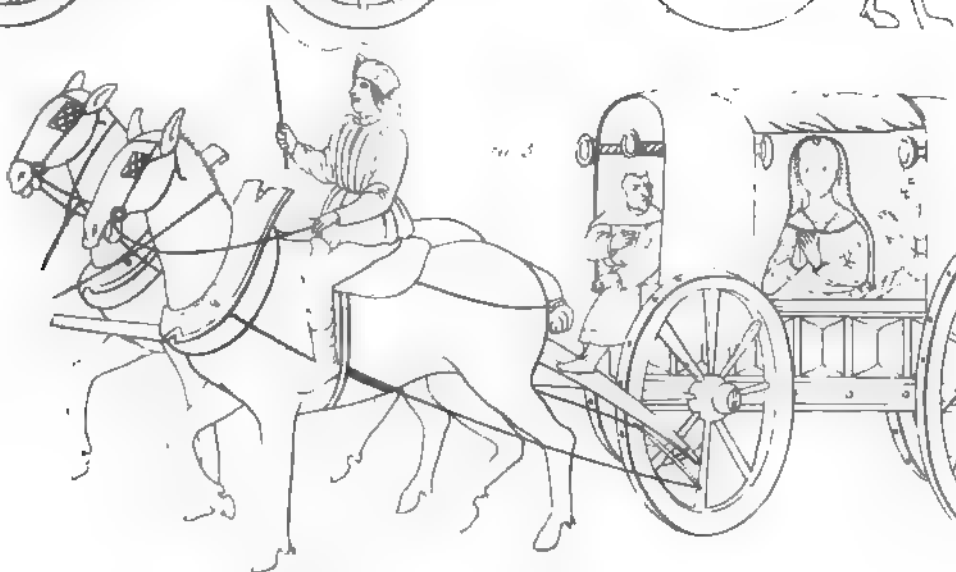
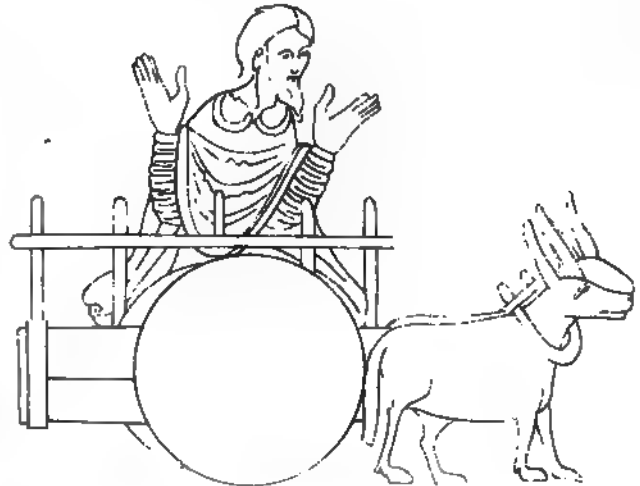
Your faithful and obedient Servant,

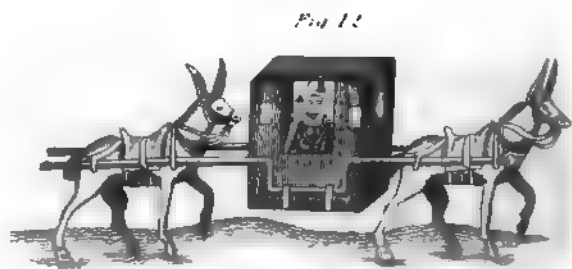
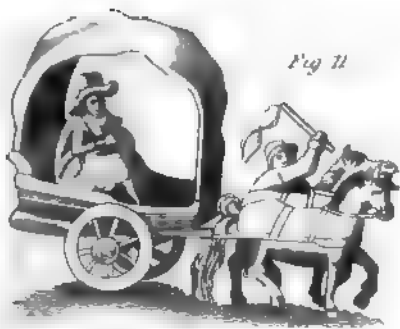
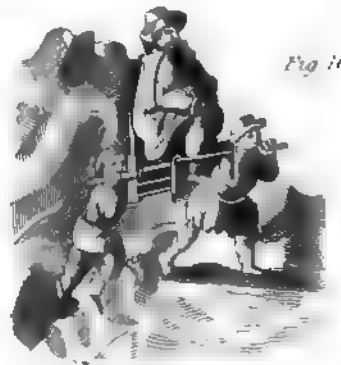
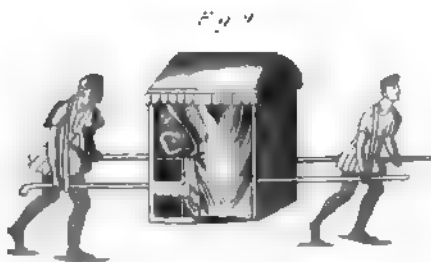
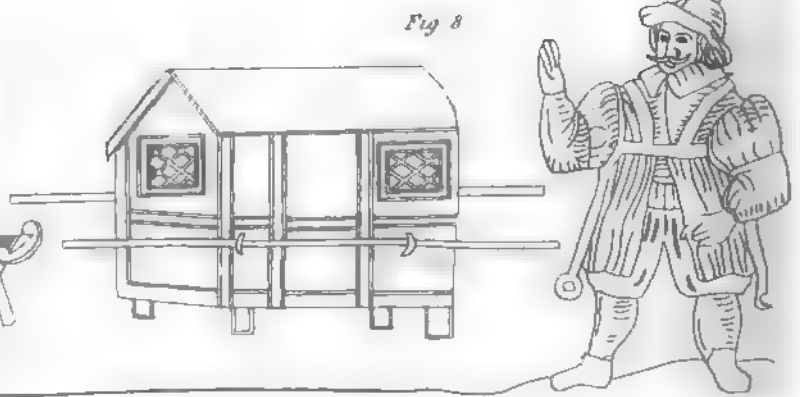
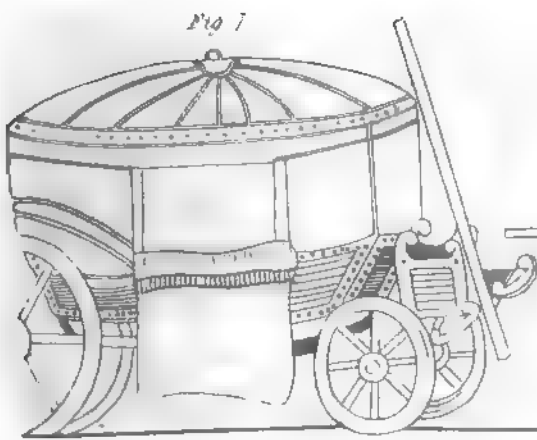
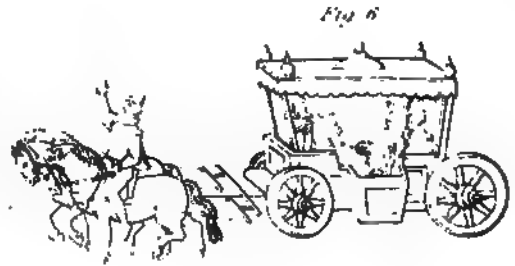
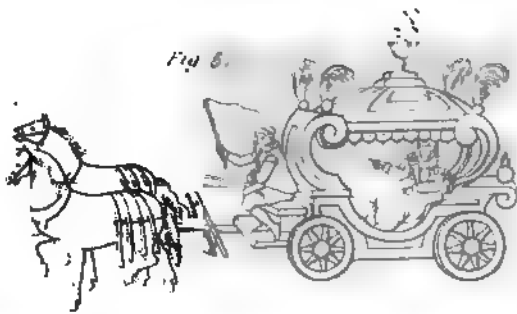
J. H. MARKLAND.

Fig. 7.



Fig. 2.





Authorities for the Carriages represented in Plates XVII. and XVIII.

Fig. 1, 2. Copied from MS. Bibl. Cott. Claud. B. 4. (*see* p. 7.)

Fig. 3. From an ancient Flemish Chronicle among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum (16 F. iii.) "representing Emergard, the wife of Salvard, Lord of Rouissillon, driven in a covered cart or waggon. She is attended by a female, and in the front of the cart is placed her fool." Illust. Shaksp. II. 170. This MS. Mr. Douce considers of the fifteenth century.

Fig. 4. From *Le Roman du Roy Meliadus*, formerly in the Roxburghe Library, and now in the collection of Robert Lang, esq. This valuable MS. is "considered to be at least as early as the close of the fourteenth century." (Singer on Playing Cards, 67. Dibdin's Decameron, I. ccv.) The carriage, in which King Meliadus is travelling with his helmet at his side, partly resembles that of the Lady Emergard, but in this drawing the back of the vehicle is given, and a curious whip in the hand of the driver. The wheel deserves notice, resembling what in architecture is termed a Catherine-wheel.

Fig. 5, 6. Queen Elizabeth's Carriage, and that of her attendants, described page 462.

Fig. 7, 8. A Coach and Sedan, from the title of the tract frequently mentioned in the foregoing paper, and which are both described p. 468.

Fig. 9. From a plate in Sandys' Travels (1627). The author terms this a *Segge*, "not unlike a horse-litter, but carried by men, wherein those that will not foote it in the heate, are borne (if they please unseene) about the city of Naples." Page 259.

Fig. 10, 11. A Litter and "Picardie Cart," from Coryat's Crudities. (1611.)

Fig. 12. A Litter carried by mules. From the frontispiece to the second part of Thomas Scott's *Vox Populi* (1620), taken from a beautiful copy of this author's works, in the Library of Francis Free-ling, esq. F.S.A.

The Translator of the "Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second," upon a revisal of the whole, suggests the following emendations and varied renderings of several passages in the work; few of which materially affect the sense, and will probably be thought unimportant by any but the critical reader.

Page 31, l. 4, 5, *for* "I knew not what their names were," *for* I took little heed about the matter," *read*, I took little heed about their names, or them either.—p. 34, l. 2, *for* "parties went out to forage," *r.* they went out to forage any where.—p. 69, l. 4, *for* "trained," *r.* encamped.—p. 90, l. 1, *for* "bore," *r.* set up for.—p. 97, l. 16, *after* "No one," *r.* however loyal.—p. 98, l. 6, 7, *for* "alas! a poor king," *r.* a poor unfortunate king.—p. 99, l. 15, *for* "packing up," *r.* drawing up.—p. 104 l. 12, *for* "moreover, he that was not mounted," *r.* For he that was not well mounted.—p. 115, l. 9, 10, 11, *for* "lady, I cry thee mercy," *to* "falsely betrayeth," *r.* From my soul I cry thee mercy, so truly as I have never deserved of the duke that he should thus pursue me, or of my people, who undeservedly hate me, and falsely betray me.—p. 120, l. 31, *for* "fourteenth," *r.* fifteenth.—p. 122, l. 6, *for* "his brother," *r.* his brother-in-law.—*ibid.* l. 10, *after* "safety," *r.* and with good reason.—p. 124, l. 3 *for* "which is," *r.* although it is.—p. 125, l. 13, *for* "your army could not approach him," *r.* You could not bring your army near him.—*ibid.* l. 18, *for* "let him," *r.* that he will.—p. 130, l. 7, *for* "the duke," *r.* the earl.—*ibid.* l. 13, *after* "an agreement," *r.* Now he cannot return.—p. 131, l. 8, *after* "him," *r.* as their rightful lord.—*ibid.* l. 11, 12, *for* "the subtle earl said," *r.* The earl was subtle and wise; he said.—p. 132, l. 13, *after* "He found King Richard," *add*, within the castle.—p. 135, l. 5, *for* "crime or treason," *r.* crime, error, or treason.—p. 137, l. 2, *for* "take it," *r.* take him by it.—*ibid.* l. 22, 23, *for* "my good friends, but that in spite of them you shall ever be my nearest friends," *r.* but that in spite of them you shall ever be my good, my nearest friends.—p. 148, l. 12, *for* "disturbed by war," *r.* in motion for war.—p. 150, l. 2, *for* "call upon," *r.* bewail.—*ibid.* l. 13, *for* "hear of it," *r.* attend to it.—p. 168, l. 2, *for* "Cousin," *r.* Cousin of Lancaster.—p. 171, l. 15, *for* "John of Gant," *r.* the Duke of York.—p. 183, l. 1, *for* "thou," *r.* ah! thou.—p. 192, l. 1, *for* "marquesses," *r.* the marquess.—*ibid.* l. 15, *for* "the duke," *r.* the good duke.—p. 200, l. 14, *after* "Jesus Christ," *add*, according to their form.—p. 206, l. 5, *for* "forty," *r.* just forty.—p. 207, l. 7, *after* "their work," *add*, as that work plainly proves.—p. 210, l. 3, *after* "jousting," *add*, for which I greatly value them.—p. 214, l. 5, *after* "Duke Henry," *add*, who wished for their death.—p. 220, l. 3, *after* "city of London," *add*, it was no pretence.—*ibid.* l. 14, *for* "they," *r.* the people.—p. 224, l. 17, *for* "that they must depart," *r.* before they departed.—p. 239, l. 11, *after* "treason," *add*, if I could return to France.

ERRATA.

Page 7, l. 7, *for stile, read style.*—p. 16, l. 13, *dele that.*—*ibid.* l. 22, *for moraturam, r. moratorium.*—p. 21, l. 6, *for he, r. be.*—p. 37, l. 19, *for Despenser, r. Despencer.*—p. 53, *note*, l. 2, *for Consilia, r. Concilia.*—p. 60, l. 20, *r. ami and penson.*—*ibid.* l. 26, *after pas, add a comma.*—p. 66, l. 19 *r. eschevins.*—p. 71, l. 6, *for here, r. hear.*—p. 71, l. 32, *for Rutland, r. Rhuddlan.*—p. 74, l. 32, *r. their.*—p. 107, l. 3, *after shame put a colon.*—112, l. 33, *for dirous, r. dirons.*—p. 117, l. 5 *for were, r. where.*—122, l. 15, *for Branham, r. Bramham.*—136, l. 27, *for fecerant nec ; r. fecerant ; nec.*—p. 137, l. 30, *for Galliard, r. Gaillard ; also p. 197, l. 24, and 217, l. 11.*—p. 175, l. 20, *for havoe, r. havoc.*—p. 267, l. 11, *for forbad, r. forbade.*—p. 289, l. 12, *for aquainted, r. acquainted.*

LONDON :

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IV. Observations on the Seal of Ethilwald Bishop of Dunwich, lately discovered at Eye, in Suffolk: by HUDSON GURNEY, Esq. M. P. F. R. S. Vice-President. In a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.

Read 10th January 1892.



MY DEAR SIR,

BY the kindness of Mr. Fenner, of Eye, I have now the pleasure of sending you the Seal, of which I before forwarded you the impression, for the inspection of the Society.

It appears to have been the Seal of Ethilwald Bishop of Dunwich, of whom the "Profession of Faith," addressed to Celnoth Archbishop of Canterbury from A. D. 830 to 870, is referred to by Wharton in the Appendix to the *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I. p. 801, as existing in the Cottonian MS. Cleopatra, E. 1. in the British Museum.

VOL. XX.

3 a

Mr. Fenner writes me, that it was dug up by a labourer, in a garden, about two hundred yards from the site of the monastery at Eye, who gave it to the child of a workman employed on a farm in his occupation. The child threw it on the fire, whence its mother rescued it, and retained it for Mr. Fenner who has for many years been in the habit of searching for, and of preserving objects of antiquity which have from time to time been found in the vicinity of that place.

The Seal appears to be of bronze, mitre-shaped, of two rows of arches, surmounted by a rude fleur-de-lis, and supported by nine wolves' heads in the interstices of the arches; the eyes formed of small garnets of which one only remains, since its being recovered from the fire.

The legend on the face of the seal is

✠ SĪR EÐILVVALDI EP.—

The See of Dunwich was founded in the seventh century, by St. Felix the first Bishop, and was divided by Bisa or Bosa about 673; the seat of the diocese of Suffolk remaining at Dunwich, and that of Norfolk being fixed at Elmham.

The received Lists of the Bishops of Dunwich vary considerably; and the Cottonian MS. above referred to, gives a sequence of three Bishops whose names appear in none of them. The Professions of Faith which this very curious Collection preserves, are in number ninety-eight, on thirty-nine leaves of vellum, paged from 16 to 55. I therefore conceive it is imperfect at the beginning. It commences with the Professions of Herevinus of Lichfield, and Rethunus of Leicester, addressed to Wulfred; and these appear the only ones out of their chronological order; being succeeded by Professions made to Ethelard.

The seventh Profession is that of Tidfrid Bishop of Dunwich, to Ethelard. Now we find in the Saxon Chronicle, anno 799, "This year Bishop Alfin died at Sudbury and was buried at Dunwich, and Tidfrith was consecrated Bishop after him."

Weremund Bishop of Dunwich was murdered by the Danes in 870; and all the extant lists make him the immediate successor of Tidfrid; whilst Wilred, who in the lists is made successor to Weremund, signs the charter of Croyland preserved by Ingulphus, anno 833. These dif-

ficulties and inconsistencies seem cleared by the Manuscript. The Profession of Ethelwald Bishop of Dunwich, to Celnoth, is the fifteenth in the series, and the eighteenth is that of a nameless Bishop, also to Celnoth, who, I think, may be fairly supposed to be either Wilred or Weremund. He says, " *Exemplum antecessorum meorum venerabilium patrum, tuorum videlicet famulorum in Christo, ALDULFI, HEREWINI, ETHELWALDI, non ut voluero sed ut potero exequar.*"

The placing these three Bishops, whose existence has thus singularly been authenticated, though mentioned by no extant Ecclesiastical Historian, together with Wilred, between Tidfred and Weremund, gets rid of the improbability which Godwin, Wharton, and Blomefield, all seem to have felt, of two Bishops having held the See for 88 or 85 years.

Whether Wilred preceded Aldulf or was the successor of Ethilwald does not appear.

With the devastations of the Danes in 870, ended the residence of the Bishops at Dunwich.

In the course of the next century we find the Sees again united ; but the episcopal residence of the Bishops of Elmham, for the Suffolk part of the diocese, was at Hoxne, the seat, and the site of the martyrdom, of St. Edmund. Hoxne in Domesday is called "*Sedes Episcopatus,*" and in the will of Bishop Theodred A. D. 962, preserved in the register of Bury, he directs the distribution of 10*l.* " *at Hoxne at mi Biscoperiche for mine soule.*" But the property of the Bishops in Dunwich appears to have found its way either to the lords, or to the church of Eye. I should strongly suspect there was some very ancient ecclesiastical foundation there, to which, if any survived the massacre, the monks of Dunwich might have retired from the Danes ; the tradition being, that that place was formerly nearly surrounded by marshes and water, and the Honour and Castle of Eye, probably arising from the strength of its position.

We find from Domesday, that Edric de Lexfield held both Eye and Dunwich, with the sac and soc of the Bishoprick, in the time of Edward the Confessor.

William the Conqueror granted the Honour of Eye, with two hundred and twenty-one lordships in Suffolk, to Robert Malet.

In the foundation charter of Robert Malet to his monastery of Benedictines, which he made a Cell to Bernay in Normandy, he gives them the Church of St. Peter in Eye with all the lands and tithes belonging to it, and all the churches in Dunwich which then existed or might afterward be built there. He gives them also the sac and soc both of Eye and Dunwich, as of all their other lands.

The charter of Stephen to the Priory of Eye confirms the donations of Robert Malet, and distinctly states the privileges of the Church of Eye to have existed previously to the introduction of the Norman Monks: "habeat etiam Ecclesia eandem Libertatem de Episcopo, de Archidiacono, de Decano, quam habuit a tempore Regis Eadwardi, et a tempore Eadrici de Lexifellda, et Regis H. Sitque de Priore ponendo & removendo sicut constitutum fuit in tempore Roberti Malet."

The Monks of Eye possessed the site of the Bishoprick at Dunwich till it was swallowed by the sea, and had a Cell there to the time of the Dissolution.

Finally, Leland, in his "Collectanea," states, that the Monks of Eye had preserved to his days, a book of the Gospels brought from Dunwich, vulgarly called the Red Book of Eye, on which the common people were used to swear; which they constantly affirmed to have belonged to St. Felix, and which tradition, Leland says, he believes to be true, not only from its being written in large Longobardic characters, but from its having every appearance of great antiquity.

On the whole, I conceive there can remain no doubt, but that this was the genuine Seal of Ethilwald Bishop of Dunwich, about the middle of the ninth century, and that it sets at rest the question hitherto in dispute, touching the Use of Seals amongst the Anglo-Saxons.

I am, my dear Sir, yours most truly,

HUDSON GURNEY.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq.

Kerwick, near Norwich, Jan. 5, 1822.

PROFESSIO ETHELWALDI DOMMUCIENSIS EPISCOPI.

“Primum tibi Celnothe, pater beatissime, ego Ethelwaldus humilis Christi famulus ad hoc percipiendum officium Dommuciæ Civitatis fidem meam Catholicam fateor. Credo deum Patrem. Credo verbum patris, id est Filium, non patri inferiorem nec superiorem, sed in eternitate Divinitatis coequalem, consubstantialem: Sanctum quoque Spiritum ex patre & filio procedentem, & in unitatis gloria, ac divinitatis omni potentia & majestate coesepialem, & quem tota per orbem Ecclesia & trinum discernit in personis, et unum confitetur in perfectione Deitatis. Hoc fateor, & hoc omnimodo credo, & euotenus^a exerceo. Innotæscio quod quicquid tu Pater, quicquid successores tui Sanctæ Dorobernensis ecclesie Presules in veritate affirmant, diligens affirmabo. Quicquid respuerint injustum, hoc et ego omnimodis respuere festino; & hoc signo Sanctæ Crucis Christi propria manu confirmo.”

Cotton. MS. Cleopatra, E. 1. fol. 22. b.

^a Sic.

V. *Account of the Tomb of Sir John Chandos, Knt. A. D. 1370, at Civaux, a hamlet on the Vienne, in France: By SAMUEL RUSH MEYRICK, LL. D. F. S. A. In a Letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 5th April 1821.

College of Advocates, Doctors Commons, April 2, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR,

THERE exists in France a Monument which tradition ascribes to the "Flower of English Chivalry," Sir John Chandos, who fell in a skirmish near the bridge of Lusac in the year 1370. A friend of mine, Major Smith, has lately visited this spot, and from his letter, and some other sources, I have drawn up the following, which through your means I beg leave to submit to the notice of the Society of Antiquaries. The subject seems to me interesting on two accounts; first, from the great celebrity and renown of the hero intended to be commemorated, and next for the peculiarity of the monument itself.

M. Siauve, a Member of the Société d'Emulation at Poitiers, was deputed to survey, and make a report upon the tombs at Civaux, a hamlet on the Vienne, about six leagues from Poitiers, on the high road to Limoges, and the result of his researches was published in the year 1804. Not far from this village he found the monument which tradition affirms, and he readily believes, to be that of Sir John Chandos. He says, that "the tomb in its present dilapidated state consists of a flat stone, over which a cenotaph is raised on two small pillars, having sculptured on it a pennon with a device, a small heart-shaped buckler, and the shaft of a halbert, or battle-axe. At one end is a round vacant space, which is supposed to have contained his armorial bearings, described by Froissart as a

pile Gules on a field Argent. The bones of this knight are supposed to be still undisturbed beneath his ruined monument."

That the ignorance of the peasantry, who have nothing to guide them but the tradition, should incline them to believe this to be the monument of Sir John Chandos is natural, but that a gentleman, who is a professed Antiquary, should, in opposition to Froissart and Bouchet, assent to the notion that the bones of the hero are under the cenotaph he describes, is truly astonishing. This circumstance, however, besides the very interesting and picturesque manner in which that able Chronicler has described the death of Sir John Chandos, has induced me briefly to state what he has said on the subject. It will be found at length in his eleventh chapter.

He relates that the occurrence which occasioned his death arose from his continual regret at the loss of St. Salvin, and his repeated meditation on the most effectual means for its recovery. On the eve of the new year he attempted to carry into effect the project of taking it by escalade, but failed, imagining that the stratagem had been discovered. He then dismissed the Poitevins, and remained at an hotel at Chauvigne on the river Creuse, with his more immediate retainers. After this, hearing that the French had taken the field, he determined on seeking and bringing them to battle. They were posted on one side of the bridge of Lusac, while the English, who had first quitted Sir John, drew up on the other, determined to intercept the passage. Sir John and his party keeping the same side of the river as the French, came suddenly on their rear, but without being at all aware that any of their friends were on the other. A skirmish began, in which Sir John, from not having closed the vizor of his helmet, received the thrust of a lance in his eye, which entered his brain, and caused his death. His body was valiantly defended by his uncle Sir Edward Clifford, until the arrival of the English from the other side occasioned the French to yield themselves prisoners of war. Sir John Chandos was then gently disarmed, placed on shields and targets, and carried to the castle of Mortemer, the nearest fortress. There he survived but one day, and there he was buried.

This account in the original carries with it internal evidence of impartiality, and the author seems to have derived his information from an eye-witness.

Bouchet goes still further to prove, that Sir John Chandos was buried at Mortemer. He has preserved, in his "*Annales d'Aquitaine*," the epitaph which he says was placed on his monument there. It ran thus :

Je Jehan Chandault, des Anglois capitaine,
Fort Chevalier, de Poictou Sénéchal,
Après avoir fait guerre tres lointaine
Au Rois François, tant à pied qu'à cheval,
Et pris Bertrand de Guesclin en un val,
Les Poitevins près Lusac, me different,
A Mortemer mon corps enterrer firent,
En une cercueil élevé tout de neuf,
L'an mil trois cens avec soixante neuf.

" I John Chandos, Captain of the English,
A powerful Knight, Seneschal of Poitou,
After having for a very long time made war
On the French kings, as well on foot as on horseback,
And taken Bertrand de Guesclin in a valley,
Was destroyed by the Poitevins near Lusac.
At Mortemer they caused my body to be entered
In a coffin, ^a put up quite new, in
The year one thousand three hundred and sixty-nine."

In Froissart's account, the skirmish took place on the last day of December, and then Sir John received his mortal wound, but he seems to have died on the evening of the first of January. This difference will enable us to reconcile the date in the epitaph with that of the Chronicler. Or, perhaps as the year, more strictly speaking, commenced in March, the monument may not have been finished before that time.

But it is now time for me to refer to the letter of my friend Major Smith. He writes as follows : " We set out for the shrine of Sir John Chandos, of valiant memory. Our road was towards the castle of Mortemer, where Froissart asserts he died and was buried, though the

^a It was usual at this time to make the monument contain the coffin.

French writers say that his tomb is by the road side near Civaux. In order to obtain the best intelligence, we sought the Curé of the village, but our efforts were in vain. Thus disappointed, we entered the yard of the Castle, where we found a stone-cutter following his occupation. Having addressed our queries to him, he informed us, that he and his companions were then at work repairing the floor of the church, and that there were but two monumental stones in it. Of these, but one had any inscription, merely commemorating a *chanoine*, and that he had turned face downwards. Having entered and examined the church without discovering any clue towards identifying the grave, and the declaration of the stone-mason having aroused the spirit of antiquarian disquisition in me, I fancied the man had ignorantly read *Chanoine* for *Chandos*. I therefore prevailed on his master to take up the stone. To my mortification I found it dated 169., a convincing proof of my error. The other monumental stone without inscription, was ridged, or in the coffin-shape, and probably belonged to the ancient barons of Mortemer, a branch of the English Mortimers. They had a vault in the church, and the body of our great countryman may have been deposited within it, but of this neither vestiges nor tradition remain. The geographical position of the Castle and its strength fully admit Mortemer to have been the nearest strong-hold to the Vienne which the English then possessed.

“ Quitting this place we went towards Masserolles, and from that into the great road from Poitiers to Lusac and Limoges. This brought us immediately upon the Vienne, which appeared to be near sixty yards in breadth. While waiting here, and making enquiry for the monument of Sir John Chandos, and the ruins of the ancient bridge of Lusac, a merchant informed us we were within a few hundred yards of the spot. On this joyful intelligence my companion and I pushed forwards to catch a view of our principal object. Having ascended the bank to a small hamlet, the first thing that struck us was a green mass in the stream. This proved to be a remaining vestige of a former arch, and at the pier nearest to us we found the monument in question. A countryman standing by, observed that it was the tomb ‘d’un chevalier

Anglois nommé Chandos, that it had been thrown down during the Revolution, and lately replaced on its ancient base by himself and companions. It consists of a ridged coffin-shaped lime-stone block, supported by two uprights, each formed to resemble a range of three pillars, and these resting on a broad and thick slab of the same material. On one side of the bevil of the surface is a bas-relief of a banner, with a square depression in it forming a border,^a within which some idle fellow has attempted to scratch a few cross lines, to designate the union flag of England. On the other, or left side, is a lance tapering to a point, but without the usual flat-bladed head, and by it a kite-shaped shield, like those in the Bayeux tapestry. At the head end of this block is a round defaced surface, which we were told contained his armorial bearings, chiseled out at the Revolution.

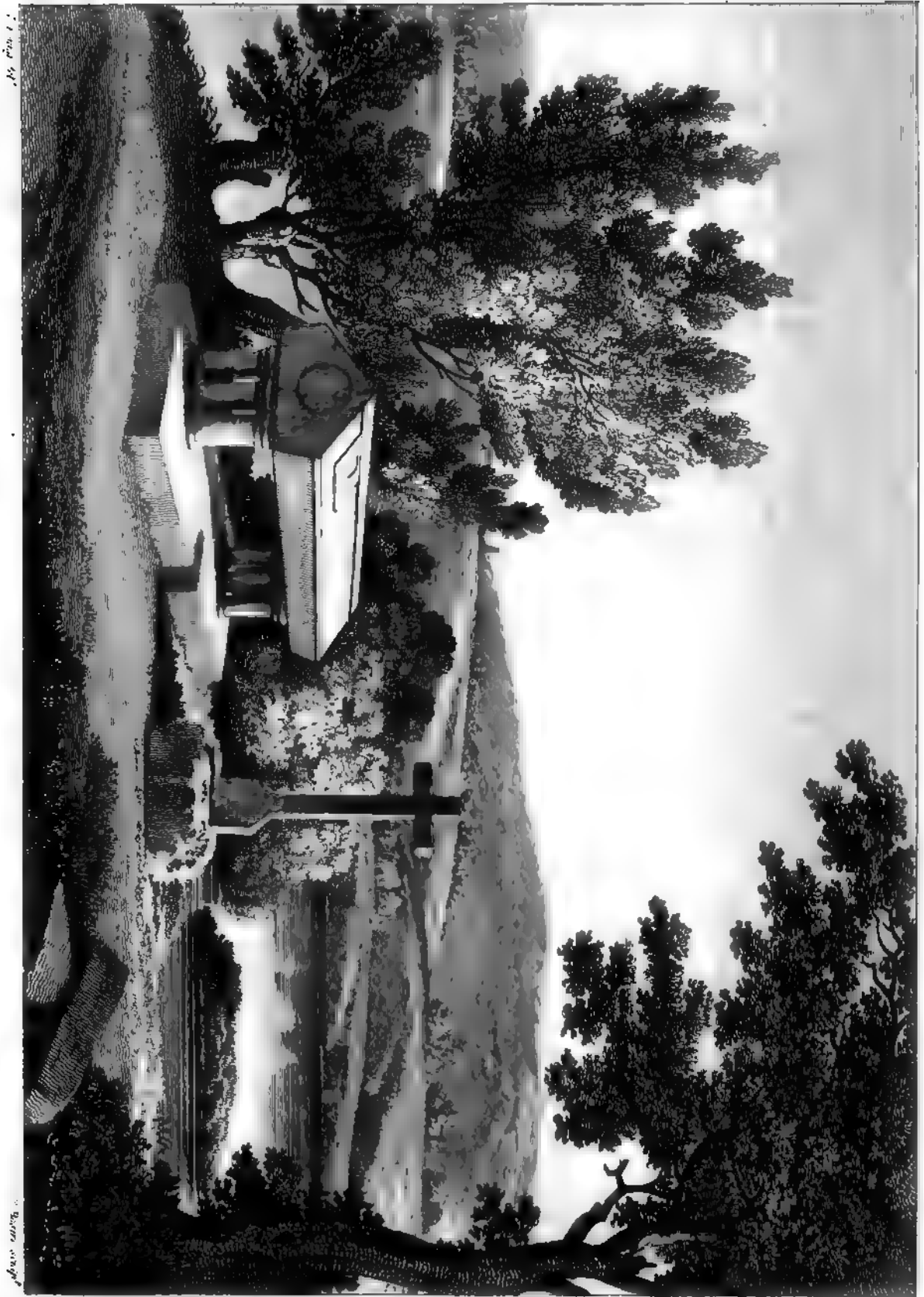
"About three feet from the right side of this tomb is a stone cross, no doubt denoting, as is common in Catholic countries, the violent death of a person on this spot, which is in fact the foot of the bridge, and therefore referring to the monument. No inscription, however, appears on either." See Plate XIX.

I would observe in the first place, that the French Antiquaries in assigning this monument to Sir John Chandos, have placed that at least five miles from its real site; and next, that the very shape of it very nearly resembles the one universally attributed to Rufus in Winchester cathedral.^b Another circumstance is the form of the shield sculptured upon it. No instance occurs of the kite-shaped shield subsequent to the reign of Henry III. and then, indeed, its length was considerably less in proportion to its breadth than that on this monument. Indeed, as Major Smith has observed, it exactly resembles those in the Bayeux tapestry, and thus, from this circumstance and its similarity in form to the tomb of Rufus, the fact of its age is fully established.

^a It seems to be a canton.

^b It is also worthy of remark, that in a sculpture over the western door of the ancient church of St. Saturin at Bourdeaux, intended to represent the Day of Judgment, there are coffins carved in a similar form.

PLATE XIX



View of the church and cross from a distance of about a mile.



But there is another point still to be accounted for. The Major has justly remarked, that it is usual to erect a cross where a violent death has occurred, and that the stone one at the foot of the bridge evidently refers to the monument. I would further add, that its position is such as to obstruct the passage, so that it could not have stood there previous to this skirmish,

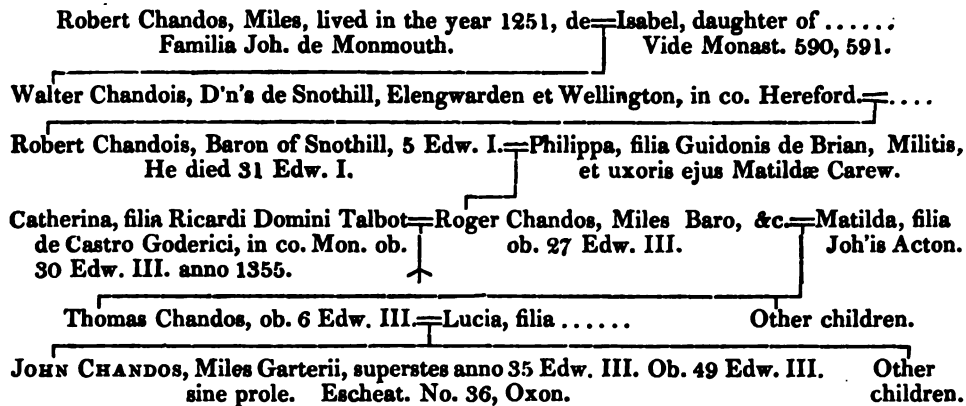
I think, however, the difficulty is to be solved in the following manner. The English "deposited in a coffin quite new," their heroic chief within the vault at Mortemer, and erected within the church a tablet, bearing the epitaph preserved by Bouchet. When the place fell into the hands of the French, this, with its inscription, was wholly destroyed, as it would not be found palatable to national vanity. In a very different light, however, would be considered the manner in which Sir John Chandos was killed. This was worthy of commemoration, as it seemed to cast a ray of glory on the arms of France. For such a purpose, an ancient monument was requisite, and the church-yard of Civaux abounded with them. Correctness in chronology was not understood: it was sufficient that the monument be prior to the age, and this was removed from its original site to record the fall of a warrior who died, probably, two hundred and fifty years after him for whom it was originally designed.

If the round defaced surface at the head of the tomb had the armorial bearing of Sir John Chandos, it was most likely carved in bas-relief at the time of its removal, to countenance the national sentiment; for which likewise, when changed, it was subsequently obliterated.

Accompanying this Letter are two Drawings, one representing the position of this Monument, and the other the Castle of Mortemer. At the end also, the Monument is so sketched as to shew the appearance of both its upper faces.

Of the family of the hero who is the subject of this letter, my worthy friend Francis Martin, Esq. Windsor Herald, Fellow of this Society, has furnished me with the following pedigree from documents in the College of Arms.^c

^c Vincent's Chaos. 21.

Tomb of Sir John Chandos.

From this Pedigree it appears that the origin of the Chandos family is to be referred to that of John de Monmouth. Of this chieftain Enderbie, in his "Cambria Triumphans," p. 300, gives the following account.

"In the year 1234 John Lord Monumetensis, a noble warrior, captain or general of the king's army, being made Ward of the Marches of Wales, levied a power, and came against Earl Marshall and the Welshmen, but when he had once entered Wales he came back in post, leaving his men for the most part slain and taken behind." This history is reported by Matthew Paris after this manner. "About the feast of St. John Baptist, John of Monmouth, a noble and expert warrior, who was with the King in his wars in Wales, gathered a great army, meaning to invade the Earl Marshal at unawares, but he being certified thereof, hid himself in a certain wood, by the which lay the way of his enemies, intending to deceive them who went about to do the like by him. When the enemies therefore came to the place where the ambuscado was, the Earl Marshal's army gave a great shout, and so set upon their enemies, being unprovided, and suddenly put them all to flight, putting to the sword an infinite number of them, as well Poictavians as others. John of Monmouth himself escaped by flight, whose country, with the villages, buildings, and all that he had therein, the Earl Marshal did spoil and plunder, leaving nothing but what fire and sword could not destroy, and so full fraught with spoil returned home."

The event thus related from Matthew Paris, p. 526, alludes to the period at which William Marshall Earl of Pembroke had formed an alliance with Llewelyn Prince of Wales to oppose Henry III.

I find the name of John of Monmouth in the List of Sheriffs for Herefordshire, as serving that office in the 15th Henry III. Although the pedigree does not notice Henry de Monmouth, he was probably the brother or son of this John, and is mentioned in the Plac. Coron. 20 Edw. I. as holding lands in the parish of Marden in Herefordshire, by service, "pro quâ debet summonire dominos de Wiggemore apud Wiggemore, Braos apud Ginston, et de Cary apud Webbeley, et distringere eos pro debitis domini Regis cum necesse fuerit, et conducere thesaurum domini Regis à castro Hereford usque London, et habere quolibet die xii*d*. Et quia servicium debile est, ideo mutatus de consensu ejusdem Henrici, ita quod dictus Henricus reddat domini Regi per an. xii*d*. Et faciet servicium 40^{me} partis feodi unius militis, et sic quietus sit de prædicto servicio." "By which it is his duty to summon the Lords of Wiggemore at Wiggemore, Braos at Ginston, and De Cary at Webbeley, and to distrain them for debts due to our Lord the King when it shall be necessary, and to conduct the treasure of our Lord the King from the Castle of Hereford to London, and to have every day twelve pence. And forasmuch as the service is now due, it is therefore commuted by consent of the said Henry in such manner that the said Henry shall render to our Lord the King twelve pence a year: and he shall do the service of the fortieth part of one knight's fee, and so be released from the aforesaid service." Isabel, whom Robert Chandos married, may however have been his heir, as this would account for her conveying to her husband estates in Herefordshire.

In the parish of Great Marclay in that county is the mansion house of Chandos, which is supposed to have received its name from that family.

The Rev. Mr. Duncombe, in his "History of Herefordshire," quotes an old MS. which contains a List of the Knights of the County who served in the wars of Edward I. Among them is the name of Sir Roger

de Chaundos, whose arms are therein stated to be, "Or, a lion rampant Gules, et la queue fourchie." This Roger de Chandos was Sheriff of Herefordshire, in the 5th, 6th, 7th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th of Edward II. and in the 1st, 2nd, 3d, 4th, 5th, 8th, and 9th of Edward III. Thomas Chandos his son served the same office in the 34th, 46th, 47th, and 48th of the same King.

Of Sir John Chandos, the immediate subject of this paper, I have been able to collect the following Notes.

Ashmole mentions, in his "Order of the Garter," that he and Roger de Chandos were knighted in the 24th of Edward III. He next appears as one of those heroes who distinguished themselves in the battle of Cressy, and who united with the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Oxford, and Sir Reginald Cobham, in the propriety of despatching a messenger to the King to let him know of his son's danger, that he might send him assistance. The King's dignified refusal on this occasion is well known, and the young Prince won his spurs.

Sir John seems about this time to have formed the resolution of devoting his life wholly to the military service of his country; for in "Blount's Tenures" we find that in the 28th Edward III. anno 1354, Robert Brug sold to Peter Grandison the lands which John Chandos held in Marcle, (probably Great Marclay,) Herefordshire.

Three years after the battle of Cressy the Order of the Garter was instituted, to be conferred principally on those who had distinguished themselves on that occasion. Sir John Chandos was accordingly one of the twenty-five original knights.

In the next campaign we find him appointed one of the Marshals, and ordered, with Lord James Audeley, another, to accompany the Black Prince in his march through Touraine to Bourdeaux. While thus commanding an advanced guard, he fell in with a knight named Griffith Mico,^d in the service of France, sent with two hundred horse to reconnoitre. Of these he took thirty prisoners, with their commander, the rest being all slain.

^d In all probability Myg, or "the glorious," some Welshman.

When Remorantin was besieged, the town being taken, the French forces retired to the castle; Sir John Chandos was on this occasion appointed by the Prince of Wales to confer with them on the surrender of the fortress, but, his terms being refused, the place was taken and destroyed on the 4th of September 1356.

Fifteen days after was fought the celebrated battle of Poitiers. During this action Sir John had never stirred from the Prince's side till, seeing the van of the French wholly discomfited, he advised the Prince to ride directly to the attack of the King's battail or line.

Notwithstanding these heroic details, it is with far more pleasure that we have next to record a humane action. Almost immediately after this advice which Sir John had given, the Chastellain of Amporta, a chief captain of the Cardinal Perigord de Talleyrand, was taken prisoner. The Black Prince ordered his head to be struck off, but Sir John interposed and saved him, thus blending magnanimity with courage.

In this memorable battle the King of France was taken prisoner, and when he was afterwards ransomed, to Sir John Chandos was confided the honourable office of seeing that the terms of agreement on the part of the English were properly fulfilled. Leland, in his "*Collectanea*," mentions the circumstance in the following words: "And upon these treatice John Chandos, Knight, was sent with sufficient authority, that delyveraunce might be made of such fortresses and holdes as the Englishmen had there won."

In the next expedition of the King of England, when he invaded France with the largest army that had ever crossed the sea, he was also accompanied by Sir John Chandos. This gallant Knight being sent with a detachment against the strong castle of Cernoy en Dormois, succeeded in gaining possession of it. He was next employed in negotiating a truce with the Regent, which, however, the high demands of the King of England rendered unsuccessful.

In the year 1362 King Edward appointed his son Prince of Aquitaine, on which that hero did not forget his companion in arms, but, at once, nominated Sir John Chandos Constable of all that territory.

When the Black Prince undertook his Spanish enterprize in favour of Peter the Cruel, we find Sir John associated with John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster in carrying on the negotiations with the King of Navarre : after which, on the Prince commencing his march, those great men led the first column, or battail, ^f as it was then called.

The renowned Bertrand Du Guesclin, a fit competitor with the Prince of Wales for military glory, fought on the side of Don Henry. He was, however, captured by Sir John Chandos, and is reported to have expressed himself satisfied at "being in the hands of the most generous Prince living, and made prisoner by the most renowned Knight in the world." ^g

Bertrand was ransomed, and from that period the success of the English began to decline. Still, however, Sir John Chandos acted with his usual energy, and being sent with a body of troops to Montauban, was successful in his attacks. He not only kept the frontiers, but made many inroads into the enemy's territory, in one of which he took possession of Terriers in Tholouse. He had, however, to regret that he could not send assistance to the English garrison in Realville, who were consequently all put to the sword.

It was some alleviation, that he shortly after was able to take the strong town of Moissac, and though he might have retaliated this cruel proceeding, he contented himself with compelling the inhabitants to swear fealty to the Prince of Wales.

We next find this great captain honoured by having a herald called after him by the title of Chandos. This officer he employed, but in vain, to summon several towns to surrender ; the consequence was, that Roquemados and Ville Franche de Perigort were besieged, and yielded to the arms of Sir John and the Knights under his command. On being

^f Hence our word Battalion.

^g Froissart.

recalled, he assisted the Black Prince in the capture of La Roche sur Yon, a strong castle belonging to the Duc d'Anjou, which was immediately garrisoned by English.

The signal services of Sir John Chandos, now induced the Prince of Wales to confer on him the Seneschalship of Poitou. On this appointment he went to reside at Poitiers. The town of St. Salvin in that Province, on the river Gartempe, had in it an English garrison, all the inhabitants, including the monks, having sworn allegiance to the Black Prince. One of these monks, it is said from hatred to his superior the abbot, betrayed the town into the hands of the French. This event gave the greatest vexation to Sir John Chandos, and, as was stated in the commencement of this Letter, ultimately led to his death.

From all that is related by Froissart, Sir John Chandos appears to have been a truly great man; by his courage he obtained rewards from his own country and respect from his enemy; and he shewed his piety, according to the superstition of the day, by the foundation of a Carmelite Monastery at Poitiers. By his benevolent and humane conduct he set an example of moderation worthy to be followed, and obtained the gratitude of those he governed; and by his superior good sense and discernment, was often employed in negotiations, referred to in doubtful cases, and quoted as an authority by his cotemporaries and immediate posterity.

I have therefore thought this tribute due to his memory, which I hope will not be unworthy the notice of the Society:

Remaining, my dear Sir,

very faithfully yours,

SAM. R. MEYRICK.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq.

VI. *Remarks on the ancient mode of putting on Armour. By SAMUEL RUSH MEYRICK, LL. D. F. S. A. In a Letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 15th November, 1821.

College of Advocates, Doctors Commons, Oct. 10, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR,

I CONSIDER the interesting communication of my friend Mr. Douce, published by the Society of Antiquaries, in the xviith volume of the "Archæologia," p. 290, so very instructive, that I am induced to trouble you with this Letter. My object is to shew what application of it may be made, so as to bring us more intimately acquainted with the manners of our ancestors; and if you think I have succeeded, you will probably favour me by reading it to the Society.

It may appear at first sight an easy matter to comprehend how Armour was put on; but let any one contemplate for a short time a military sepulchral effigy, and he will find it very difficult to determine in his own mind how this was effected. For instance, the mail which is seen at the arm-pits, bends of the arms, and encircling the body at the hips, has induced even Mr. Gough to conclude that it is the same garment, a chemise de maille, visible at so many parts, and worn under the plate-armour.

The unnecessary weight of all that would thus be not exposed to view to the wearer, already loaded to an excessive degree, has led others more correctly to suppose, that instead of a complete habiliment of mail, those pieces which they behold have no connection with each other. Still the mystery is not altogether solved, for they meet with another difficulty, as there appears neither in monumental figures, nor in real armour, any perforations by which these pieces might be attached.

Now in the paper to which I wish to call your attention, not only is this enigma completely unravelled, but many other equally curious circumstances fully explained.

We have set before us a naked figure, to be clothed in a manner suitable for wearing armour, and thus the information afforded us commences *ab initio*. It is to be recollected, that the object is to equip a warrior, not for the field, but a peaceable joust, and that on foot. On this occasion, therefore, the shirt is dispensed with, otherwise, as its collar may be seen above the gorget on several sepulchral effigies of the same period, (*viz.* the close of the reign of Henry VI. and beginning of that of Edward IV.) as well as in illuminations, there is no doubt but that at other times it was constantly worn.

1. *A Doublet of ffustian.* The first thing, according to these instructions therefore, is to put on a doublet of fustian, well padded and "lynid with satin," to be soft next the skin, and in order to curve with the motion of the body, "kut full of holis." This supplied the place of the Haustement or Ajustement, which was made to the shape and worn with the shirt. It is in great measure for want of some such undergarment, padded in a proper way to keep the armour from pressing on particular parts of the body, that those who undertake now-a-days to wear it experience so much inconvenience. The doublet and haustement of this period supplied the place of the wambais and hoqueton formerly worn.

2. *The doublet must be streightly bounde.* The first part of the dress being thus put on, it is to be closely bound round the fleshy parts of the arms, or just above and below the elbows, with what were called points. These were made of fine twine rubbed with cobbler's wax, with points or tags at their extremities. They did not, however, go round the arm, but several, four at least, were stiched at their centres, at equal distances in that circumference, so that as each was tied, it tightened the sleeve; "the best" were put "before and behynde."

Sometimes the points were pieces of silk, like small handkerchiefs, and brought through the elbow pieces of the armour, when not fastened

by any other means, as may be seen in the effigy of Lord Hungerford in Salisbury cathedral, anno 1455, and others of a similar date.

3. *The Gussets of mail.* Having clothed the man in his doublet, we next learn how the pieces of interlaced chain-mail, alluded to in the commencement of this letter, were attached. They were sewn upon it over the bough or bend of the arms, and over the arm-pits, and called gussets of mail. The shape of these were diamond or lozenge form,^a and for the doublet four were wanted. Four others were in the same manner fastened on the hose when the warrior was armed for battle, two over the under part of the knee-joints, and two over the instep, between the sollerets or steel shoes, and the terminations of the jambs, or leg-harness; but the Instructions, as has been already observed, are in the present case for a tournament.

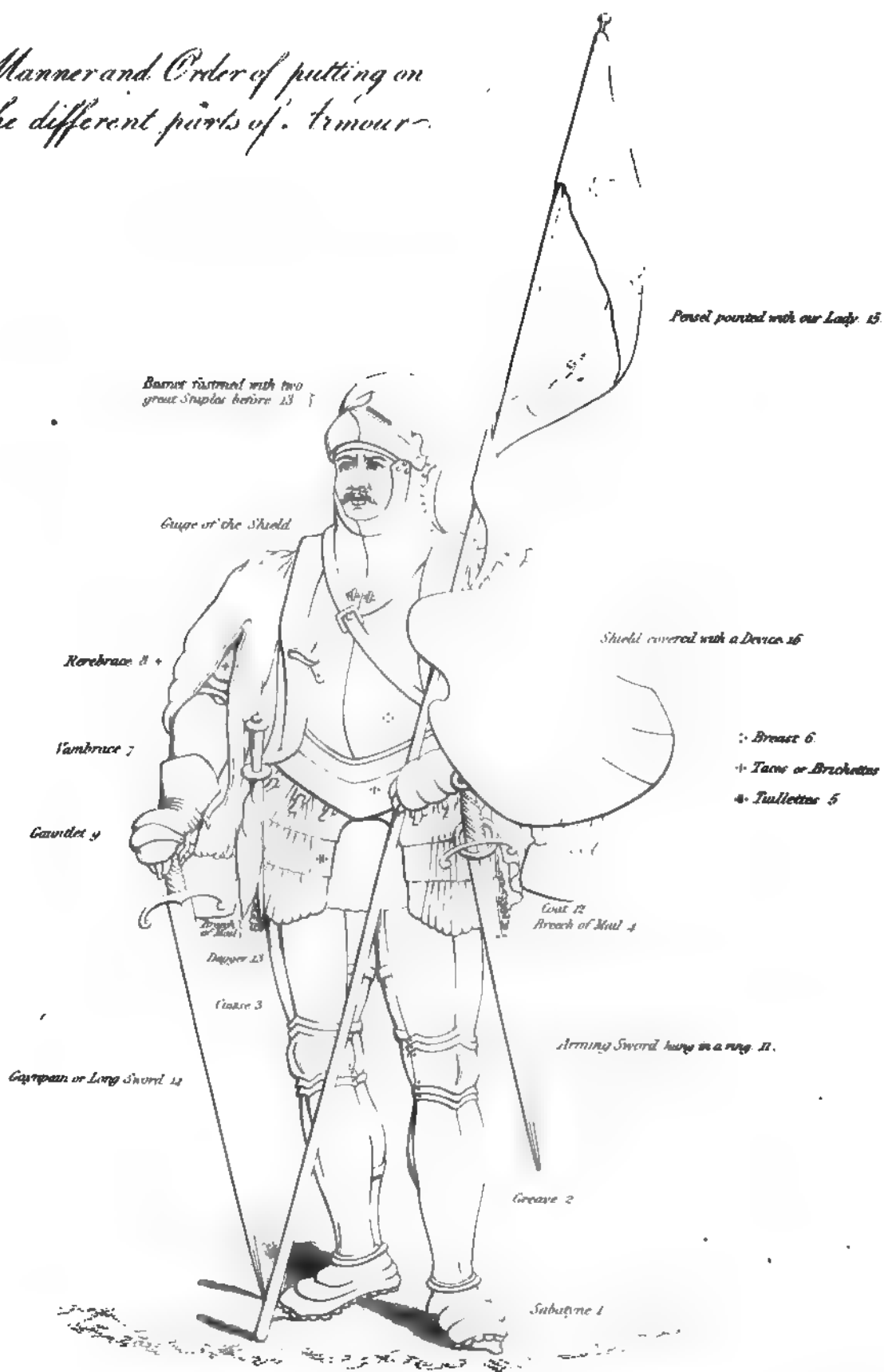
4. *A pair of Hosen of stamyn single.* All requisite having been thus adjusted on the doublet, the hose were next put on, made of a strong kind of stuff called staymyn.

5. *A pair of short Bulworks.* The hose at this time resembled a pair of modern pantaloons with feet to them, but as these were not sufficiently thick to defend the flesh from the rubbing of the armour, a pair of bulworks, or drawers of flannel, were pulled over them, made to reach below the knee, to prevent, as we are informed, the jambs or leg-harness from "chawfyng" the skin.

6. *A pair of Shone.* Lastly, a pair of stout shoes are to be put on, tied round the middle of the foot over the instep, and again at the same place from the heel by cords; which is itself also fastened by two others. The description of these shoes is very curious: it appears that there are to be three cords "faste sowed unto" the heel, that being evidently the word omitted, and fine cords "in the myddil of the sole." At each part these cords were to cross each other, and are therefore said to be fretted, there being the space of three fingers between the frets of the heel and those of the middle of the shoe.

^a Four of these, nearly of that shape, and of double-chain mail, are in my son's armoury.

*Manner and Order of putting on
the different parts of Armour.*



TO ARME A MAN. The man is now fully prepared to receive his Armour, and in the manner of doing this the order is the very reverse of that in the preparation.

1. *Sabatynes.* The feet are to be armed first, by putting on the *sabatynes* or steel clogs, which, covering the instep more completely than the *sollerets* used for battle, render gussets at this part unnecessary. These seem to have been an invention of the Spaniards, who called them *Sapatos*, and their form may be seen in plates L. and LV. of the "Triumph of Maximilian Ist. Emperor of Germany," as worn by those equipped for jousting. They are to be tied on the shoes, we are told, by small points, that were placed at the soles and ankles, as may be observed in those of leather engraved in the last-mentioned work.

2. *Than Griffus.* Next the greaves, or shin-pieces, instead of *jambes* or complete boots as for war, were buckled on the legs, and any person examining armour, even of a later period, will find that they must precede the thigh-pieces, because they are so constructed as to fit into apertures in these latter by means of little projecting revolving pins on their external surface at top.

3. *Than Quaysshews.* No mention is made of the *Genouillieres* or knee-caps, because they were fastened to the *cuisse*s or thigh-pieces; these therefore would be put on together, consequently the name of one is sufficient, and the directions proceed accordingly. The *Cuisse*s were at this time each of a single piece, with the exception of the small overlapping plates above and below the knee. Those thigh-pieces, formed wholly of small plates, do not seem to have been invented before the commencement of the sixteenth century, consequently that figure on the market-house at Shrewsbury, removed thither from the Welsh bridge, is liable to occasion error. Of that statue I will therefore just observe, that it appears to be not later than the time of King Henry IV. but having of late years been re-painted, gilt lines have been drawn across not only the *cuisse*s but the *jambes*, and the quartering of France on the *jupon* is three fleurs-de-lis, instead of *semée*.

4. *Than the breche of maile.* It was next usual to tie round the

waist and attach to the doublet what in some inventories of arms is called a petticoat of mail. This covered the upper terminations of the cuisses, and appears in monumental effigies as the lower part of a chemise de maille, as Mr. Gough conjectured. In some of these, especially of the time of Richard II. and his successor, the hind part was made to come up between the thighs and fasten to the front, being properly shaped for that purpose. Such is still the case in some parts of Asia, there being in my son's collection a chain shirt of this kind. In the directions, however, of the document which I have brought to your notice, only the hinder half is spoken of, and when of this fashion, called the breech of mail. In the twenty-ninth illumination of the life of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, written by John Rous about this period, and in the Cottonian Library at the British Museum, marked Julius, E. iv. it may be seen of such form, though not when the figures are fighting on foot.

5. *Than Towletts.* The next thing to do was to apply, not "Toilettes, or small pieces of linen for stuffing the armour," as my friend Mr. Douce conjectured, but the Tuilettes, little tiles, or rather pieces of steel overlapping like them, each tuilette being composed of two or three. These appendages were invented in France, where they received their name, in the reign of Charles VIIth, or early part of our Henry VIth, to protect the bend of the thigh at the hip joint, and when in one piece were called tuiles. The French words tuile and tuilette were corrupted into toile and towlette, as was the heraldic term Gules, at this period into Gowlys. Thus in the Ordinance respecting Tournaments, by John Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, in the reign of Edward IVth, a transcript of which is preserved in the College of Arms, and printed in the first volume of the "Antiquarian Repertory," one of the rules is, "Whoso striketh the toile or tilte twice, shall have no price (pretium, or reward);" and the corresponding rule to this in the directions for the Joust given by King Henry VIII. in honour of his Queen Catherine, published in the "Vetusta Monumenta," vol. I. p. xxi. declares, that "whoso striketh his fellow beneath the waist (and therefore on that part where in previ-

ous reigns the *tuile* or *toyle* had been worn), or in the saddle (to which was affixed the *tilte*, or leathern case to hold the end of the tilting-lance when held upright, as appears in plate *XL*. of the "*Triumph of Maximilian Ist*,") shall, &c.

The *tuiles* and *tuilettes* were seldom, however, appended to the doublet or under-garment, as in these instructions directed, and as represented in the brass-plate found at Netley Abbey and engraved in the xvth volume of the "*Archæologia*," plate *xii*. where they appear under the petticoat of mail, but generally were buckled to the *taces*, or overlapping bands of steel which protected the abdomen. These received their name from covering the pockets in the same way as the *sabre-pocket* of our dragoons is termed *Sabel-tache*, the expression being of German origin. Here I would observe, that the *Brickettes* or *Brechettes*, which are spoken of in the former part of Mr. Douce's Paper, are the corresponding pieces which were attached to the back just over the breech of mail, though, as the front and back pieces were in most instances fastened together by hinges on the left side and buckles on the right, the term *Brickette* may comprehend both. This will be perfectly understood on examining the monuments of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, in the chapel of St. Mary's church at Warwick, of Lord Hungerford in Salisbury cathedral, and others of a later date. These figures also exhibit specimens of the *tuiles*, but there is an effigy at Dublin which represents a warrior of Henry the Sixth's time, supposed to be an Earl of Ulster, who has *tuilettes*.

I have never seen but one suit of real armour thus furnished, and that is in my son's possession. It is of the time of Henry VIth, of which fact it contains many internal proofs, and is certainly the oldest specimen in England. Instead of *sabatynes*, the stirrups for the saddle are footed with steel, but, agreeable to the description in this document, it has greaves instead of *jамbs*, being intended solely for the tournament. Its *tuilettes* are ornamented with that kind of fan-shaped crimping observable on many old monuments.

6. *Than the Breste.* The lower half of the man being thus equipped,

the next direction is to put on the breast-plate, which probably means the back and breast together, as the one holds on the other. There is also another reason for coming to this conclusion, for, if the straps for the two buckles on the Basnet hereafter spoken of, were affixed to the doublet, that would be drawn too tight by the weight of this head-piece, and thus the contrivance of cutting holes in it for ease and pliability, in great measure rendered useless. Doubtless, therefore, by the term *Breste* is here intended a pair of plates, as they are called in the first part of Mr. Douce's paper, or a cuirass according to more modern language.

7. *Than the Vambrace.* The arms are next to be covered with armour. In naming the pieces for this purpose a distinction was made between that part below the elbow and that above, between the lower-arm or *lacertus*, and the upper-arm or *brachium*. The first, therefore, to be put on, was the vambrace or *avant-bras*, which reached from the wrist, in this instance, to a little above the elbow, because the elbow-piece, instead of being fastened on the arm by points, as before noticed, was attached to the *rerebrace* properly so called. The priority of application was assigned to this for the same reason as the leg-harness, because it was affixed in a similar manner to the elbow-piece as that to the *cuisse*.

8. *Than the Rerebrace.* The *rerebrace*, or *arriere-bras*, covered the remaining part of the arm to the shoulder. When this was first invented in the reign of Edward II. it was merely an external plate which buckled on with straps round the arm, but the convenience of having the vambrace as it were of two semi-cylindrical pieces with hinges and clasps, soon suggested the fabrication of the *rerebrace* on a similar plan. Two or three overlapping pieces on the top of the *rerebrace* served to connect it with the shoulder, without preventing the motion of the arm.

The *vamplate*, or roundel on the jousting lance, rendered unnecessary any other protection for the right arm-pit besides the gusset of mail, while the same office was performed for the left one by the shield; but as these guards were seldom used on the lance intended for battle, a long

plate, terminated at top by a curve of a peculiar form, was put before the right arm-pit. This piece is called in the early part of Mr. Douce's communication, a *Moton*, a word corrupted from the French *Meuton*, *i. e.* a piece for war. Its shape may be known on inspecting the brass-plates of Sir John Barnard, dated 1451, and Sir Thomas Peyton 1484, in Iselham church, Cambridgeshire, both engraved in the second volume of Gough's "*Sepulchral Monuments*," and in others of the same period.

In later times the armour for the arm was distinguished into the vambrace, elbow-piece, brassart, (the same as the rerebrace,) and pauldron for the shoulder, and often a substitute for a shield was, for the purpose of jousting, screwed on the elbow of the bridle-arm, called *Gard-de-bras*; but it must be confessed that all these terms were often confounded. I will here mention, that in the first part of the paper which has occasioned my troubling you with this, not only are the vambrace and rerebrace enumerated, but a rerebrake. This Mr. Douce explains as armour for the hind part of the arm, but as it is mentioned with the horse armour, while the three several pieces for the arm follow in regular succession, I am induced to conceive that we must seek a different interpretation. The impetus with which the combatants met when charging at each other in the joust often occasioned, if the lance did not break, one of them to be thrust over the crupper of his horse to the ground, a fall that must have been very dangerous. Thus Rous, in his life of the Earl of Warwick before cited, tells us, "*Erle Richard cast to the ground at his spere poynt behynde the horse taile, the knyght called the Chevaler Ruge,*" &c. So in a lately published German work, printed at Munich, exhibiting a series of Jousts, from the year 1504 to that of 1512, taken from drawings made at the time, not only is this effect represented, but, as it appears to me, the mode of checking it, the man being caught between the saddle and the tail of the horse. This was effected by a large ball placed on the crupper which first appears in designs of Henry the Sixth's reign, and which in that of Henry VIII. was supplied by a large bell of the globe form. This I take to be the "*rerebrake with a roule*

of lethir wele stuffed," and directions being given for this to be put, as I conceive, on the hinder part of the horse, the very next thing mentioned, is the armour for the front, viz. "a maynefere" to cover his mayn, "with a ryngge."

9. *Than the Cloovis.* The next things to be put on were the gloves or gauntlets, which latter, from the reign of Henry Vth to that of the middle of Henry VIIIth inclusive, were made with overlapping plates instead of fingers. It is curious that after this they should revert to their original form; as, when first invented in the time of Edward II. they were fabricated in this more convenient and natural manner.

10. *Than hong his Dagger.* The man is now completely armed except his head, but before that is done his dagger is to be suspended on his right side. This, as we learn from monumental effigies of the time, was done by a double cord passed behind the waist-belt in the form of a loop, through which were drawn the ends made fast to the weapon. I do not find any representation of the dagger as worn with the sword before the reign of Edward I. but from that time to the close of James I. such was the invariable fashion.

11. *Than his short Swerde.* Instead of a sword in its sheath being girted on the left hip as for the fight, a naked or "armyng-swerde," as it was hence called, is directed to be put through a ring also suspended from the waist-belt, at the left side, to be drawn forth without loss of time, when the larger sword (which will be mentioned presently) was either broken, or had been dropped from the hand. The directions here, and it should not be forgotten, are "how a man shal be armede at his ease when he shall fight on foote:" but on horse-back this weapon had another place, being hung in a similar manner on the left side of the saddle-bow. It was called by the French *Estoc*, being used principally for *estockade* or thrusting, and when thus carried the large war-sword resumed its place at the hip. Louis XII. of France is represented thus armed by Montfaucon in plate cxcvii. in his "*Antiq. de la Monarchie Françoise*," from an ancient illumination. On such occasions the mace or battle-axe was appended to the other side of the saddle-bow. These

two weapons have by degrees given way to pistols, as at present carried. I say by degrees, as the progress is pointed out by two specimens in my son's armoury, as well as the royal ordinances from time to time for arming the cavalry. In that is a battle-axe which came from Ireland, and a mace of nearly the same size, each of which is made to act as a matchlock pistol. This I conceive was the first alteration; next, in Queen Mary's time, the warrior was ordered to carry a mace on one side and a pistol on the other; and, lastly, this mace was superseded by another pistol, thus, in the reign of James Ist, becoming a brace.

12. *Than his Cote.* The cloak or coat, as it is termed, is next directed to be put "upon his back." It has frequently been erroneously supposed that mantles were not worn over the steel, as the warmth of them could not be felt through the armour, and that they would consequently be uselessly burthensome, but there are authorities to show that this was the case at every period from the Saxon times to that of its disuse. The form of this "Cote" may be known by referring to plate cviii. of Montfaucon's work just cited, where it is worn with the armour of this period. It reaches to just below the hips, and is put on like a large jacket, having a round collar which occasions the front edges to be turned back, and wide sleeves, puckered at top and into round cuffs, but open all the way down that the arms may come out, without passing through the cuffs.

13. *Than his Basenet.* It will be observed that no gorget or collar is spoken of, nor is the head to be covered by the heaume or justing helmet, which would of itself protect the neck, but the basnet is to be worn, and to prevent its being turned round by the thrust of the lance, it is to be "pynned upon two grete staples before the breste," and fastened "with a double bocle," or two buckles and straps "behynde upon the back." The tilting helmet in Henry the Third's time was fastened on each side the neck by cords of plaited silk, as appears in the drawings of the day; but in Henry the Fifth's reign it had a buckle on the point which came down over the breast in front, and another on that which reached to just between the shoulders behind. This may be seen

in the original one which formerly belonged to that monarch, and is still suspended over his tomb in Westminster Abbey, and this mode was retained till the reign of Henry VIIIth. But in several suits of this last-mentioned time a single staple may be observed in the centre of the upper part of the breast-plate, where in more ancient ones two holes are perceptible, which once held the rivets that fastened on a strap to put into the buckle of the tilting helmet. This staple was passed through an aperture made near the point of the newer helmets when put on, and then a flat piece of iron called a pin was thrust into the eye of the staple which prevented the helmet from moving, or in the language of the document before us, made it "sit juste." Here, however, two great staples are spoken of; they must therefore have been placed one on each side of the centre.

Nevertheless, before we can pursue this subject any further, it is necessary to enquire what the Basnet was. Grose gives us the following unsatisfactory account: "Bacinets were light helmets, so called from their resemblance to a bason, and were generally without vizors, though from divers quotations cited by Du Cange, they appear occasionally to have had them. Fauchet supposes them to have been a lighter sort of helmet that did not cover the face, and says, he finds that the knights often exchanged their helmets for bassinets when much fatigued, and wishing to ease and refresh themselves at a time when they could not with propriety go quite unarmed."

Now, either he has mistaken Fauchet, or that author did not himself understand the nature of this piece of armour; as the knights did not exchange the helmet for the basnet, but when they removed the former the latter remained. Fauchet was contemporary with our Mary and Elizabeth, and consequently too much credence must not be given to what he says of times preceding his own. Froissart is a better authority, and from him we learn that the basnet was that cap of steel to which in his time was attached the camail or gorget of mail. We see it on all the military monumental effigies of his contemporaries. It first appears on those of the reign of Edward II. and continues till that of Henry V. in

nearly the same form. It certainly had, as the quotations in Du Cange assert, sometimes attached to it a moveable vizor, and in this state may be seen in plate XLV. of the xiith volume of the "Archæologia," on the head of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, from Mr. Douce's Missal, and on the figure of Eustace painted on the wall of St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, and engraved in the Society's publication. When used, however, without the vizor, the jousting helmet was put over it, on which account we find this last placed under the heads of warriors when sculptured on their tombs. Grose, who was ignorant of this circumstance, has made an observation in the introduction to his work on "Ancient Castles" calculated only to mislead. He thought it requisite for a perfect comprehension of his subject to introduce some sepulchral figures, and these being but badly engraved, he has conjectured that that which is in reality the tilting helmet represents a saddle.

In consequence of hausse-cols, or gorgets of plate, becoming more generally worn than mail, the basnet acquired a different form in that part which covered the cheeks, a chin-piece being added so as to form a species of gorget. The monument of Michael de la Pole Earl of Suffolk in Wingfield church, that of John Fitzalan Earl of Arundel in Arundel church, and several others, sufficiently explain its form. That of the latter one has had to it a vizor, the remains of which may still be traced. But we are not left to judge from analogy; an author whose work was evidently illuminated at this period, affords us proof positive. This is John Rous, to whose curious manuscript I have more than once in the course of this letter adverted. He explains the twenty-ninth Pageant (as he calls it) of his book, as shewing "Howe Erle Richard the second day came into the felde, that is to sey, the morrowe after the xiith day of Christmasse, *his visar cloos*, a chaplet on his *basnet*, and a tufte of estrich fethers aloft," &c. The next illumination is described as representing, "Howe on the morowe next folowyng, that was the last day of the Justes, the Erle Richard came *in face open*, his basnet as the day afore, save the chapellet which was of rich perle and precious stones," &c. So that in this work we have it expressly named and represented.

14. *Than his long Swerde.* The long sword that was used for cutting and thrusting, we learn from the former part of this paper, was called Gayn-payne, the reason for which name Mr. Douce has stated with his usual ability. It is here directed to be put in the hand of the figure, because the armyn-sword has been placed at his side.

15. *Than his Pensell.* The pensell or pennoncelle was the diminutive of the pennon, being a long narrow flag on which was the cognizance or "avowrye" of the warrior, on the end of a lance. Such a one may be seen in the sixth illumination of Rous's manuscript before noticed. The superstition of the age directed that the figure of "Seynt George, or of our Lady," should be depicted towards its point, "to blisse him with as he goth towardis the felde, and in the felde." In the illumination referred to, the order is reversed, the cross of St. George being next the staff, while the cognizance is repeated towards the point. The fashion of putting Saints on arms and armour continued to a very late period, as in my son's collection are breast-plates of different times, swords and lances, which have these and other evidences of superstition engraved or embossed thereon. This flag was not continued in the hand of the combatant when the fight began, but was then generally held by an attendant, or put up by the tent pitched on the owner's side of the Lists.

In this account of arming a man the shield is not noticed, as it was not always used in encounters on foot, but "a shelde coovirde with his devise" is enumerated in the early part of Mr. Douce's communication, as one of the necessary arms, and then it was put on last of all. Not only did the bridle arm pass through a strap within side, but it was suspended from the neck, or, as the expression is, "gigged." The word is used by Chaucer, and yet not one of his commentators has undertaken to explain it. The leather which suspended the shield was called by the Italians Guiggia, and by the French Guiche or Guige. Thus the Roman de Garin has the following lines :

Escu ot d'or à un lioncel bis,
Parmi la Guige à son col le pandi.

“ His shield had on a field of gold a brown Lioncel,
By the Guige he suspended it from his neck.”

The shape of the shield at this period we learn from the work of John Rous to have been somewhat semi-cylindrical, with the concave part outwards; and this form was adopted to give room for the bridle arm, to which it was perfectly accommodated. At the commencement of Henry the Sixth's reign the jousting-shield was square and flat, with a piece at the top and another at the bottom, placed so as to incline forwards: that of the close of it was formed by giving a curved shape to this contrivance.

The first kind may be seen on the screen which incloses the monument of Henry Vth, in Westminster Abbey, and on a coffer in the cathedral of York, representing that monarch as St. George, both executed subsequent to his death, and engraved in Carter's *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*. Of the last sort, though frequently represented in carving, the only real one existing in this country, I believe, is in my son's possession. It has at the top of its right side what was called the bouche or mouth through which the lance was couched, as may be seen in Rous's work, to which I have so often referred, and the invention of which was as old as the time of Richard II. Within side are hooks and rings for the guige, and straps to attach it to the arm.

To render this subject more completely understood, I send you a Drawing of a figure attired according to these directions, and have marked the names of each piece of armour, and the order in which they were put on. The authorities I have taken are as follow: the Sabatynes from plate L. of the “*Triumph of Maximilian*,” the Greaves, Cuisses, and Tuillets, from the suit in my son's armoury; the Breech of Mail from the twenty-ninth illumination of the “*Life of the Earl of Warwick*,” the rest of the Armour from the same work; and the Coat from the cviiith plate of Montfaucon's “*Antiquites de la Monarchie Françoise*.”

Following Mr. Douce's paper, is another communicated by the late Mr. Lysons, containing an account of purchases made for a Tourna-

ment in the sixth year of King Edward the First. He tells us that there is a memorandum stating that each suit of armour enumerated therein, consisted of a tunic, a surcoat, &c.; but on reference it will be found that the Latin words are, "*tunica armorum et coopertorium*," the former therefore is the surcoat and the latter a hauberk.

In the Harleian Library is a manuscript Treatise on the forms for Jousting, about the same period. It is marked 6149, fol. 46. At the close we are informed how a Knight and his Esquire should be armed for the purpose, and as it tends to throw more light on these communications, I here insert the prescribed arrangement.

"How a Knyt suld be armyt and tournay.

"Fyrst a harness of gampes corvet wt leddr, and sowet wt po'ntes the bouth of the gambe to ye kne, and ij ataches larges for to atach y'm in to his brayer. It'm cuisses and poul-lanis armyt wt leddr. It'm hosn of mail above the harnes of gambes, atached to ye brayer as said is, above the cuisses. And a payr of gylt spures quiche salbe knet wt a small cord about the gambes, because ye spur turn not undr ye fute. Item une aktione et unes espaullieres. It'm pair de Manches qche salbe knete to ye curie and ye curie wt all his aggrappes sus les espaulles, et une soureilleur apone ye fait befor. Item bratheres knet to ye shuldre of the cuyrie. Item basynet a tout le housson, and an escusson of balayn apone the nek corvit wt leddr wt the coureres for to knete to ye brayer or ye cuyrie. And apun ye basynet a coife of mail, and a fair offroy befor on ye front qu'ha will, and a wyn brod to put in ye knyt's hande. Item a heaume and ye tymbre sic as he will. Item ij thengeis knet to the brest of ye curie, one for the suord the toyr for the bastone, and ij visiones for to festyn the heaume."

"How a Squyar suld be armyt.

"The abillemt of ye Squyar salbe sum lik as ye knyt's, excepte that he suld have na hoife of maill, na corsette of mail apone his basynet, but he suld have a chaplete of mont aubien, and he suld have no bratheres, and of uther things may arm him as a knyt, and suld have na sautour at his sadill."

In endeavouring to explain these directions I should first observe, that they do not commence with stating the garments preparatory to putting on the armour, but we may collect, that a pair of drawers, or "brayer" as they are called, were requisite in the first instance. The order was then as follows:

1. *A harness of Gampes.* Coverings for the legs, having their upper surface of leather, were to be fastened by points from the bend of the leg to the knee, and united to the brayer by two "*atches larges*," or broad fastenings.

2. *Cuisses.* Next on the thighs were to be put the cuisses, which were to have *poullains* or knee caps armed with leather.

3. *Hose of mail.* The gampes seem to have been a kind of preparatory dress only for the legs; as over them were to be drawn on stockings of mail to be attached in like manner to the brayer, just above the terminations of the cuisses. The straps which fastened such-like hose are very plainly to be discerned on the monument of Longespee Earl of Salisbury, and cuisses with their *poullains* may be observed on that of Aubrey de Vere Earl of Oxford, sculptured in the time of Edward I.

4. *A payr of gylt spurrs.* The spur-leathers in these early times being made to pass through a slit in the shank of the spur, as may be observed on many sepulchral figures, it was liable to slip off the heel and fall under the foot. To guard against such an accident they are here directed, after being on, to be "knit with a small cord about the gambes."

5. *Une Aktione.* The lower half of the Knight being now armed, the order for the remainder commences with the hoketon.

6. *Unes Espaullieres.* Upon the hoketon were first to be fastened a pair of *espaullieres* or shoulder-guards.

7. *Ye Curie.* Instead of a hauberk to go over the hoketon, a *curie* is ordered, which was merely substituting leather for mail, the Knight being accoutred, not for war but the tournay. The *curie* is to be furnished with *aggrappes* or clasps on the shoulders. Though evidently the word from which is derived the corrupted term "*grapers*," used in Mr. Douce's communication, it is not for the same purpose. In that paper it is applied to the jousting-lance, and as many are required as of "*Cornallys*," or coronels. As these last were for the end of the lance, so were the former for its gripe, as it was called, that is, the place where it was held or clasped. The *curie* was also to have sleeves.

8. *Une Soureilleur*. The next piece was what came "sous les oreilles" under the ears, and is here directed to be put upon the foit, or hollow formed by the throat before.

9. *Bratheres*. Besides the espaulliers and the manches, the arms were to be further protected by coverings, here called bratheres, which are ordered to be knit to the shoulders of the curie. From this we gather that the manches were tight sleeves.

10. *A Basynet*. The basnet at this time was a plain skull-cap, exactly like an inverted bason that would fit the head. One is to be provided à tout le housson, with all its housing or wrapping-cloths, which covered the back part of the head and came under the chin. It was not worn outside the coife till the next reign.

11. *An Escusson*. An Escutcheon of balayn, which is, according to Mr. Lysons's erroneous conjecture, stuffed with wool and covered with leather, but as Mr. Douce, with much more reason observes, of whale-bone, was to be hung upon the neck, and to be furnished with couroies or leather thongs "for to knete to the brayer, or the cuyrie."

12. *A Coife of Mail*. Over the basnet is next to be placed a coife of mail, such as appears on all the military figures of this period. It is sculptured in such a manner on the head of a knight in Hitchendon church as to show the basnet through an aperture above the forehead. This direction to put the basnet under the coif will account for the manner in which the latter has a cylindrical appearance in the reign of Henry II. as it is hence evident that the basnet, to hold it in this shape, must be so formed underneath. Upon the coife, the knight is to place a jewel set in any form that pleases his fancy.

13. *A wyn brod*. A broad vane, *i. e.* a wide flag of a triangular shape is next to be put in the knight's hand.

14. *A Heaume*. Then the helmet, which at this time was conical in its form, and reached nearly to the shoulders, was to be placed on his head, having a crest on its apex such as he chose to adopt. The helmet is to be kept in its place by two visiones, a word whose etymology is to me unknown, but which implies evidently those cords that

fastened it on each side to the top of the shoulder. They are to be seen in an illumination representing a knight thrown from his horse by the thrust of another's spear, in a manuscript in the Royal Library in the British Museum, marked D. 1. and entitled *Le Livre des Histoires*.

15. *Thengeis*. The weapons are a sword and a staff, which for fear of being dropped are to be attached by two thongs "knet to the brest of the cuyrie." The breasts were sometimes covered with circular plates, called *mamillieres*, in the centre of each of which was a ring. Instead of thongs, chains were affixed to these in time of war, that might be variously applied. Thus in the brass-plate representing Sir R. de Trumpington, in Trumpington church, Cambridgeshire we find the helmet so held, and in a monumental effigy in Alvechurch, Worcestershire, one of the chains is attached to the pommel of the sword, and the other to the scabbard.

The Esquire is debarred from using a coife of mail, a gorget of mail, and the bratheres, but instead, is allowed a Montauban hat. What were the peculiarities of this head-piece I have not been able to discover, but it is mentioned by Froissart, who tells us that it was of steel, fine, bright, and shining. He was likewise not permitted to have stirrups to his saddle. The word used is *Sautour*, which Du Cange supposes was the origin of the *Saltier* in Heraldry. If so, the part through which the stirrup-leather was put, must have been extremely large, a circumstance that would render its representation in the Bayeux Tapestry not disproportioned. I must, however, confess, that the resemblance of the stirrups in that curious effort of the needle to the charge in blazonry is not very strong.

In my Paper, which the Society were pleased to publish in the nineteenth volume of the "*Archæologia*," page 127, will be found the manner in which Geoffrey Plantagenet was armed; the document I have there transcribed, informs us of the mode of putting on armour in the time of Edward I.; and Mr. Douce's communication amply de-

tails it in that of Henry VIth. These united, form such chronological information on the subject, as appears to me sufficient to comprehend the intervening periods.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

very truly yours,

SAM. R. MEYRICK.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq. &c.

VII. *Account of the Discovery of the Heart of Lord Edward Bruce, at Culross in Perthshire. In a Letter from the Right Honourable LORD STOWELL, F. S. A. addressed to the Right Honourable the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T. F. R. S. President.*

Read 28th February 1822.

Grafton Street, February 15, 1822.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to your Lordship the Account which I received at Valleyfield from Sir Robert Preston. I accompanied him to the Abbey-church of Culross, and saw the plate containing the inscription relating to the Heart of Lord Edward Bruce there interred. The plate contains likewise a delineation of the Silver Case containing it; being in the shape of a heart, with all its ramification of veins, which I was unable to copy.

If you think the whole worthy of the notice of the Society, of Antiquaries, it is quite at your Lordship's service for a communication to them.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

faithful and obedient servant,

STOWELL.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of ABERDEEN,
&c. &c. &c.

SIR Robert Preston, of Valleyfield, Bart. in consequence of an ancient tradition, that the Heart of Edward Lord Bruce, who fell in the memorable duel with Sir Edward Sackville (anno 1613), had been sent from Holland, and was interred in the vault or burying-ground adjoin-

ing the old Abbey-church of Culross in Perthshire, directed a careful search to be made in that place in 1808, when two flat stones, measuring about four feet in length and two in breadth, were discovered about two feet below the level of the pavement ; and partly under an old projection in the wall of the old building. These stones, upon which there appeared no inscription, were strongly clasped together with iron, and, when separated, a silver Case or Box, shaped like a heart, was found in a hollow or excavated place between them. The box was evidently of foreign workmanship, and upon the lid of it was engraved what was meant to be a representation of the arms of the Bruce family, together with the words " Lord Edward Bruce." It had hinges and clasps ; and when opened, was found to contain a heart carefully embalmed in a liquid of a brownish colour. The Box was opened only twice, and, accurate drawings being taken of it, (See Plates XXI. XXII.) was again replaced, with great care, in the same state and in the same spot where it was discovered. There was a small leaden Box between the stones in another excavation, the contents of which, whatever they might have been originally, appeared now reduced to dust.

Some time afterwards, Sir Robert Preston had the following Inscription engraved upon a brass-plate, with a delineation of the silver case according to the exact dimensions, and placed upon the projection of the wall near where the heart was discovered.

" Near this spot is deposited the heart of Edward Lord Bruce, of Kinloss, who was slain in a bloody duel fought in the year 1613 with Sir Edward Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset, near Bergen-op-Zoom, in Holland, to which country the combatants, the one from England, the other from Paris, repaired for the determined purpose of deciding their quarrel by the sword. The body of Lord Bruce was interred in the Great Church of Bergen-op-Zoom, where, among the ruins caused by the siege in 1747, are still to be seen the remains of a Monument which was erected to his memory. A tradition, however, existing, that his heart had been sent over to his native land, and was buried near this place, a search was made by Sir Robert Preston, of Valleyfield, Bart. in the year 1808, when it was found embalmed in a silver case of



Case containing the Heart of Lord Edward Bruce. at Culros



Patrick Byrne del.

J. B. B. sc.

Appearance of the Heart of Lord Edward Bruce

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, January 1st 1844.

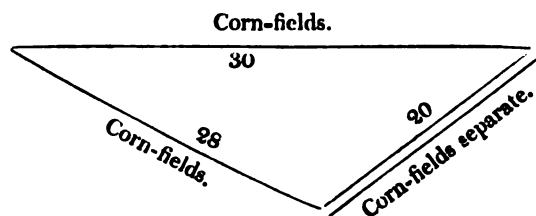
foreign workmanship, secured between two flat and excavated stones, clasped with iron, and was carefully replaced and securely deposited in the spot where it was first discovered."

For the Particulars of this Challenge and fatal Duel, in which the Lord Bruce was killed upon the spot, disdaining to accept his life from his antagonist, who was also dangerously wounded, see Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Book I.; and the Letters and Narratives published in Nos. 129 and 133 of the Guardian.

Edward Lord Bruce, was eldest son of Sir Edward, Baron of Kinloss, so created by King James in 1603, to whom the King gave the dissolved Abbey of Kinloss in Ayrshire, and who had been instrumental in his succession to the Crown of England, to which country accompanying the King, he was made Master of the Rolls in 1604, and died in 1610, and was buried in the Rolls Chapel. His son Lord Edward Bruce, Knight of the Bath 1610, killed in 1613, was succeeded by his brother, created Earl of Elgin in 1633, and an English Baron in 1641.

The Narrative of the Challenge and Combat (as given by Lord Edward Sackville) is rather obscure as to the place where the duel was actually fought. From this account it should seem that the parties, after meeting at Tergoes in Zealand, had embarked for Antwerp, whence they were to proceed to a village midway between the States territory and the Archduke's. It does not, however, mention that they arrived at Antwerp, but proceeds to state (without mentioning the place where they disembarked), that they proceeded on horseback two English miles to a meadow, where they dismounted and fought. Clarendon says, they fought under the walls of Antwerp; but a particular and careful inquiry having been recently made on this subject, there appears to exist no doubt that the combatants had disembarked at Bergen-op-Zoom, and fought near that town, and not Antwerp. The circumstances of the duel are well known at Bergen at the present day (1814), but at Antwerp no record or tradition exists about it. There is a small piece of land, a mile and a half from the Antwerp-gate of Bergen, which goes by the name of Bruce-land, and which is recorded as the spot where Bruce fell. According to vulgar tradition at Bergen, this

piece of ground was previously purchased by the parties for the purpose of fighting upon it. At all events the spot is unclaimed at the present day. It is marked by a little earthen boundary, which separates it from the surrounding corn-fields, and until the French Revolution was considered as free ground, where any person might take refuge, without being liable to arrest. The distance of Bruce-land from Bergen corresponds to that to which Lord Sackville states the parties to have rode on horseback previous to their fighting, and that spot being near the road that leads towards the frontier, where it was the original intention of the parties to have fought, there can be no doubt that that place was the scene of their sanguinary duel: nor is there any doubt, but that Lord Bruce was buried at Bergen; for among the monuments which are still to be seen within the walls of the great Protestant church in that town, is one which is positively stated to have been erected to the memory of Lord Bruce, who is asserted to have been interred there. That Church was much destroyed during the memorable siege of Bergen in 1747, and it continues in a state of great ruin. Many monuments are totally destroyed, and the remains of several others, which are still to be seen, have been evidently removed from other parts of the Church. But that which is shewn as the undoubted monument of Lord Bruce is fixed or built in the wall of the church, and in all probability was originally inserted in it. It is placed about seven or eight feet above the ground, and an iron railing is stated to have been formerly placed round the flags at the bottom. The slab, which probably bore the inscription, and also the other parts of the monument, have been entirely destroyed.



VIII. *An Account of the First Battle of St. Albans from a contemporary Manuscript. Communicated by JOHN BAYLEY, Esq. F.S.A. of His Majesty's Record Office in the Tower; in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 19th December 1892.

His Majesty's Record Office, December 12, 1892.

DEAR SIR,

I INCLOSE a curious Account of the first Battle of St. Albans, which may prove interesting to the Society of Antiquaries: it is copied from a manuscript, in a co-eval hand, found in the Tower, among a large quantity of private letters and accompts of Sir William Stonor, Knt. who, from his correspondence, appears at that time to have been much about the Court, and was also a Steward of the Abbot of St. Albans. The original is written in a book consisting of a few leaves of a small quarto size, and, on comparing the writing with some of the other papers, it seems to be in the hand of Sir William himself.

I remain, dear Sir,

your's very faithfully,

JOHN BAYLEY.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq
&c. &c. &c.

BELLUM APUD SEYNT ALBONS.

Be yt knowen & hadde in mynde, that the xxj. day of May the xxxiiij. zere of the Regne of Kyng Herry the sext, Oure Sov'eyne lord Kyng toke his jurnay from Westmynst^r toward Seynt Albones, and rested at

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Watford all nyght; And on the morwe, be tymes, he cam to Seynt Albones, and wyth him on his ptye, assembled under his baner, the Duyke of Bockyngham, the Duke of Somersete, the Erle of Penbrok, the Erle of Northumburlond, the Erle of Devynsshire, the Erle of Stafford, the Erle of Dorsete, the Erle of Wyltsshire, the lorde Clyfford, the lord Dudley, the lord Burneys, the lord Rose, wyth other dyverse Knyghtes, Squyeres, and other gentilmen & yemen, to the Nounbr' of ij. Mⁱ & moo. And upon the xxij. day of the seyde moneth above rehersed, assembled the Duyk of Yorke, and wyth hym come yn companye the Erle of Salesbury, the Erle of Warrewyke, with diverse knyghtes & squyers unto thēr ptye, into the ffeilde called the Key ffeild, besyde seynt Albones. Fyrthermore oure seyde Sov'eyne lord the Kyng, heryng & knowyng of the seyde Dukes comyng w^t other lordes afore seyde, pygth his baner at the place called Boslawe in Seynt Petrus strete, whych place was called, afore tyme past, Sandeforde; and cōmaundeth the warde & barrers to be kepte in stronge wyse. The for seyde Duyk of York abydyng in the ffeild aforeseyde ffrome vij. of the klokke in the morn tyl yt was al most x. without ony stroke smetoñ on eyther ptye. The seyde Duke sende to the Kyng our sov'eyne lord, be the avyse of his counsell, prayng & be sekynng hym to take him as his true man, and humble suget; and to cōsider and to tender at the rev^ence of Almyghty God, and in way of charite, the true entent of his comyng: to be good & gracyous sov'eyne lorde to his legemen, wech with al ther power & mygth wille be redy at alle tymes to leve and dye w^t hym in his righth. And to what thyng yt shoulde lyke his mageste ryall to cōmaunde hem yf yt be his Worshiþ kepyng right of the Croune, and wellffare of the londe: more over gracyous lord plese yt zour majeste ryall of zour grete goodnesse & ryghtwesnesse to enclyne zour wille to here & fele the ryghtwyse ptye of us zoure sugettes & legemen; ffyrst p^ryng and besechyng to oure lord Jhc of his hye & myghty power to geve un to zou vertu & prudence; And that thorough the medyacyon of the glorious martyr seynt Alboñ to geve zou very knowleche to knowe the entent of oure

assembleng at this tyme, ffor God that is hevene knoweth than oure entent is rightfull & true. And theſe fore we p^ay unto al myghty lord Jhu these wordes. . . Domine sis clipeus defenſionis nre. Wherefore, gracyus lord, pleſe it your hyghe mageſte to delyvere ſuch as we wole accuſe, and they to have lyke as they have deſerved & doñ, and ze to be honorabled and worſhepyt as moſt ryghtfull kyng, and oure gov'nour ; ffor & we ſhall now at this tyme be pmyſed as afore this tyme ys not unknowen, of pmes broken which ful fayth fully hath ben pmyſed, and there upon grete othes made. We wyll not now ceſſe for noon ſuch pmyſe, ſurete, ne other, tyl we have hem whych hav deſerved deth or elles we to dye theſe fore. And to that anſwered the Kyng our ſov'eyne lord, and ſeyde : I Kyng Herry charge & comaund that no maner pſone of what degre, or ſtate, or cōdicyon that ev'e he be, abyde not, but voyde the ffeilde, and not be ſo hardy to make ony reſyſtens ageyne me in myn owne Realme : ffor I ſhall knowe what trayto' dar be ſo bolde to reyse apepuñ in myn owne lond, where thorough I am in grete deſeſe & hevynneſſe : And by the feyth that I owe to ſeynt Edward and to the Corone of Ingland, I ſſhall deſtrye them ev'y moder ſone, and they be hanged, & drawen, & quartered, that may be taken afterward : of them to have enſample to alle ſuch traytours to be war to make ony ſuch ryſyng of peple w^tinne my lond. And ſo trayto'ly to abyde her kyng and gov'nour, and for a cōcluſyon rather then they ſhall have ony lorde-heſe w^t me at this tyme, I ſhall this day for her ſake, and in this quarrell, my ſylff lyve or dye : Wych anſwere come to the Duke of Yorke, the wheche duke, by the avyce of the lordes of hys cōnceill, ſeyde unto hem theſe wordes : The Kyng our ſov'eyne lord will not be reformed at our beſechyng ne p^ayer, ne wylle not underſtonde the entent that we be comen heder & aſſembled fore and gadered at this tyme, but only ys full p^apoſe, and theſe noon other wey. But that he wole w^t all his power p^asue us, and yf ben taken to geve us a ſhameful deth, loſyng our lyvelode & goodes, and our heyneſſe ſhamed for ev'e : and theſe fore ſythe yt wole be noon othere wyſe, but that we ſhall ootterly dye, better yt ys for us to dye in the feld

than cowardly to be put to a grete rebuke and afshamefful deth: more ov^r cōfēderyng yn what pyle Inglonde stondes inne at thys owre. There fore ev'y man help to help power for the ryght there offe to redrefse the myscheff that now regneth and to quyte us lyke men in this querell. Preyng to that lord that ys kyng of glorye that regneth in the kyngdom celestyall to kepe us & save us this day in our right, and thorough the helpe of his holy grace we may be made strong to w^t stonde the grete abomynable & cruell malyse of them that p'pose fully to destrye us w^t fshameful deth. We ther fore, lord, prey to the to be oure confort & defender, seyng the word afore seyde, Domine sis clipeus defençōnis nostre. And whanne this was seyde the seyde Duke of Yorke, and the seyde Erle of Salesbury, and the Erle of Warrewyk, betwene xj. & xij. of the clocke at noon, the broke into the toñ in thre diverse places & severelle places of the fore seyde strete. The Kyng beyng then in the place of Edmōnd Westley hunderdere of the seyde toñ of Seynt Albones, comaundeth to sle alle maner men of lordes, knyghtes, & squyeres & zemen that myght be taken of the for seyde Duk^s of York. Thys don the fore seyde lord Clyfford kept strongly the barrers that the seyde Duke of York myght not in ony wise, w^t all the power that he hadde, entre ne breke into the toñ. The Erle of Warrewyk knowyng ther offe, toke and gadered his men to gedere and ferosly brake in by the gardeyne sydes, be tuene the signe of the Keye, and the sygne of the Chekkere in Holwell strete; and anooñ as they wer wyth inne the tooñ, sodeynly the blew up Trumpettes, and sette a cry w^t afshout & a grete voyce, a Warrewe, a Warrewyk, a Warrewyk! and into that tyme the Duke of York mygth nev'e have entre into the toñ; and they with strong hond kept yt and myghttly faught to gedere, and anooñ forth w^t after the brekyng in, they sette on them manfully, and as of lordes of name were slayn, the lord Clyfford, the duke of Somersete, the Erle of Northhumberlond, fr Bartram Entuwyselle, knynght; and of men of courte, Wyllyam Zouch, John Batryaux, Raaff of Bapthorp, & hys sone, Wyllyam Corbyñ, squyers; Wiñ Cottoñ, receyver of the Ducherye of Lancastř; Gylbert Starbrok, squyer;

Malmer Pagentoñ, William Botelore, yoman; Rog'e Mercroft, the Kyng's mefsanger; Halyñ, the Kyng's porter; Raufe Wyllerby; and xxv. mo whych heſ names be not zet knoweñ. And of hem that ben ſlayñ ben beryed in Sent Albonos xlvi. And at this ſame tyme were hurt lordes of name; the Kyng our ſov'eyne lord in the neck with an arrowe, the Duke of Bukingh^am w^t an arrowe in the vſage, the lord of Dudle w^t an arowe in the vſage, the lord of Stafford in the hond w^t an arowe, the lord of Dorſette ſore hurt that he myght not go, but he was caryede hom in a cart, and Wenlok knyght, in lyke wyſe in a carte ſore hurt; and other div'se knyghtes & ſquyers ſore hurt. The Erle of Wyldſhyre, Thorp, & many other, fledde & left heſ harneys behynde hē cowardly; and the ſubſtance of the Kyng's ptye were dyſpoyled of hors & harneys. This doñ the ſeyde lordes, that ys to wote the Duke of Yorke, the Erle of Salesbury, the Erle of Warrewyk, come to the Kyng our ſov'eyne lord, and on here knees be ſoughte hym of grace, and for yeveneſſe of that they hadde doon yn his p'sence: and be ſought hym of hys heyneſſe to take hem as hys true legemen, ſeyng that they nev' attendyde hurt to his owne pſone and ther fore [the] kyng our ſov'eyne lord toke hem to g^ace, and ſo deſyred hem to ceſſe there peple and that there ſhulde no more harme be doon; and they obeyde hys cōmaundement, and lote make a cry on the kyng's name that al maner of pepul ſhulde ceſſe and not ſo hardy to ſtryke ony ſtoke more after the pclamacyoñ of the Crye: & ſo ceſſed the ſeyde Batayle. Deo g^ras. And on the morwe the kyng & the ſeyde Duke w^t other certeyñ lordes come in to the Byſshop's of Londoñ, & there kept reſydens with joye and ſolempnyte; concludyng to holde the parlement at Londoñ the ix day of July next comyng.

IX. *Remarks on the Population of English Cities in the time of Edward the Third.* By THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. S. A. In a Letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.

Read 29th March, 1821.

James Street, Westminster, March 28, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR,

HAVING lately had occasion to examine the Subsidy Roll of the 51st year of Edward the Third, printed in the seventh volume of the "*Archæologia*," I am induced to offer you some remarks on the degree of information which that curious document appears to supply, with reference to the population of our ancient Cities.

In the "*Estimate of the comparative Strength of Great Britain*,"^a Mr. George Chalmers has furnished some elaborate and useful calculations on this Roll, from the result of which it would appear that the whole population of England and Wales in 1377 did not much exceed 2,350,000 persons. This conclusion he has arrived at by adding to the number of persons actually assessed to this poll-tax, an increase of one half for children under fourteen, who were exempt from taxation; and for others who might have avoided it, as well as by further adding the actual numbers of the Clergy, as they appear on an accompanying Roll, and a probable computation for Wales, Chester, and Durham, which were not included in the Return. Some further additions should perhaps have been made for mendicants, who were expressly exonerated from the tax, as well as for other persons and families who, by reason of

^a P. 14. edit. 1802.

actual poverty, might have been found unable to pay the assessment of fourpence per head, which at that period was not of very inconsiderable amount. But assuming Mr. Chalmers's calculation to be as he describes it, and as it certainly appears to be, sufficiently exact for all practical purposes, it must at first view be a matter of surprise, that the great Cities and Towns, whose fame is recorded in our Histories, should have made so very unimportant a figure in the general scale of population. London, for instance, appears to have contained less than 35,000 inhabitants, being only about a seventieth part of the total numbers in England and Wales, while its proportion, according to the late Parliamentary Returns, amounts now to a full tenth. York, the proud capital of the North, whose ancient grandeur is supposed to have far surpassed its present state, had a population of but 10,800. Lincoln, proverbial for its early greatness, boasted of only about 5,100.^b Canterbury, the seat of ecclesiastical splendour, had less than 4,000. Winchester, the old Anglo-Saxon capital, and which continued to divide with London the seat of Royalty and the Legislature, had little more than 2,000.^c And even Norwich, the grand resort of the emigrant Flemish manufacturers, fell short of 6,000. The aggregate numbers of the ten most populous towns, including the Metropolis, did not amount to 95,000, very little more than one twenty-fifth part of the general mass; while the ten principal towns of the present day include nearly a sixth part of the people of England and Wales. This very striking difference may undoubtedly be in part accounted for by the great increase of our manufactures, which have seduced numbers from their rural occupations to swell the "busy hum of men" in our crowded cities. But I cannot believe that this cause could alone have been adequate to such an effect: I cannot

^b Two centuries before this, Malmsbury had described Lincoln as, "*civitatem unam ex populosioribus Angliæ, emporium hominum terræ marique venientium.*" *De' Gestis Pontif. Angl. lib. 4. p. 290. edit. 1601.*

^c From the curious Petition presented to Henry VI. by the Citizens of Winchester in 1450, it appears that 997 houses had recently become unoccupied. See *Archæol. vol. I. p. 91.*

conceive our celebrated towns to have been during the whole of the fourteenth century little better than villages; nor can I concede to Mr. Chalmers's respectable authority, that the Subsidy Roll "puts an end to conjecture with regard to the populousness of any of them anterior to 1377."

The truth is, that sufficient allowance has not been made for the destructive effects of the great pestilence of 1349, which almost desolated this country in common with the rest of Europe. I do not find any estimate of the proportionate mortality in the very early details of this calamity by Avesbury^d and Knighton;^e but Walsingham, almost a contemporary writer, says that it was the opinion of many that hardly a tenth part of the community survived.^f Stow, probably following him, but being himself a very careful and judicious historian, says, "it so wasted and spoyled the people, that scarce a tenth person of all sorts was left alive."^g Later writers have guessed the proportion of the loss at about four fifths, while Rapin and Dr. Mead have further reduced it to half, and Hume (with greater probability as Mr. Chalmers thinks) to one third of the existing numbers. The latter computation, however, seems not have been grounded on early authority.^h Certain it is, that the old writers (more particularly Knighton) represent, in the strongest colours, the injury which the country was suffering from depopulation, the effects of which were severely felt in Agriculture, and in the service of the Church.ⁱ

^d p. 177, edit. Hearne. He says that the greater part of the people died.

^e Twysden, col. 2599.

^f p. 159, edit. 1574. See also the continuation of

Murimuth, p. 101.

^g Annales, p. 245. edit. 1631.

^h The only early authority I have met with which represents the mortality to have been so little as one half of the inhabitants is Hygden, or rather his Continuator, who, in the language of Trevisa's translation, says, "That tyme fell great dethe of men in all the worlde wyde, and beganne in londres, out of the Southeest sydes, soo that unneth lefte halfe y^e people alyve." p. 315, edit. 1527. The accuracy of this translation I find confirmed by an ancient MS. of the Latin original Chronicle, which has been obligingly lent to me by the Rev. P. Hansell, of Norwich.

ⁱ In Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. v. p. 693, is a very curious Order of Council for remedying

Allowing for the exaggerations of the earlier writers, and admitting, that in the country at large the pestilence might not have swept away more than half the inhabitants, it is but reasonable to conclude, that it must have fallen with a far heavier hand on the collected population of cities. The memorials which remain seem fully to confirm this belief. In London, according to Stow,^k (on the authority of charters which he had seen) more than 50,000 persons were buried in one year, in the Spittle Croft, without Smithfield-bars. Knighton, a Canon of Leicester,^l relates that in three parishes only of that town, there died near 1500 persons (being about half the population of the whole town in 1377), though he adds that great multitudes died also in the other parishes. From the annals of the priory of Yarmouth, Stow has recorded^m that 7052 persons were buried in the church and church-yard, a number which nearly trebles the population as estimated from the subsidy Roll. And at Norwich, if we may believe an ancient record in the Guildhall of that city, quoted by Blomefield,ⁿ not fewer than 57,374 persons died of the plague, besides religious and beggars. This statement has been questioned, and an error has with some reason been suspected in the numerals, but Blomefield observes truly that Norwich at that period was in the most flourishing state, and contained 60 parish churches, beside seven conventual ones, within the walls, and others in the suburbs. He therefore conjectures that its inhabitants before the plague exceeded 70,000; a calculation which seems plausible, if the accuracy of the Record be admitted; for in the Book of Pleas kept in the Guildhall of that city, the mortality is said to have extended in

some of the evils, and correcting the extortions occasioned by the plague, entitled, "*De magna parte populi in ultima pestilentia defuncta, & de servientum salariis proinde moderandis.*" The same volume contains two proclamations for proroguing the Parliament while the pestilence was raging in Westminster and the neighbouring districts; and also a proclamation, forbidding persons to leave the kingdom, with their property, without special licence. See also the Rolls of Parliament for the same period, vol. ii. p. 225 et seq.

^k Annales, p. 246; also, Survey of London, by Strype, vol. ii. p. 62. edit. 1720.

^l col. 2599.

^m Annales, p. 246.

ⁿ Hist. Norf. vol. ii. p. 68.

many places to four fifths of the inhabitants; an estimate which was probably suggested by the actual loss in Norwich itself. But whether this Record be true or false, it can hardly be conceived that the average population of a city which contained 60 parish churches, and was so eminent for its wealth and manufactures, did not exceed 6000 persons. It must be recollected that the walls of this city had then been built more than half a century, and that they inclosed an area much larger in extent than that which was encompassed by the walls of London; an area, indeed, which, even in the present populous and flourishing condition of Norwich, affords ample space for gardens, meadows, and plantations. Can it be believed, that our ancestors, who were not only content to hive together in the smallest possible space, but, if we may judge from the mode in which their sheds and buildings were constructed, seem even to have *preferred* that condensed state of existence; can it for a moment be believed, that they would wastefully build such an extent of wall to surround a town of less than 6000 inhabitants? The natural conclusion surely is, that at the end of the thirteenth century, when the wall was begun to be raised, the population was by no means inconsiderable; that it had greatly increased before 1349, by means of the introduction of the Flemish stuff manufactory; and that in the latter year it sustained by the plague that shock which, aggravated as it afterwards was by the second and third pestilences hereafter noticed, left its numbers reduced as we find them in the Subsidy Roll of 1377.*

Without troubling you with further details of this kind (which might be multiplied to a much greater extent), I venture to think that enough has been said to shew that prior to the pestilence of 1349, the cities and towns of England must have attained a degree

* Since the reading of this Paper, the above observations have been illustrated and confirmed by some ingenious Maps of Norwich in the earliest period of its history, which have been carefully compiled from good authorities, by Mr. Samuel Woodward of that city, who permitted me to exhibit them to the Society.

of populousness far beyond that which remained to them when the subsidy was levied twenty-eight years afterwards; a period certainly very inadequate to the repair of their losses, even if a second pestilence, causing a considerable mortality, had not occurred in 1361, and a third in 1369.^p If London in the time of Fitz-Stephen had attained the strength and wealth which that writer describes, is it to be believed that, two centuries afterwards, any thing short of a destructive calamity could have shrunk its population to less than 35,000? The more reasonable view of the question surely is, that before the plague, the metropolis (then containing about 140 parish churches) had inhabitants to at least three or four times that amount. Other cities had probably lost ground in nearly the same proportion; and the whole population of the country, till thinned by the pestilence, might, on a moderate estimate, have been not less than between four or five millions,^q which is still no more than about two fifths of its present amount.

^p The details of the depopulation occasioned by this second pestilence are not so copiously given as those which relate to the former mortality, but that it was considerable, is evident from the words of the contemporary historian, Knighton, who says, "*Eodem anno mortalitas generalis oppressit populum, quæ dicebatur pestis secunda. Et moriebantur tam majores quam minores, et maxime juvenes et infantes.*" col. 2626. The Continuator of Murimuth, and after him Stow and Barnes, have enumerated the deaths of many illustrious personages during this latter calamity. The third pestilence, in 1369, is recorded by Murimuth's Continuator, p. 122, and by Walsingham, p. 179, edit. 1574. Knighton's History is defective at this period.

^q It is said (though the authority seems doubtful) that at this time there were no fewer than 46,822 parish Churches, and 52,204 towns and villages in England. See the *Minutiæ*, at the end of R. Avesbury, edit. Hearne, p. 264. At present, the parish Churches in England and Wales are no more than 10,458 in number, according to Mr. Rickman's Preliminary Observations to the Abstract of Population Returns for 1821, p. xxxv. If we divide the population, as computed from the Subsidy Roll, by the number of parishes said, in the *Minutiæ*, to be then in England, we shall not find more than 50 inhabitants to each parish; a result which can only be accounted for by the depopulation of the country from the cause mentioned above. Allowing for exaggeration in the account here referred to, it cannot be doubted by any reader of our County Histories, that the number of parishes during the middle ages was much greater than at present.

By the pestilence of 1349, it was probably reduced to about 2,300,000, the numbers computed by Mr. Chalmers from the Subsidy Roll of 1377; for the mortality occasioned by the second and third visitations of this contagion in 1361 and 1369 may fairly, perhaps, be reckoned equal to what the natural increase of the population would have been had no such check been interposed. From 1377 there was probably a gradual increase till the commencement of the civil wars of York and Lancaster, which undoubtedly occasioned, both by direct and indirect means, a material diminution of numbers. In the reigns of the Tudors, and particularly during that of Elizabeth, the population again advanced, as it afterwards appears to have done, though with less rapidity, and more frequent interruptions, under the sway of the Stuarts. But its greatest actual, and perhaps also proportional, augmentation has taken place between the year 1700 and the present time; a fact for which it is only necessary to refer to the excellent preliminary observations by Mr. Rickman to the Abstract of the Returns to Parliament in 1821. These speculations, however, as to the general population of the country (which are capable of being supported by documentary evidence) are perhaps foreign to the main purpose of this Letter, which has had more particularly in view the condition of our ancient Cities.

A most particular and curious account of the wide-spreading pestilence of 1349 (though some abatement of praise must be made for the writer's credulity), will be found in Barnes's History of Edward III., where it occupies fourteen folio pages.^r Lord Hailes observes that Barnes has "*unknowingly* furnished materials for a curious enquiry into the populousness of Europe in the fourteenth century."^s Why this writer should have refused Barnes the credit of knowing what he had done, would seem strange, if his notes did not abound with peevish remarks on the authors to whom he is most indebted. Barnes, if deficient in judgement, was a writer of extensive learning and copious detail, though

^r p. 428 to 442.

^s Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 923.

his rival Bentley placed his knowledge of Greek on a footing with that of an Athenian cobbler.

I will conclude by remarking that from Knighton's very interesting comparison of the money prices of things before and after the plague, I have found that in an age when the clergy are supposed to have possessed great wealth as well as influence, the stipend of a clergyman was less than the pay of a foot soldier. Knighton^t relates that before the pestilence, a chaplain might have been obtained for five or four marks, or for two marks with his board. Now, according to the authorities referred to by Grose,^u the pay of a foot archer, in 1346, was threepence a day, which makes nearly seven marks a year. An archer on horseback received double, and an engineer, or armourer, as much as tenpence or twelve-pence a day. The poverty, therefore, of Chaucer's good parson who was only "rich of holy thought and werk," might not have been remarkable for its singularity.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours, very sincerely,

THOMAS AMYOT.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq. &c. &c.

^t col. 2600.

^u Mil. Antiq. vol.i. p. 278.

X. *Observations upon ancient Charity Boxes : by JOHN ADEY REPTON, Esq. F. S. A. In a Letter addressed to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 15th November 1821.

Hare Street, near Romford, Nov. 8, 1821.

SIR,

WILL you allow me to communicate to the Society of Antiquaries the inclosed Papers relating to Charity Boxes? The accompanying drawings are taken from three different churches in Norfolk, and are curious for their contrivances in preventing the money deposited therein from being stolen. They were generally secured by two keys, most probably kept by the two Churchwardens, and although many were "honest men and true," a few may have had some inclination to finger "the gode red golde;" as in the following quotation from one of the plays of Ben Jonson :

" 1 *Gyp*. On Sundays you rob the poor's-box with your tabor ;
The Collectors would do it, you save them a labour.

Pup. Faith, but a little they 'll do it non upstant."^a

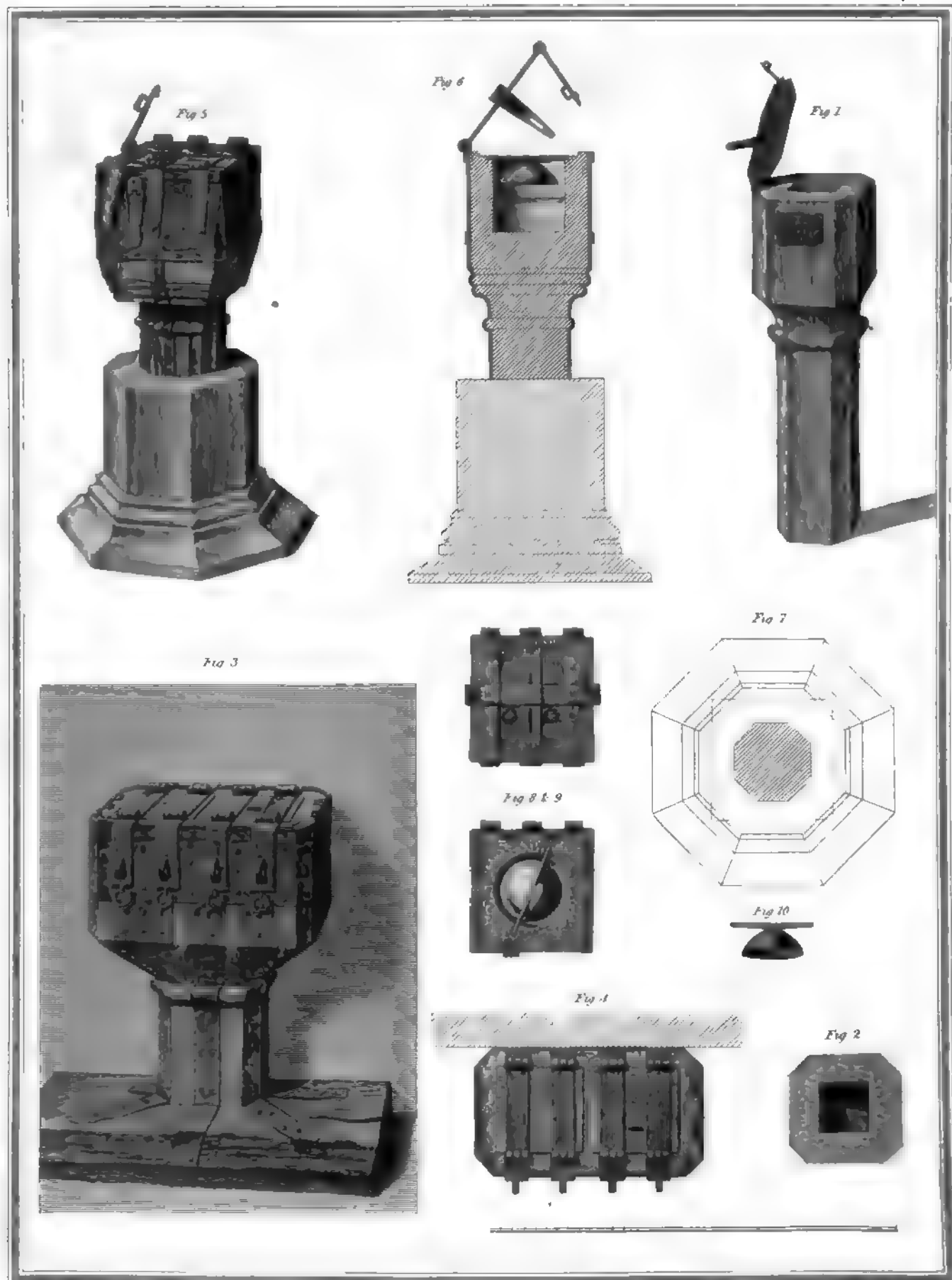
MASQUES, p. 57.

That the Poor's-box was neglected before the time of Hogarth, who has represented one covered with a cobweb in the *Rake's Progress*, may be confirmed by one of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher.

" The poor-man's box is there too : if ye find any thing
Besides the posy, and that half rubb'd out too,
For fear it should awake too much charity,
Give it to pious uses : that is, spend it."

SPANISH CURATE.

^a i. e. notwithstanding.



J. A. Repton del.

J. R. Smith sc.

Ancient Charity Boxes

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London January 1st 1864

These Charity Boxes (see Plate xxiii.) were probably of the same date as the churches to which they belong. Fig. 1, (with the plan, fig. 2.) is taken from Wickmere, a small village between Aylsham and Barningham, and was not likely to excite much temptation, a thick piece of oak was deemed a sufficient security; but, in a town, where the richness of the boxes made them more liable to be plundered; they were strongly bound with iron-plates. Fig. 3, (with the plan, fig. 4.) is taken from Loddon Church, built about the year 1495, and contains two separate boxes, each of them secured by two padlocks; one received the offerings, and when a sufficient sum was collected, it was taken out and placed in the adjoining box in the presence of the two Churchwardens.

The most curious of these boxes for contrivance, is that of Fig. 5, from Cawston Church, built between 1385 and 1414. It had three keys, two of which were for the Churchwardens, and the third was most probably for the Clergyman, as one of the key-holes appears more ornamented than the others. The most singular part of this box is, an inverted iron cup, for preventing the money from being taken out by means of any instrument through the holes on the top of the box. Fig. 6, represents the section on a stone basement. Figs. 7, 8, and 9, the different plans. Fig. 10, the cup when taken off.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN ADEY REPTON.

To NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. &c. &c.

XI. *On the use of the Pax in the Roman Catholic Church: by the Rev. JOHN MILNER, D. D. F. S. A. In a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 3d May 1821.

Wolverhampton, March 21, 1821.

DEAR SIR,

I HEREWITH send for your inspection, and that of our learned brethren of the Society of Antiquaries, should you judge it worthy of that honour, an ecclesiastical instrument of ancient use in the Roman Catholic Church, though now hardly known to the members of it, called a *Pax*.

As a peaceable frame of mind and fraternal charity are indispensable conditions for worthily receiving or assisting at the mysteries of the Christian Religion, St. Paul commanded the professors of it, in several Epistles to them, *To salute one another in a holy kiss.*^a That this was literally practised in the first ages of the Church, we learn from *the Apostolical Constitutions*, together with some particulars respecting the method of performing this ceremony, as appears in the following extract from them: "Let the Bishop salute the Church, and say, *The peace of God be with you all*: and let the people answer, *And with thy spirit*. Then let the Deacon say to all, *Salute one another with a holy kiss*: and let the Clergy kiss the Bishop, and the laymen the laymen, and the women the women."^b

^a 1 Cor. xvi. 20. 2 Cor. xiii. 12. 1 Thess. v. 26. Rom. xvi. 16.

^b L. viii. c. 11. apud Coteller, p. 345.

The custom of giving the kiss of peace before the communion, in the more solemn service of the Roman Catholic Church, called *The High Mass*, is still kept up among the officiating Clergy, as likewise among the men and the women of the different religious orders. It is performed by the parties placing their hands upon each others shoulders and bringing their left cheeks nearly in contact with each other. So also it appears to have been practised by the laity, during the whole of the Middle Ages ; while the men and the women were separated from each other, by being placed in different parts of the churches. But, when the sexes began to be mixed together in the less solemn service, called *The Low Mass*, which seems to have begun to take place in the twelfth or the thirteenth century, a sense of decorum dictated to the Bishops the use of an instrument, called by some a *Pax*, by some a *Tabula Pacis*, and by others an *Osculatorium*, which the Priest kissed first, then the Clerk, and lastly the people, who assisted at the service, one after another, instead of the former fraternal embrace.

Among the Constitutions of Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York, under date of the year 1250, among the ornaments and other ecclesiastical implements of a principal or parish church, which the pastor and the people belonging to it were required respectively to furnish, mention is made of an *Osculatorium*.^c

In the Council of Merton, held in the year of our Lord 1300, the same instrument is called *Tabula Pacis* ;^d but in a Constitution of Robert de Winchelsea, of the same date, it retains its name of *Osculatorium*,^e and in a different one it is called *Osculare*.^f

The general disuse of this plate is attributed by the learned Le Brun to certain jealousies which were found to arise among individuals about priority in having it presented to them^g. The use of the Pax was not among the ceremonies that were at first abrogated at the Reformation in England : on the contrary, it was enforced by the Royal Ecclesiasti-

^c Concil. Labbei. tom. xi. pl. i. p. 703.

^d Ibid. pl. ii. p. 1431.

^e Ibid. p. 1438.

^f Ibid.

^g Explication Litterale, &c. de la Messe, tom. i. p. 595.

cal Commissioners of Edward VI. and rendered more ostensible than it had been, as appears by the following Injunction, published at the Deanery of Doncaster in 1548: "The Clerke shall bring down the Pax, and standing without the church-door, shall say loudly to the people these words: This is the token of joyful peace, which is betwixt God and mans conscience, &c."^h

The present Pax is the more perfect of two such instruments, which, with certain vestments, processional crosses, and other such articles, have escaped the profane plunder of both the Reformation and the Grand Rebellion, and have been preserved by the Catholics of these parts down to our own times.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

your most faithful servant,

JOHN MILNER.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq. &c. &c.

^h Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii. Collect. P. ii. Num. 21.



Robt. Stothard del.

J. H. Baskin sc.

Representation of an Ancient Pax

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, January 1850.

XII. *Remarks on the Gothic Ornaments of the Duomo, Battistero, and Campo Santo, of Pisa; by ARTHUR TAYLOR, Esq. F. S. A. Communicated in a Letter from the Rev. WILLIAM GUNN to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 6th June 1822.

Smallburgh, May 11, 1822.

SIR,

IN doing myself the honour of transmitting to you the following admirable remarks of my friend Mr. Arthur Taylor, permit me briefly to preface them with some explanatory observations, which, on perusal, you will allow are demanded of me.

The well-known controversy between Sir H. Englefield and Mr. Smirke, as inserted in the xvth volume of the "Archæologia," respecting the genuineness of the Gothic attributes existing in the Campo Santo and Battisterio of Pisa, engaged my attention, when I was preparing the "Inquiry into the origin and influence of Gothic Architecture," for the press. The subject being relevant to that in which I was employed, I, on perusal, thought myself justified in adopting the opinion of Mr. Smirke, that the Gothic parts were coeval with the period when the buildings in question were finished. Unwilling, however, that this preference should be published without all attainable proof of veracity, I wrote to a friend at Leghorn, who had for near forty years there filled an honourable situation, to request his assistance in collecting the sentiments of the Pisan Antiquaries and Architects on this question.

He with great promptitude and kindness attended to my commission,

and I received the letter (the original of which is in my possession) which I had just time to insert in the Inquiry (p. 227) then nearly ready for publication. It is written by a gentleman of Pisa, who professes to have derived his information from the various architects of that city, who all agreed that the ornaments under consideration are coeval with the structures to which they respectively belong; and further, that Signor Antonio Toscanelli, the most eminent of them, said, that he had discovered in the Archivio the original plans, which exactly correspond with the structures as they now appear.

The existence of these appeared a fact so extremely curious, that I again wrote to Leghorn, soliciting my friend to offer a proper gratuity for obtaining copies of them. Many letters have since passed between us: the plans have not been forthcoming, and the plea alleged by his Correspondent at Pisa has uniformly been, the age and infirmity of Toscanelli.

Three years had thus elapsed without abatement of interest on my part, when in the last autumn Mr. Arthur Taylor commenced his Continental tour. He took a letter to my friend at Leghorn, and being in possession of the above circumstances, undertook, if possible, to obtain the object of my solicitude. With great profit to himself and the public, Mr. Taylor passed three weeks at Pisa. Finding, as before stated, Toscanelli inaccessible, he addressed himself to the Cavaliere Carlo Lasinio, Conservator of the Campo Santo, a zealous cultivator of the Pisan antiquities, by whom he was received with great courtesy. Lasinio declared that the plans above described were unknown to him, and, accompanied by Mr. Taylor, made diligent search in two different repositories, but no traces of any could be found. Application was next made to Gian Battista, the son of Antonio Toscanelli, who engaged to speak to his father. The following letter addressed to Sig. Lasinio was soon received.

“Gentilis^o Sig^o Lasinio,

“Non prima ho potuto adempiere alla mia promessa di scriverle cioè se era vero che mio Padre avesse detto ciò che si contiene nell’

appunto, che ella favori lasciarmi. Io l'ho interrogato sù quel proposito, ed egli mi ha risposto di non aver mai azzardato tali cose, anzi se n'è meravigliato, perchè sa egli all' incontro, che non esistono i disegni originarj delle fabbriche di cui si parla, e per conseguenza non può mai aver detto d'averli veduti in qualche Archivio. Ella dunque, Stimatissimo Signore Lasinio, si compiacerà di comunicare il presente mio *a giustificazione di mio Padre, ed a confusione di colui che ha ardito di falsamente spacciare il suo nome.*

Suo dev^{mo} Servo,

Pisa, di Casa, 8 del Germajo, 1822.

GIO. BAT. TOSCANELLI."

In consequence of this extraordinary intelligence, I again wrote to Leghorn. It is yet too early to have received a detailed reply, or to know how the reporter from Pisa will account for having furnished pretended facts, without the possibility of any advantage to himself, and which he was at the time given to understand were intended for public inspection.

My best thanks are due to Mr. Taylor for thus allowing me to justify myself before his Paper is presented to the Honourable Society of Antiquaries, and as he wishes this should be done without delay, the lateness of the season prevents my adding some remarks, which I intend hereafter to offer on the subject of his Paper on a future day.

I have the honour to remain,

Yours, very respectfully and obediently,

WILLIAM GUNN.

TO NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. &c. &c.

REMARKS ON THE GOTHIC ORNAMENTS OF THE DUOMO, BATTISTERO, AND
CAMPO SANTO, OF PISA.

THE Cathedral of Pisa, and its dependencies the Baptistery and Campo Santo, have become particularly known to the English Antiquary, from the various opinions which have been formed with regard to the genuineness of some of their details, and from the support they have been thought to give to one of the theories of Gothic Architecture. It will be the object of the present paper to record such observations upon the parts in question as the writer was enabled to make during his stay at Pisa in the present winter.

Of the three buildings, the first which will here be considered is the *Campo Santo*, being that upon which the most decided opinion has been formed. The *Campo Santo* may be briefly described as an open portico or cloister of four sides, composed of a light arcade of Roman Architecture, the arches of which spring from square pilasters adorned with a base and upper cornice. These arches, which are all circular, contain the Gothic tracery whose originality or posterior addition forms the subject of dispute in the building before us. It was built from the design of Giovanni da Pisa, one of the most celebrated artists of the Pisan school; begun in the year 1278,^a and finished, according to the best authorities, in 1283; the Gothic work, it may be necessary to add, is of the rich and elaborate kind which is seen in the skreens of some of our churches, and particularly in an arch of the south transept of Norwich Cathedral. The following are the remarks which occurred on a careful view of the interior.

First; That the marble of which the tracery is made is of a different kind from that used for the other parts of the fabric; the former being Carrara, the latter from the mountains of San Giuliano, near Pisa. Secondly; The Gothic work in question (which is sustained by a cen-

^a According to the Pisan Chronology, which is a year later than the common style.

tre pier, two very slender round columns, and two half columns attached to the faces of the grand pilaster,) is in every instance unconnected with the arch, and in more than forty of the arches day-light appeared between the half-pillar and the pilaster to which it is attached, the fissure in some cases extending through a great part of the height of the pillar. The tracery which springs from these pillars diverges from a capital, corresponding in position, and generally in design, with the cornice which marks the commencement of the great circular arch. From this circumstance it is evident that the capital of the *half*-pillar should blend with that part of the cornice of the pilaster against which it is placed ; this, if the whole work were of one time, would have been accomplished by forming the capital on the same stone with the cornice. The fact, however, is different ; in fifty instances the cornice is cut, or rather broken away, to admit the capital of the half-pillar, and in twelve, the capital is cut at the top so as to fit it against the cornice. Of these two methods, the former (probably from the friability of the stone) is so very awkwardly practised, that the cornice is generally much dilapidated, and the capital (which is always perfect and entire) appears seated in a large irregular cavity. On the north side, indeed, it will be found that nearly the whole face of the cornice is sometimes destroyed ; an effect certainly not produced by the injuries of time, and by no other cause than the mallet of a careless workman. Thirdly ; In those arches, six in number, which form the passage ways to the inner quadrangle, or burial ground, a portion of the top of the pedestal in the great pilasters has been cut out and replaced by another piece formed to support and bind the half-pillar of the tracery ; this operation, also, hath been performed with sufficient mal-adroitness to leave no doubt as to an alteration from the original plan of the building. It has been remarked that the capitals of the Gothic pillars correspond *generally* in design with the cornice of the Roman arch ; it may be right to add, however, that the enrichments of the former are always more delicately cut, and that the similarity is merely that of a free imitation. From the facts now stated, it is evident that the Gothic tracery

of the *Campo Santo* is CERTAINLY the addition of a later age: it only remains to fix the period at which the addition was made. For this purpose recourse will be had, without hesitation, to the tablet on the north side of the building itself,—an authority which has doubtless been cited and discussed in former dissertations, but which it may not be amiss to produce on the present occasion in a faithful copy from the stone.^b

✠. D. FI...O. DE. MEDICIS.
 ARCHIEPO. PISANO. ANTO
 NIVS. IACOBI. ALMI. TEMPLI.
 PISANI. OPERARIVS. SACRI.
 HVI⁹. ET. INTER. MORTALES.
 PRECLARISSIMI. SEPVLCRI.
 OPVS. I. I. I. ARCVBVS. XXVIII.
 Q3. PFORATIS. FENESTRIS.
 MARMOREIS. I. I. I. ANN. SVA.
 DILIGENTIA. PERFICI. CVR
 AVIT. D. I. AN. MCCCLXIII.

Whatever difficulty there may be in understanding some parts of this inscription, in reference to the number of the arches, there can, it is submitted, be no doubt that its intention is to record the erection of perforated marble windows in the year 1464; and it is difficult to imagine what other objection can be made to the date assigned than that according to a general theory, Gothic Architecture must have

been discontinued at an earlier period. How far this opinion is supported by facts, will be left for future inquiry. One circumstance only will be noticed in *confirmation* of the date. It is known that the design of the patrons of this later work was to fill the arches with coloured glass; this, considering the vast size and number of the windows, it is not likely would have been attempted with the ancient *stained* glass composed of small pieces; it is therefore more reasonable to refer the work to an age in which the fabric of *painted* glass, in larger panes, was commonly known. With regard to the notice taken of the *Campo Santo* by Vasari, it may first be observed that his description is perfectly indefinite; but allowing it to be in hostility with the date assigned, it remains to be demanded whether the negative evidence, arising from his omitting to notice an alteration which took place eighty or an hun-

^b The artist mentioned in the tablet is doubtless the Antonio Pisano of Muratori: "*Anno 1461, Antonius Pisanus, gemmarum pretiosorumque lapidum sculptura claret.*"

dred years before his time, can be placed in opposition to the positive and authentic testimony which has just been advanced. *

To proceed to the *Battistero*: this magnificent structure was begun by Diotisalvi in the year 1153, Pisan style, and is for the greater part in the circular Romanesque manner which prevails through the whole of the *Duomo*, and characterizes most of the early buildings at Pisa. The LOWER story is adorned with large arches supported by Corinthian pillars, and is free from the slightest mixture of Gothic ornament. The SECOND is a range of smaller round arches, much resembling those which are commonly found on our Norman Churches; three of these occupy the place of one of the lower story. From the top of these arches, without any intervening cornice or line of separation, there rises a series of projecting canopies or pediments, alternated with lofty tabernacles and pinnacles. The THIRD story (commencing from a cornice behind the pinnacles) is occupied by windows, each formed of two lights divided by a munnion supporting two trefoil arches, under a circular arch. Between the windows are flat pilasters surmounted by small Gothic canopies, and above them, a pointed pediment or gable rising a little above the parapet. In the roof or *cupola* there are (on one side of the building), four apertures or windows adorned with pediments and crockets of a decidedly Gothic character.

From the description here given it will be evident that there exists in this building a great confusion of styles, and much to mislead the judgment upon a general and cursory observation. It was, therefore, thought advisable to attempt a more close examination by venturing upon the cornice which runs round the exterior, at the commencement of the third story. In this place it was easy to touch the pinnacles which ascend from the arches below, and it was immediately found

* Tronci says of the Campo Santo, "*Non restò finito e perfezionato in tutto il magnifico edificio fino all' anno 1464, in tempo dell' Arcivescovo Filippo de' Medici, come si legge in un'altra iscrizione pure in marmo nello stipite del portone incontro la cappella della Barbaresca, hoggi de' Battaglini, nella faccia che mira verso il campo.*" *Mem. Ist. &c.* p. 234.

that the marble of which they are made differs from that employed in any other part of the fabric; the difference in colour may indeed be seen from below. It was observed, in going round, that the Pinnacles were in no way so connected with the building as to have been necessarily erected at the same time; that they sometimes merely touch the cornice, sometimes stand clear altogether, and are sometimes let into it: in the latter case, it is plain, beyond all doubt, that the cornice was chipped or broken away *in situ*, the fracture proceeding from above. The angular pediments beneath could not be seen to advantage in this position. With regard to the trefoil windows and pediments of the *third* story, it was found that they certainly were ORIGINAL—speaking with reference to that story, the munnions and pointed arches binding in with the work. It is not to be assumed, however, that these parts, though of a Gothic character, are in the same style with the pinnacles above described. Plain in design, and simple in execution, they may be compared with specimens of the early pointed style in our own country, or with the half Gothic style of Lombardy. The little canopies on the pilasters, and the apertures in the roof, appear to have the same character as the pinnacles.

Of the *interior* of the Baptistery we have chiefly to remark the simplicity and uniformity of its architecture, and its freedom from any the least mixture of the Gothic style, excepting, of course, the glaring anomaly of one arch in the gallery, filled with rich tracery. This embellishment exhibits precisely the same appearances with the Gothic work in the *Campo Santo*, and is no doubt the beginning of an unfinished design of a similar kind, and of the same age. In the gallery which runs round the building it may be observed, that for some feet from the springing of the roof the side wall is continued with a new material, as if carried up at a later time. This change takes place just about that part where the trefoil windows are seen in the third story of the exterior. There are also traces of an intended groined roof, which would take its commencement from the termination of the old work. From these circumstances it may be inferred that the building was either left

for a time unfinished, or that a former roof was removed for the purpose of giving it greater elevation : in either way the difference of style in the exterior is accounted for.

On a general review of the whole, the following were the conclusions, as regarding the exterior, which appeared least open to objection. That the work is composed in three different styles, the pure Romanesque of the first and second stories, the Lombardic, or mixed Gothic, of the third, and the Tedesque, or florid Gothic, of the accessory details : and, secondly, that from the relative position of the several parts, it is probably the work of three different ages. In forming the division which has just been stated the chief difficulty was found in regard to the pointed canopies above the small arches of the second story. Whether there be any objection to their being classed with the pinnacles with which they are connected must be left to a more competent decision ; but inasmuch as concerns the possibility of their being additions, it will suffice to say, that no architectural embellishments can hang more loosely upon the fabric to which they belong.

It may not be uninteresting to accompany the foregoing details with a few historical notices ; and in the first place to remark, that a current opinion relating to the Baptistery is, that it was begun and finished in the space of eight years, namely, between the years 1152 and 1160.^d This opinion is justly condemned by Morrona, in his *Pisa Illustrata*^e, who still, however, appears to consider the entire fabric as the design and work of one master, leaving the time of its completion to the conjecture or the research of his reader. The principal facts which this author has collected are, that the Baptistery was begun in 1152, or 53 according to the Pisan chronology ; that the work was suspended for

^d Thus Martini, in his *Theatrum Basilicæ Pisanae*, p. 93 : "*Templum hoc fuit incæptum anno 1152, mense Augusti,—absolutum verò fuit anno 1160, ut eruitur ex quodam pervetusto codice in ejusdem primatialis Basilicæ Archivio existente.*" What this *codex* is, he does not condescend to inform us. So also Milizia, in his *Lives of the Architects* ; "*Diotisalvi fu un architetto che nel 1152 edificò il Battistero di Pisa, e dopo otto anni lo terminò.*"

^e Second edit. Leghorn, 1812.

want of money after reaching the first or perhaps the second order, or story, of the exterior; and that it was continued by means of a voluntary monthly contribution from the inhabitants; adding that Dempster alone refers this levy to the year 1164. He also cites another historian, Roncioni, as saying, that the first column to the east was set up on the first of October 1156, and that on the 15th of the same month the whole of the remainder, with the first vault, the pilasters and cornices, were erected and finished; an assertion which, with Vasari, may well be termed "*meravigliosa, e quasi del tutto incredibile*." ^f

On reference to Tronci, the historian of Pisa, ^g little information was added to the scanty materials cited above. He says that the Baptistery was several years in hand ("*corsero parecchi anni a finirsi*"); that the first year the foundations were laid, and the first circle of the wall. More has, however, been gained from one of the old chronicles in the collection of Muratori; the following passages, which do not appear to have been cited by any modern writer, are not unworthy attention.

"*Anno 1154. Fundatus est primus gyrus ecclesiæ Sancti Johannis, h Cionetto Cionnetti et Enrico Cancellario operariis existentibus. Qui Cionettus in Sardiniam pluries ivit, et reduxit de S. Reparata columnas.*"

"*Anno 1159. In quarto consulatu Cocchi, Pisani—tres columnas magnas pro operæ Sancti Johannis de Ylba ad dictam ecclesiam portaverunt.*"

"*Anno 1164. In calendis Octobris incipiendo in xiii. diebus octo columnæ in ecclesiâ Sancti Johannis erectæ sunt, de quibus unam una die in Porta Aurea . . . erexit. Et tunc ordinatum est quod unaquæque familia in singulis calendis mensium unum denarium ipsi operæ daret; et fundata est ecclesia Sancti Johannis Baptistæ.*" ⁱ

From this account it appears that the great columns which support the building did not arrive until five or six years after the commencement of the work, and that five years more had elapsed before they were finally erected; it is therefore a probable conclusion, that the

^f *Vite*, &c. Proem. p. 227-8, edit. Sanes.

^g *Mem. Ist. della città di Pisa*, 4to, 1689.

^h The Baptistery, so called.

ⁱ *Brev. Pis. Hist.—Rer. Ital. Script.* vi. 168.

fabric in question, so far from being completed by one architect, and in a short space of time, was continued with several interruptions, and carried on as the resources of the public treasury would permit.

Of the *Duomo*, in as far as the present question is concerned, little will need to be said. The only part of this vast pile which is involved in the controversy is the *corona*, or band of Gothic canopies which surrounds the drum of the dome. Here at least, no question can be raised as to the *possibility* of posterior addition; and as the work itself is of the same character as the ornaments of the Baptistry, the same opinion must be adopted respecting it. It is, perhaps, worth while to remark that the three courses of stone next under the *corona* differ from the inferior parts of the tower. As the ornaments upon the ledge of the grand pediment of the west front are said to have been mentioned as Gothic crockets, it may be permitted to express a different opinion; they are used for the same decorative purpose, but are surely more Grecian than Gothic, and are particularly characteristic of a style to which the appellation of *Greco-barbara* has been fitly applied.

The Church of *Santa Maria della Spina* having been cited as a work of Giovanni da Pisa in confirmation of the originality of the Gothic ornaments of the *Campo Santo*, some observations upon its history and architecture will now be added.

The Church, or rather Oratory of the *Spina*, called in old writings *Oratorium Sanctæ Mariæ de Ponte Novo*, was a little chapel standing at the foot of a bridge (since demolished) called *Ponte Nuovo*; the patronage of it belonged to the commonalty of Pisa, and hence it seems to have been regarded with partiality by the citizens. Its chief distinction, however, was conferred by the donation of a spine of Our Saviour's crown of thorns, said to have been brought by a merchant from beyond seas, and afterwards deposited in this chapel. The building, as it now appears, consists of a simple oblong room, with an extension at the east end forming the present chancel or sanctuary. This chancel, upon

which rest the three spires (its principal ornament) is, without any doubt, a later addition, and is so termed by Morrona. The side next the street, and the west end, are both covered, as well as the chancel, with a case or skreen of pilasters, canopies, statues, pinnacles, &c. which, though not pure and correct, are nevertheless of the style which we should call florid Gothic. Upon examination they were found neither to correspond with what may be seen of the original work, nor to bind in with the masonry of the walls; their present dilapidated state is, indeed, a sad confirmation of this fact. The side that abuts upon the river remains in its original state, and is all of the Lombardic school. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the conclusion here formed was, that the church in its present state is the work of two very different periods. It only remains to examine its history, and the share which Giovanni da Pisa may be supposed to have had in its construction.

That the chapel was not *built* by this master is certain, if, as it is supposed, it was founded in 1290. Vasari, indeed, says expressly that the people of Pisa having something to do to the little church of St. Mary *della Spina*, confided the work to Giovanni (the time is about 1280); adding that he brought many of its ornaments to that perfection in which we now see them.^k These ornaments Morrona supposes were the statues which adorn the original fabric, and adds that neither the first nor the second architect of the church is known.

It may now be permitted to indulge a few conjectures with regard to the history of the building before us. The donation of the relic already mentioned, appears to furnish the best guide in the inquiry. As a common bridge-foot chapel, the oratory of St. Mary, plain as it was,

^k "—avendosi a fare alcune cose nella picciola ma ornatissima chiesa di Santa Maria della Spina, furono date a Giovanni, il quale messovi mano, con l'ajuto di alcuni suoi giovani condusse molti ornamenti di quell' oratorio a quella perfezione che oggi si vede: la quale opera, per quello che si può giudicare, dovette esser in que' tempi tenuta miracolosa, e tanto più avendovi fatto in una figura il ritratto di Niccola di naturale, come seppe meglio."—Vasari, *Vita di N. e G. da Pisa*, p. 280. Niccola, the father, was well known to, and much respected by the Pisans.

suited the purposes for which it was intended ; but when it had become the depository of so sacred a treasure, it was right that the exterior should assume a character of higher dignity and pretension ; and the means of effecting this purpose being afforded by the destruction of the bridge, the chapel was enlarged upon what had hitherto been the public way, and the original fabric decorated in a corresponding style. The nearest approximation to the time of the supposed alteration will be derived from the following dates. The first notice of the relic adduced by Morrona is in the year 1433 ; but from an account of the procession of *Corpus Domini*, in an old chronicle, it appears that it was existing in the chapel in 1362.¹ The *Ponte Nuovo* is thought by the same writer to have been pulled down soon after the year 1400. In 1454 a sum of money was granted for the restoration of the church ; it is perhaps too much to assume this as the date of the Gothic details in question, but that they cannot be older than the time when the bridge was destroyed may be argued from the projection of the added part beyond the line of way between the opposite sides of the river.^m

It will doubtless be said, in this case, as in that of the *Campo Santo*, that Gothic Architecture could not have been in use at so late a period. An extensive and minute research would be requisite to decide upon the truth of so general a position ; but a few circumstances may shortly be noticed which appear to militate against it. There exists in Pisa itself a large and conspicuous red brick houseⁿ, which, if its date were known, would almost determine the question ; it is covered with Gothic enrichments and pointed arches. On the floor of the Baptistry, at Pisa, is a sculptured tombstone with a Gothic canopy, dated 1395 ; in the church of Santa Caterina one of the same kind, dated

¹ “*E appresso con la ditta processione vi fù la Spina di Cristo, la quale li fue posta in capo alla sua passione, la quale Spina è nella chiesa di Santa Maria del Ponte Nuovo, &c.* ; Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. xv. col. 1036.

^m A person standing in the middle of the Via Santa Maria, at the end next the Lung’ Arno, and looking across the river into the Via S. Antonio, will immediately perceive what is meant above.

ⁿ Well known as the Caffé del Ussero on the Lung’ Arno.

1403, and in the *Campo Santo* another, dated 1428.^o The *Palazzo Nerucci* in Siena, built in 1460, has pointed windows of two lights. Authorities to the same purpose might probably be collected even in Rome itself; it is remarkable, indeed, that the *Palazzo di Venexia*, one of the largest in that capital, which was built four years after the date assigned to the windows in the *Campo Santo*, namely in 1468, is but one remove from a Gothic building.

With regard to the period at which the pointed style was first employed at Pisa, a comparison of two of its principal churches may not be unimportant. The front of *San Paolo a ripa d'Arno* is ornamented in the upper part with three tiers of small arches, all round, and resembling those on the front of the *Duomo*, which was evidently the model for most of the ecclesiastical buildings in the city. This church is supposed to have been erected about the year 1100. The façade of *San Michele in Borgo*, built on the same plan, has three similar tiers of pointed arches, and of a character which we should call *early Gothic*; this was constructed in 1304. The front of *Santa Caterina*, which is also Gothic, and remarkably beautiful, would be a desirable addition to the list, but its date is uncertain.

In building his *Campo Santo*, it has appeared that Giovanni da Pisa so late as the year 1278, adopted a Roman style. It is not, however, to be concluded on this account, that the Gothic was then entirely unknown. It occurs in a mixt and irregular form in the pulpit of the Baptistery, made by his father Niccolo da Pisa in 1260; but an earlier specimen, of authentic date, has in vain been sought for.

Having now detailed the principal observations made in a survey of the interesting buildings which form the subject of the present Paper, the writer has only to state the result of an inquiry respecting them, undertaken at the desire of a highly respected friend to whom the public is indebted for a very learned and ingenious work on the architecture of the middle ages.

^o In the Galleries of Pisa and Siena are many Pictures of the fifteenth century in decidedly Gothic frames; those which have dates are in 1440, 1447, 1453, and 1514: they are generally altar-pieces, and are fair indications of the architectural taste of their time.

The Rev. Mr. Gunn having, three or four years since, applied to a gentleman resident in Tuscany, to obtain for him the sentiments of the best Pisan Architects with regard to the disputed Gothic ornaments, received an answer professing to contain the opinion of Signor Antonio Toscanelli, an artist of great respectability at Pisa, which not only explicitly declared in favour of the entire originality of these parts, but asserted the existence of original plans and designs of each of the buildings in the Archivio of Pisa corresponding exactly with their present appearance. To this communication, the most important that could have been received to the question at issue, and apparently resting on the best authority, Mr. Gunn of course assigned a place in the work above referred to, and made a further application, through the same channel, with a view to get copies of the designs themselves. To this request he had not been able to obtain a satisfactory reply; till, upon the present investigation, it appeared that the opinion so derived was not only fictitious, but in opposition to the judgment of the person to whom it was attributed. Signor Toscanelli believes that no designs, such as were stated in it, exist, and naturally expresses his astonishment that any one should have presumed to make use of his name on such a subject, without his knowledge and authority. The real opinion of the Pisan Antiquaries is, indeed, of a very different kind. In particular the Cavaliere Lasinio, to whose polite attentions the writer is much indebted, is fully persuaded of the posterior addition of the Gothic attributes; and concurs generally in the conclusions above stated.

It will be right to add that the foregoing remarks have been written without access to the memoirs which have already appeared on the subject in the volumes of the *Archæologia*; the writer had indeed no other guide to the points of principal interest, than an abstract of the controversy by the friend of whom he has lately spoken, and from whose judgment concerning them he has most reluctantly been compelled to dissent.

ARTHUR TAYLOR.

Rome, March 30, 1892.

of Elphee, a poor man in the employ of J. Pomfret, Esq. to whom the adjoining land belongs, and with whose permission, and the sanction of the Commissioners of Sewers, the excavation was undertaken.

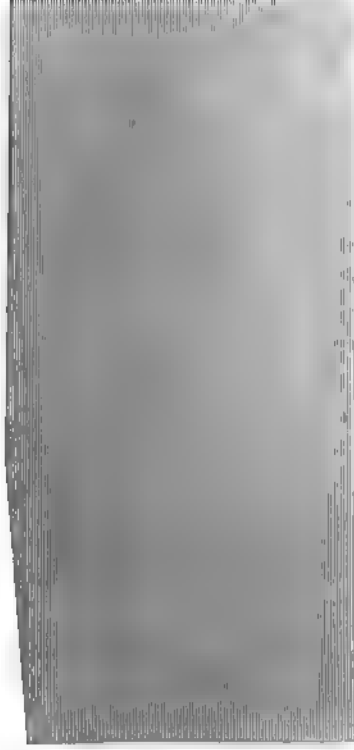
Mr. Elphee informed me, that part of the covering to the after cabin used to be visible in the side of the bank, when the water in the channel was very low, and about six years ago he took some planking up (thinking at that time that it had been part of an old sheep-wash), which he applied to the repairs of a cart-shed, and some paling; and in the early part of July last, having occasion for some wood for a similar purpose, he drew up a piece, which, from its shape and peculiar fastening, led him to imagine that a Vessel must have been sunk there. Having confirmed the surmise by partially digging along the bank, he communicated the discovery to several gentlemen, by whose advice, and assurance that he should be at no risk of loss in the event of its proving a bad undertaking, he damm'd up the channel, and commenced the work; and in a few days, after digging through ten feet of sea sand, the whole of the vessel was exposed.

Her principal dimensions are as follow :

	ft.	in.
Length	63	8
Breadth	15	0
Height of foremost beam, from flat of inside planking	4	11
Height of midship beam, from the same	4	2
Height of the after beam	4	7
Height of the bulwark above the beams	1	2

above which were wash-boards.

She is built entirely of oak, which is perfectly sound, and very hard, but much blackened; her head and stern are sound, and framed nearly alike, but in a very rude manner; stem and sternpost nearly upright; flat-floored, and clincker built. The planks riveted together with iron, and fastened to the timbers with oak treenails, wedged at both ends with wood of the same nature, which is now quite as hard as, and bears much the appearance of ebony. The planks, inside and out,



Frigate discovered under the load of the River Rother near Witham in Kent

A. D. 1822.

Discovered by the late Mr. Thomas Smith, of Witham.

are $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, and some of them of surprising dimensions; one on the starboard side, forward, is 18 feet 10 inches long, 2 feet 5 inches broad at the fore-end, and 1 foot 9 inches at the after-end; another, on the larboard side aft, is 18 feet 7 inches in length, and 2 feet 5 inches and 2 feet 7 inches broad at its extremities, and from its texture certainly not of British growth.

The beams, of which there are five principal ones, are very ingeniously scarphed and put together, and fastened to the sides with bolts, not unlike our "dog bolts," excepting that the plate is secured to the beam with staples instead of bolts; their mean scantling is $5\frac{1}{2}$ by 1 foot 6 inches.

There is a step for a mast, at about one third of her length from forward, on the *foreside* of the beam; but no part of the mast has been discovered; there is evident proof also that she had had a bowsprit, which has been carried away, the step being visible in the foremost beam, and the head of the stem a little hollowed as a bed; the cable passed over the gunwale, the grooves for which are not much rubbed; neither cable nor anchor have been found; some pieces of cordage were taken out of the after cabin, in a very decayed state, the strands of which appeared to have been laid in the manner at present practised.

The caulking material is *moss*, and the sides of the vessel are payed with a thick coat of tar, or some composition, which, since its exposure to the atmosphere, is entirely decomposed, and falls off as dust on the slightest touch; the seams and projecting edges of the planks are filled with pitch, which remains almost in its original state. The iron which has been exposed to the action of moisture is very much enlarged by oxidation, and breaks with facility, but in all cases where covered with pitch, it is most perfect, and not in the least corroded; this is an important fact.

It is much to be regretted that many of the contrivances and fittings have been disturbed, and either destroyed, or so mutilated as to make it impossible to restore her to the state in which she was first found. There were originally two short decks; the one aft remains, that forward has

been taken up; the opening between the deck aft and the next beam, was covered with a kind of arched tilt, beneath which was probably the place for cooking, from the situation of the fire-place and the utensils found there.

The space between the after beam, and the deck forward, was open; but several stantions were found standing morticed upon the beams, from which it is obvious that there had been a covering over this part of the vessel also; and from some rabbetted boards inclining inwards and upwards, still attached to the sides, we may conclude, that the covering was either arched, or met at an angle in the center like a roof.

There are carlings at the sides, and scores in the beams in midships, evidently to receive a covering, but no gratings or hatches have been found.

The manner in which the rudder was managed is rather curious, and I owe it to chance that I discovered the method. In examining some pieces of wood which had been taken from the vessel, I observed a beam of singular construction that had been removed from the topside aft, and by some bevelling scores in its ends it was clear that a plank sheer had dropped into them, which was afterwards found and replaced.

A dumb roller is turned upon the middle of the beam, and on each side of the sternpost, and at about a foot below the gunwale, are two holes through the side of the vessel, and one also in the after part of the rudder, through which most probably the rudder was yoked. I cannot tell exactly in what way the fall of the steering rope was traversed, but I imagine there were two distinct ropes, a round turn being made over the roller with the one by which the rudder was governed.

The Vessel was floated on the 27th of August. I was on the spot at the time, and in digging a water course towards the dam in the channel abaft her, to admit water into the basin formed by the excavation, a small Boat was discovered at about sixteen feet from the stern of the vessel. She appeared to be a wreck, the after part being gone. I ascertained the dimensions of this boat as nearly as I could; (the water was at this time flowing in from the channel forward); her length

County of Sussex
Parish of Beckley.

County of Kent
Parish of Rolvenden



The Tisdel lay across the direction of the present Channel.
the upper part being partly under the Bank. The head of the
Tisdel about 2 ft. lower than the Stern. and the Depth from the
top of the Bank to the bottom of the Tisdel upwards of 10 feet.



was about 15 feet, breadth 5 feet, flat floored, and very shallow ; the timbers very stout, and few in number ; they were generally about 3 feet apart ; the planks from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 inch and $\frac{1}{2}$ thick ; clincker built, and fastened with iron rivets, and no inner sheathing. The seams were caulked with *hair*,^a which is not in the least perished ; the wood is also in a high state of preservation, but very black. She fell to pieces on attempting to remove her.

From what has now been stated, Sir, there will be no difficulty in pointing out the country she belonged to. The housing, or roof spoken of, is, I believe, although common to barges of all countries, more peculiar to the Dutch.

The Earl of Romney, whom I met at the Vessel, did me the favour to mention several peculiarities which he had observed about her, when she was first opened, and which I should otherwise have been ignorant of, as many of them were destroyed prior to my seeing her ; he pointed out the situation of some rings just abaft the mast, on each side of the vessel, to which the straps of the dead eyes were fastened. This mode of securing the dead eyes is peculiar to Dutch vessels.

His Lordship thought she resembled the build of the Hamburg Keels, and observed, that "*moss* is frequently used as the caulking material in *East* country ships."

A hand-lead having been found in her, renders it probable that she had been a sea-going Vessel ; and from the situation of the mast-step,

^a When on duty at Sheerness dock-yard, I collected several specimens of wood taken from the old ships which have been dug out in the progress of the works carrying on there ; and it may, perhaps, be worthy of remark, that among them I found a piece of oak plank with some *hair* adhering to its edge, a proof that hair had been used as the caulking material for that ship. I have not been able to ascertain if she was of English or foreign build ; but Mr. John Knowles of the Navy Office obligingly informed me, that these ships were laid aground in the time of Charles II. and in one or two subsequent reigns, and served, some as break-waters, and others as residences for the artificers employed in that establishment, which was then in its infancy : and we find that in his work on the "*Preservation of the Navy*," that *hair* was used in caulking for a long series of years in His Majesty's Navy, and was not discontinued till 1791.

it is reasonable to conclude that the mast was fixed ; under such circumstances she could not have been for inland navigation.

From these facts, and from several articles found in her of Dutch manufacture, particularly some rude earthen vases and tiles (which formed the fire hearth), there was little reason to doubt that she was Dutch ; but there is nothing in her form, nor has there been any thing found in her, with the exception of the handle and hilt of a sword, that would create a suspicion that she had been a vessel of warfare.

It may perhaps be worthy of observation, that ancient Vessels were usually propelled by oars, as well as sails ; and we find also that galleys were in common use in the reign of Henry VIII. and even up to the time of James I. The vessel in question is of a totally different construction, and shews no signs of having been rowed ; but no inference can be drawn from this as to date, since galleys were not the only description of vessels in use. Concluding, therefore, that she was a **DUTCH TRADING VESSEL**, it becomes difficult to form any idea of her age from the style of her architecture, which, for this kind of vessel, admits of but little variation ; and which probably has not materially changed for ages, whilst the contour and equipment of fighting vessels must necessarily have varied with the modes of warfare.

Amongst the sketches which I have forwarded for your inspection, permit me, Sir, to direct your attention to the representation of a *plate of hard lead or pewter*, which was attached to the side of the vessel, at about 15 feet from her stern, bearing two characters (pi) of the black letter, very neatly and distinctly stamped ; a similar plate was found on the opposite side, but so much oxidated and battered, that it was impossible to decipher the characters on it.

The lines on a piece of oak slab, are very curious, and probably a merchant's mark ; but I am at a loss to know if it consists of definable letters or characters, or merely hieroglyphics.

Under the inside planking was found a round piece of metal, rather larger than a half-crown, and extremely thin ; it appeared to be a mixture of copper and some other whiter metal ; but badly amalgamated ;

upon one side is a faint resemblance of the rays of a star; but the reverse presents nothing but bruises. I examined it scrupulously with a powerful microscope, but could discover nothing to give it the character of a coin. The construction of the Lock, of which I send a sketch, is singular, and appears ancient in its form.

Various articles were found in the after cabin: such as a circular board of oak, with twenty-eight holes through it, which probably had been used as an almanac or score table; two earthen vases of a reddish brown colour, glazed inside, and standing upon three feet, and of the capacity of 5 pints each; another vase of a dark slate colour, with similar legs, unglazed, and about the measure of 17 pints; all of which had evidently been used on the fire for cooking: a stone jug, very rudely formed, holding rather more than a pint; several bricks of curious manufacture, and some pieces of glazed and ornamented tiles, set up as a fire-heath; a sounding-lead of an octangular form, about eight inches long; and a small glass bottle of ancient and singular shape, 3 inches in height.^b

Some human and other bones were found in the cabin; and part of the skull of a child, with a thigh and several smaller bones, have been preserved, together with parts of a skeleton of a grown person. In the midship part were found the thigh and leg bones, and several vertebrae of the back-bone of some large animal, thought to be a horse or cow, the horns and part of the skull of a sheep or goat, and the lower jaw-bone of a boar, with its teeth and tusk; no other part of this last animal was found, so that most probably these were a part of the provisions of the Vessel, as also the breast-bone of some large bird. Near the Vessel,

^b Upon its side was delineated a ship in full sail, but shortly after its exposure to the atmosphere, a transparent coating peeled off, and the figure was obliterated; some persons have conjectured it to be half of an hour glass, but its rudeness of form, irregular thickness, and disproportionate size of its mouth, are sufficient contradictions to such an opinion. I did not see the delineation of the ship, nor could I learn its fashion; had an artist been on the spot at the time it was taken up, to have preserved a sketch of this curious specimen of art, we might have derived from it some satisfactory notion of the age in which it was executed.

in the sand, was dug up a human skull, very black, with other parts of a skeleton; and by the side of it, the skeleton of a dog, the skull and a few small bones of which have been preserved.

Several shoes or sandals were found, both in and round about the Vessel; among which is a child's slipper, of an unusual shape, with a cork sole; but of the various articles found of this kind, there are none which give a clue to any date.^c

At whatever period this Vessel may have sunk, there are strong grounds for supposing that she was *wrecked*; the loss of mast, bowsprit, anchor, and cable, the wreck of the boat, and the human bones found in and near her, are sufficient proofs; but what renders it still more convincing is a hole stove through her bottom forward. And in the fireplace in the cabin was found a conglomerated mass of cinders and charred wood, which proves that the fire must have been extinguished suddenly, or the wood would have mouldered to ashes. Hence, Sir, we may conclude that she was overwhelmed by some convulsion of nature, from which circumstance, and the changes that have taken place in the course of the river Rother, which I shall presently shew, we may yet arrive at the probable time of her loss.

By various historians it appears, that at a very early period the river Rother, which takes its rise in the parish of Rotherfield in Sussex, emptied itself at New Romney, the *Lemanis* of the ancients. At the period of the Norman conquest it issued to sea between Romney and Lydd, at a manor now called North Lade (a Saxon word for an opening to the sea), and the trench which constituted the body of the river from the Rother at Appledore to the sea at North Lade, through Romney Marsh, by the sea dyke called the Rhee Wall, is now distinctly to be traced. This bed of the river was granted by Queen Elizabeth to the

^c The finding of this slipper has by some persons been adduced in argument against the Vessel's antiquity; but it is well known that cork was used for this purpose among the Romans; Pliny says, the women more especially used cork soles in winter:

"Usus præterea in hiberno feminarum calceatu."

Corporation of Romney, and by that body it was lately sold for the redemption of the land-tax.

In the reign of Edward the First, about the year 1287, in consequence of a dreadful storm, when the town of Winchelsea was destroyed by the rage of the sea, the mouth of the Rother at Lydd was stopped, and the course of this river diverted into another and nearer track, by Appledore, into the sea at Rye; and by the flux and reflux of the sea, the old channel became so swerved up that, about the time of Queen Elizabeth,^d it was scarcely navigable above Rye Town, for vessels of burthen; and higher up, the river was so choaked and contracted, that the waters could not find sufficient passage in it, and by documents in the possession of Mr. Dawes of Rye, one of the commissioners of the levels (to whom I am very much indebted for civility, and for the assistance afforded me in pursuing this enquiry), I find that in 1623 a complete stop to the navigation of the Appledore channel was made at Thorney-wall, which is pointed out on the map which accompanies this letter.

It appears moreover that that stop has never been removed for the purposes of navigation, since lightermen were allowed a tonnage for carrying goods over the stop; a sluice was afterwards formed at Thorney-wall, simply for sewing the adjacent lands. In May 1635 the navigation higher up the Rother was very much impaired by a former breach made in Spits-wall and Knolls-dam (which is some distance above Matham-wharf), being *then* as low as the bottom of the channel, which made the waters of the upper levels forsake that part of the Rother where the vessel has been found, turning them through Wittersham-level. It was now feared there would be no navigation at all between Appledore and Bodiam, and three pens were in consequence put down in the cuts at Spit's-wall, so that the waters might again be turned into their old tract,

^d "Yet now it (Rye) beginneth to complain that the sea abandoneth it, (such is the variable and interchangeable course of the elements,) and in part imputeth it, that the river Rother is not contained in its channel, and so loseth its force to carry away the sands and beach, which the sea doth inbear into the haven." Hayley's Manuscript Collections relating to Sussex.

and discharge themselves as before at the sluice at Appledore; but in October 1635 these pens were taken up, that the waters of the Rother might have a free run into Wittersham-level; and in July 1636 the turning of the river through this level was completely effected; since which time there has been no navigation between Knolls dam and Matham wharf, *which limits include the vessel*, and the channel has been used only as a *sewer* for the lands in East Matham-level. And it is further stated, that at the commencement of the works connected with the new channel, "the former navigation upon the Rother was daily decaying; so much so, that had not the works in Wittersham-level been undertaken and perfected, the navigation upon the Rother had before that time (July 1636) been lost."

To recover, however, a navigable stream from Thorney-wall to Small-hythe, a dam was laid down at the latter place, to keep up the waters between the two places; but the navigation never extended in any shape further than Thorney-wall, since the sluice was laid there in 1623.

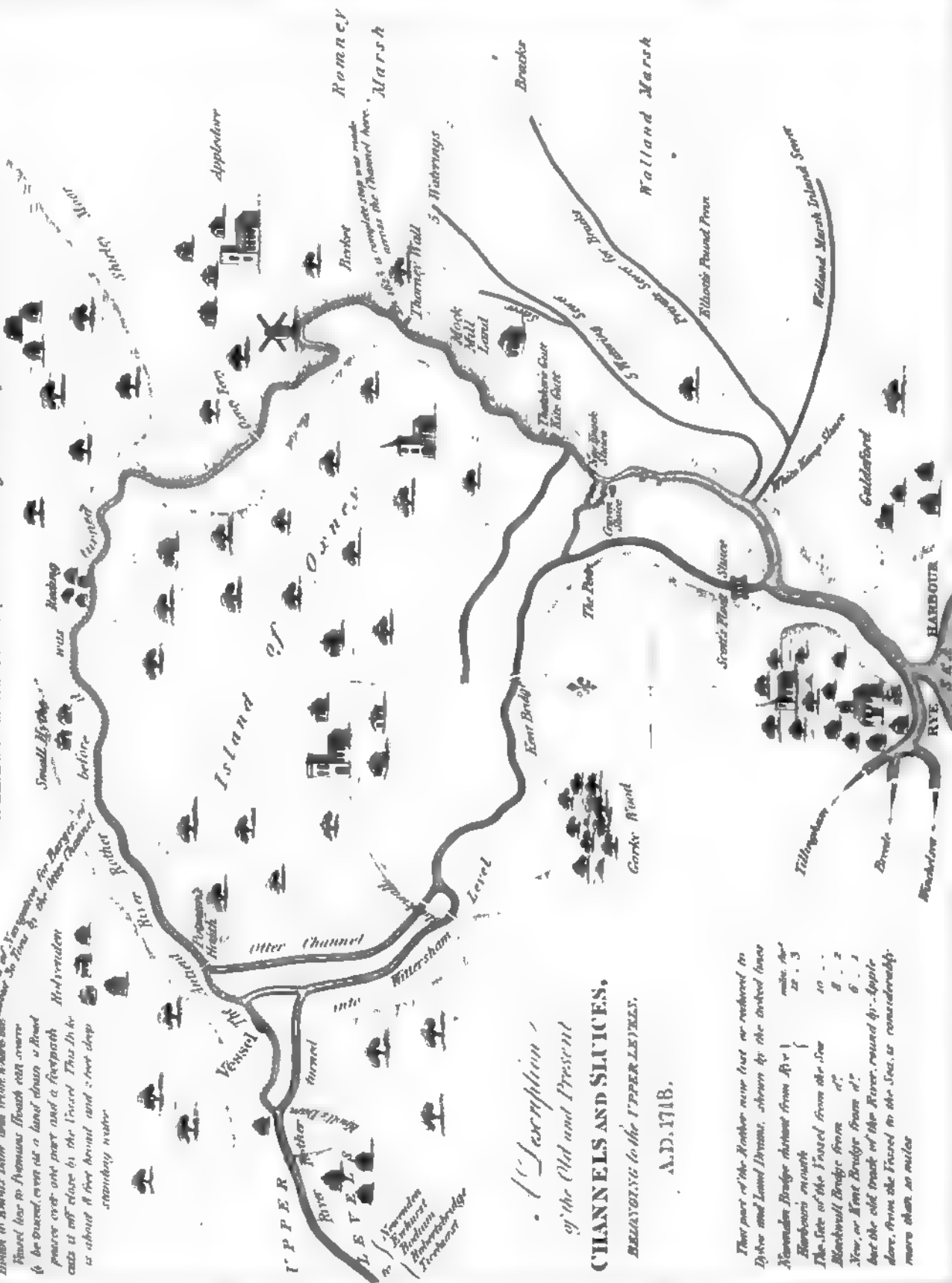
It is certain then, that the vessel must have perished *prior to 1623*.

And since it appears that for many years before, the Rother had been decaying and gradually becoming, from the accumulation of mud and silt, "scarcely navigable," or even deep enough to sew the waters, it may be inferred, that from the great depth at which she laid buried in mud, or rather *sea sand*, she must have been there very many years *anterior to that period*, for had she not been below the bed of the river at that time, she must have been discovered; and it is not likely that the commissioners would have allowed her to lay there to be an obstruction to navigation and sewage, when, "previous to 1623, the sum of 20,000*l.* had been expended in endeavouring to drain the upper levels in and by the old course of Apuldore."

There is another material fact, which proves, that at the time the vessel foundered, the river at that place must have been of *considerable breadth*; for in addition to the vessel lying under the bank, a log of oak, roughly hewn, 40 feet long, and about 22 inches square, was

There is no Navigation from Putnam's Head to Swell's Dam and from where the River flows to Putnam's Head can never be turned, even at a low stage of Water, over one part and a footpath exists at off stage to the River. This is because it is about 10 feet broad and 2 feet deep standing water.

Up to show the Waters used in 1825 as shown by the dotted lines but prior to the time of Edward 3rd the course was very different running thro' Romney Marsh.



Description of the Old and Present CHANNELS AND SLUICES, RELATIVE TO THE UPPER LEVELS.

A.D. 1718.

That part of the River now lost or reduced to Dyke and Land Drains, shown by the dotted lines

Location	Distance from River	Width	Depth
Putnam's Head	10	10	10
Blackwell Bridge	8	8	8
New, or Kent Bridge	6	6	6

above, from the River to the Sea, is considerably more than 20 miles



found on the larboard side of the vessel, one end of which rested on the gunwale, and the other laid nearly at right angles to her length, upwards of 10 feet under the bank; another log was also excavated by the side of the former, but above eight feet from the vessel; these logs must have unquestionably drifted and lodged against her.

Having thus far, I trust, Sir, established a *limit*, since which the vessel could not have navigated, I shall proceed to state a few facts relative to the state of the river at a very early period, which I have gleaned from various books and manuscripts which you obligingly put into my hands at the British Museum; and here let me crave your indulgence for leading you into such a maze of speculation.

“ In the 14th of Edward IVth, A. D. 1475, certain commissioners were appointed to view, report on, and repair the banks of the Rother, which were much broken and decayed, by the frequent incursions of the sea, and the violence of the tides. ”

And “ a charter or letters patent were granted, and directed to certain knights and other persons of quality in the 2nd year of Henry V. (1415) to repair the breaches past, and for preventing the like for the time to come, between Rye and Bodiam bridge ; ” and in the intermediate reigns between Edward the First and this period, I find continual documents to the same effect ; particularly in the early part of Edward the Third’s reign, where, “ by letters patent granted, some new banks were raised which thwarted this river, and prevented such vessels and boats as used to pass on it with victuals, and other things from divers places in Kent and Sussex to Ichingham, and were likewise of the greatest prejudice to the market town of Salehurst, which had been supported by the course of this water. The king afterwards revoked these letters patent, and commanded those banks to be demolished.”

It appears also, that “ the tide at this time, ebbed and flowed above Newenden,” (which is about two miles higher up the river than the site of the vessel,) “ and the stream was so strong, that the bridge there was broken and demolished by it, and the lands on each side

• Hayley’s MSS. Collections relating to Sussex.

the river were greatly overflowed, and much damaged by the salt waters."

In the reign of Edward the First an action was brought by the Abbot of Robertsbridge, against the Lord of the Manor of Knell, for enclosing salt marshes from the sea, whereby barges and boats were hindered from bringing up provisions and merchandize, to the market of Robertsbridge.

I have taken much pains in searching those authors^f who have given the best information respecting the changes which have taken place on the coast of Sussex and the neighbouring coast of Kent, in order to get together the æra of the most remarkable floods and tempests which have happened within these parts within the last five or six hundred years.

Hayley, in his Collections for Sussex, states that "in the 12th of Elizabeth chanced a terrible tempest of wind and rain, both by sea and land; the waters came in so vehemently at Rye, that they brake into the marshes and made such way that, where of late years and now before this great flood came, a *cockboat* could not pass in at low water, now a *fisherman* drawing six feet water and more may come in."

This shews the state of the *mouth* of the haven at that period; and as I have given clear proofs that the river was decaying and contracted higher up at a very early period, and also shewn that at the period when the vessel foundered, it must have been of considerable breadth at Matham-wharf, which is ten miles from the sea; I think this tempest rather *favours*, than makes against the speculation for her antiquity.

Many other general tempests and storms, have been recorded by various writers, but we read of none that have particularly affected this part of the country until the period before cited, when by a great con-

^f Sir Nathaniel Powel; Dugdale on Fens and Embankments; Somner's Treatise on the Roman Ports and Forts; Drayton's Poly-olbion, with Selden's notes; Leland's Itinerary; Stowe's Chronicle; Hasted; Harris; and the other historians of Kent may be consulted with advantage. See also Hayley's MSS. Collections for Sussex, before quoted, deposited in the British Museum.

vulsion of nature, Winchelsea was swallowed up by the sea, and the whole face of the country changed. This storm is mentioned by all the historians of Kent. Stowe in his *Chronicles* thus states it; "In 1287, on new-year's-day at night, as well thro' the vehemency of the wind as violence of the sea, divers places in England adjoining the sea were flooded, so that an intollerable multitude of men, women, and children were overwhelmed with the waters;" and Somner in his "*Treatise on the Roman Ports and Forts*," says, "About 1287, the sea raging with the violence of winds overflowed and drowned Promhill (near Lydd, a town at that time well frequented, the lands where the town stood, are now called Broomhill), and made the Rother forsake its channel, which before emptied itself into the sea at Romney, and stopped its mouth, opening a new and nearer way to pass into the sea by "Rhie," now called Rye; and afterwards fell into the Appledore waters, wheeling about, and running into that arm of the sea or æstuary insinuating into the lands by Rye." By Jeaks's *Charters* also we learn, that Winchelsea was drowned in the 16th of Edward the First.

I have now arrived at a period beyond which, speculation becoming more and more doubtful, I am backward in hazarding an opinion; and since History does not furnish us with the æra of any violent or destructive storm on this coast, for very many years prior or subsequent to the one above mentioned, I shall conclude this Letter, leaving it for others to determine from the facts here stated, as to the probability of the vessel having perished in or before that great tempest, or, at a period between that, and the storm which took place in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

your humble servant,

WILLIAM M^CPERSON RICE.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq
&c. &c. &c.

XIV. *Description of the Remains of Henry of Worcester, Abbot of Evesham, found in the Ruins of the Abbey Church of Evesham, September 10, 1822. In a Letter addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary, from EDWARD RUDGE, Esq. F. R. S. A. S. and L. S.*

Read 5th December 1822.

Abbey Manor House, Evesham, Nov. 20, 1822.

DEAR SIR,

DURING the summer months of the last ten years, I have been engaged in excavating the site, and tracing the walls and dimensions of the Abbey Church of Evesham, which was destroyed at the Dissolution of the Monasteries by King Henry VIIIth. no traces of which were visible above the surface of the ground. A regular Ground Plan and Survey of the Buildings is made, which, when completed, will be laid before the Society.

After having laid open the Chapter-house and the Crypt under the Choir, I began, in 1821, to open the Nave of the Church, within which were found the bases and part of the shafts of two rows of Saxon pillars of considerable dimensions, and the remains of several Abbots in their stone coffins, recorded to have been buried in the body of the Church. In one of these stone coffins, which is concluded to have belonged to William de Cheriton, was found under the bones of the hand, upon the breast, a leaden seal, that had been appended to a Bull of Pope John XXII. with the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul on the reverse. Beneath another stone coffin, also in the centre of the Nave, which was *inverted* over the body that had been laid upon a wooden slab, was found the remains of an Abbot, who had been buried in his boots, which were



Henry of Worcester, Abbot of Evesham.
Died Nov^r 15th 1263

J. J. Davis sculp^t



in sufficient preservation to shew their shape and form, and that the soles were right and left, according to the present fashion: the leather still retained a degree of firmness and elasticity, although easily torn while damp; they were in separate pieces, from the stitches having perished. The whole body was in a state of great decay, the bones much decomposed, on which the shining crystals of the phosphate of lime were formed in considerable quantity. Part of the dress in which he was interred was composed of silk thread. All the stone coffins hitherto found were without their lids, lay immediately beneath the plaster floor of the church, which had been tiled, and were filled with the lime rubbish of the ruined building. In these the bones were in a much better state of preservation than where the body was inclosed in lead, or where a stone lid prevented the lime rubbish from filling the cavity of the coffin and covering the body.

In pursuing my researches further, this last summer, I found, on the 10th of September, against the north wall of the nave, and at 48 feet from the transept, and 75 feet from the north door, the stone coffin entire of Henry of Worcester, who died November 13, 1263, and who was buried, as described by Habington,^a against the north wall of the church; the whole of the north wall having been laid open, and this being the only stone coffin found in that situation, leaves no doubt of its identity.

It was placed lengthways, in contact with the north wall of the nave of the Abbey Church, with its head towards the west; a table monument had been erected over this Abbot on which were his effigies carved in stone; on an horizontal fragment of which remaining in the wall, and which had escaped the general wreck of this fine fabric, was the whole of the carved head of the Abbot's crosier, placed on his left side, contrary to the situation of that in the coffin.

This Coffin was of one entire stone, and perfect; the lid being

^a "Henry, prior of this Monastery, was after confirmed by Pope Alexander IVth. who, when he had seven years wisely and worthily governed this church, departed blessedly to our Lord, Idus Novembri, An. Do. 1263, and lieth *buried in the body of the church and north wall.*" Habington MSS. v. 2.

strongly cemented to the coffin, it separated about the middle into two pieces, on raising it with the iron wedges. The body appeared *in situ*, and not to have been disturbed since the day of its interment; the skull had sunk forward from the cavity in which it had rested, occasioned by the perishing and consequent falling of the vertebræ of the neck, so that the lower jaw-bone rested on the thorax. The skull was bare, the os frontis on the right side appeared to have been diseased in a considerable degree, a circle of about three inches diameter of the bone being carious, while the rest of the skull retained its natural smooth surface. The folds of a dress or cowl, apparently of silken texture, went round the neck, and descended from the shoulders to the breast. The shroud was wrapped round the body, and the arms were each enveloped in a separate cloth from the body, so that the pastoral staff passed over the os humeri and under the radius and ulna of the right arm. The left arm crossed the breast at an angle of about forty-five degrees; the hand had held the chalice and patten of pewter, which were found to rest upon the staff of the crozier a little above the right os ischium. The right arm embraced the pastoral staff, crossing the breast at nearly right angles, and the bone of the middle finger of the right hand lay within the abbatial ring, an amethyst set in gold. The crozier lay on the right side, the staff passing diagonally across the right hip and the knees, extending to the left ancle; its carved Gothic head was separated at the knob of the staff, and fallen over the top of the right shoulder. During its exposure to the air, while the drawing was making, the staff cracked in several places, and on being removed from the coffin separated in two pieces; it was of a dark red colour, apparently of ash, or some other very light wood; the head was elegantly carved in a Gothic scroll, and with its knob beneath at its junction to the staff, was gilt, the gold being perfectly bright and fresh; the substance of the scroll beneath the gilding fell to a black powder notwithstanding the care taken to remove it from the coffin entire, and it appears to have been carved from the wood of the pear-tree.

The bones of the legs above the ancles to just below the knees, were

enveloped in one piece of leather. A bandage of some light material passed over the ancles and confined the legs together; there were also bandages of the breadth of a ribband, and apparently of silk, which passed over the bones of the arms at the wrists.

The patten had been placed on the chalice, but had partly fallen off as the hand which supported it perished and sunk; one side of the patten, and also of the foot of the chalice, which rested upon the body, were decomposed by its moisture; the upper part of each, being supported by the staff of the crosier, and not in contact with the body, remained entire.

The articles above-mentioned, with a part of the dress, being removed, the remains were left undisturbed, and the lid again cemented upon the coffin, and covered up as before.

Dimensions of the Coffin.

				ft.	in.
Cavity of the head	-	-	-	0	11½
Depth of ditto	-	-	-	0	8
Breadth at the shoulders		-	-	1	10
Breadth at the feet	-	-	-	1	1
Length within from shoulder to feet			-	5	8
From out to out	-	-	-	7	1
Depth of the coffin	-	-	-	1	1
Inside measure	-	-	-	6	6

Length of the Pastoral Staff.

From the top to the point	-	-	5	4
Length of the carved head	-	-	0	10
From the knob to the top of the scroll	-		0	8½
Breadth and length of the scroll		-	0	4

Vertical text on the left margin, likely a page number or chapter indicator.

Horizontal text at the top of the page, possibly a title or header.

A P P E N D I X.

AT
A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY
OF
ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

That such curious Communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire*, be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archæologia.



APPENDIX.

June 8, 1820. William Bray, esq. Treasurer, exhibited to the Society an impression from the Seal of the Carthusian Priory, which formerly existed at Shene, near Richmond, in Surrey; appended to an indenture between John Bokyngham, prior of that house, on the one part; and John and Joan Rede of Lewisham in Kent, on the other, respecting a garden or toft in East Greenwich, dated in the 22d year of Henry the Sixth.

The impression of the seal is small, of an oval shape, and has a representation of the Adoration of the Shepherds in the area. At bottom are the arms of France and England quarterly. The inscription round, when read at length, is "*Sigillum Domus Jhesu Christi de Bethlem Ordinis Cartusiensis de Shene.*"

The house of Jesus of Bethlehem at West Shene, situated about a quarter of a mile north-west of the old palace of Richmond, in Surrey, was begun, according to Walsingham, by King Henry the Fifth, A. D. 1414. King Henry the Fifth's will states it to have been endowed for forty monks. The yearly revenues of this priory were rated in the 26th of Henry the Eighth, according to Dugdale, at £.777. 12s. 0½d.; according to Speed, at £.962. 11s. 6d. Perkin Warbeck sought an asylum here in the reign of Henry VIIth; and in the next reign the body of James the Fourth of Scotland received interment at Shene. Stow, who visited this priory in the reign of Edward

the Sixth, says, in his Annals, "I have been shewed the same body (as was affirmed) wrapped in lead. throwne into an olde waste roome, amongst old timber, stone, lead, and other rubble."

The site of this priory was granted, in the 32d of Henry VIIIth to Edward Earl of Hertford. Queen Mary replaced the Convent; but it continued scarcely a year before it was dissolved.

The Rev. Daniel Lysons, in his account of the parish of Richmond, in "The Environs of London," says, "an ancient gateway, the last remain of the priory of Sheen, was taken down in 1769."

January 25, 1821. Henry Ellis, Esq. exhibited to the Society an Impression from the matrix of a SEAL, which appears once to have belonged to the Benedictine ABBEY OF SHREWSBURY.

It bears a device on one side only, representing, within an oval area, two arms cloathed; one of a man in armour holding a sword upright; the other holding a crozier; with a sort of double headed staff between the two; surrounded by this Inscription, s . COMMVNE . DE . FFORYATE . MONACHORVM .

The Abbey of Shrewsbury was founded by Roger de Belesmo, or Belmeis, called also Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, one of the Conqueror's companions in his expedition against England.

He appears to have vowed his foundation in the year 1083, laying his gloves upon the altar of an older church, upon the site of which he proposed to build his own, as a token of his intention. At the time of completing the Domesday Survey, the building of the abbey appears to have been in progress, "In Sciropes-

berie Civitate," it is said, "*facit* Rogerius comes Abbatiam."

In explanation of the particular Inscription of the Seal, it may be observed, that the spot upon which Roger de Montgomery constructed his new foundation, was in the East suburb of the city, beyond the river.

In the charter of foundation addressed by Roger de Montgomery to his children, heirs, barons, homagers, and friends, he says, "Sciatis me—concessisse eidem [Monasterio] vicum illum totum qui dicitur BIFORIETE, cum tribus molendinis, &c.—See Dugd. Mon. old edit. vol. i. p. 377.

The charter of confirmation by King William Rufus reciting the possessions granted to the abbey, says, "Imprimis scilicet vicum unum eidem Ecclesiæ contiguum, cum tribus molendinis cunctisque redditibus ad eum pertinentibus, qui vicus Anglice dicitur BIFORIETE, quod Latinè significat *ante portam*."—Ibid. p. 381.

It is again mentioned in a charter of confirmation from King Henry the Third; and among the quo warranto Pleadings of the 20th Edward I. we find the Abbot of Shrewsbury summoned to answer to the king respecting certain rights and privileges claimed by him in manerio suo de FORIETA *Monachorum*.

Leland, in his Collectanea, tom. i. p. 122, calls the abbey itself "FORIET in suburbio Salop;" and *Castle-Foregate* and *Abbey-Foregate* are still names of Streets in Shrewsbury.

March 15, 1821. Extract of a Letter from Goddard Johnson, esq. of Little Dunham, in Norfolk, addressed to Taylor Combe, esq. Director, giving an account of the discovery of some Roman coins at Castor in that county.

"Nov. 4, 1820, as some labourers were making a

clay-pit on an estate belonging to the Rev. Benjamin Barker, in the village of Castor, three miles south-east of Watton, in Norfolk, they worked the pit through a foss in which they discovered about three hundred Roman coins, of silver and brass, and with them a plain silver ring of Roman workmanship. There was no appearance of any urn, but the coins seemed as if they had been deposited in rolls, they adhering to each other in that form in masses of three or four inches in length. Some of these coins were minted as early as the time of Mark Antony, and none later than the reign of Marcus Aurelius, as appears from the following chronological list of them :^a

^a These coins, by the kindness of Mr. Johnson, have been submitted to the inspection of the Director. None of these coins possess any particular interest, except that of Plotina, which is, perhaps, the only denarius of this empress which has been found in England. The type of this coin is not indeed new, but it is one of considerable rarity, and has never, we believe, been accurately engraved.

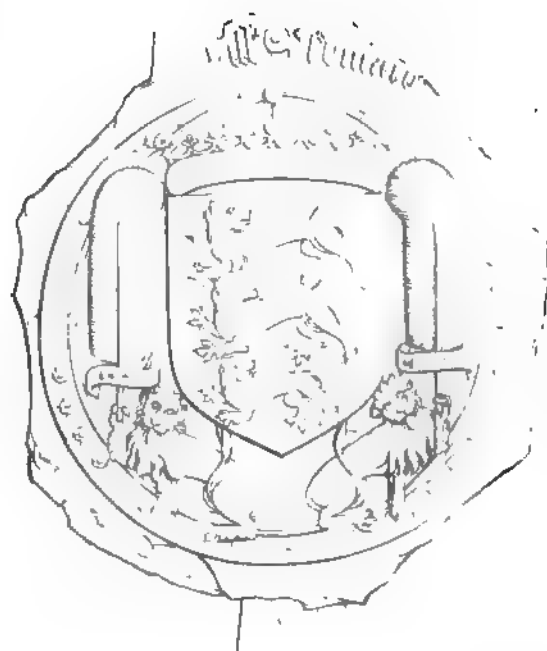
Obverse : Head of Plotina, with the legend *Plotina . AVG . IMP . Traiani*.

Reverse : An altar, under which is the inscription, *ARA . PVDIC*. (for *ARA PVDICITIAE*.) Legend round the altar, *CAES . AVG . GERMA . DEC . COS . VI . P . P*.

On the front of the altar is, apparently, the figure of Pudicitia standing on a pedestal ; and it is worthy of remark, that Juvenal alludes, perhaps, to this very figure in his sixth satire, where he speaks of an ancient altar of Pudicitia which stood in Rome.¹ Vaillant (*Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum*, tom. II. p. 130.) considers this coin to have been struck in compliment to Plotina on account of the extraordinary sanctity of her character, for which she is particularly commended by Pliny in his Panegyric on Trajan. *Tibi uxor in decus et gloriam cedit, quid enim illd sanctius, quid antiquius?* Plin. Paneg. c. lxxxiii. It has been observed, however, by Eckhel, (*Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. vi. p. 466.) that this peculiar sanctity of character in Plotina is not confirmed by the testimony of Dion Cassius, who seems

¹ *Maura Pudicitiae veterem quum praeferit aram.
Noctibus hic ponunt lecticas, micturiunt hic,
Effigiemque Deae longis siphonibus implent.*

Juvenal, Sat. vi. 308.





Marc Antony.	Plotina.
Nero.	Hadrian.
Vespasian.	Sabina.
Titus.	A. Pius.
Domitian.	Faustina, sen ^r .
Nerva.	Marcus Aurelius.
Trajan.	Faustina, jun ^r .

“About four years ago (1816) was discovered in the same village a Roman urn, quite plain, containing coins of Theodosius I. Arcadius, and Honorius, which are now in the possession of the Rev. Benjamin Barker.”

January 10, 1822. William John Bankes, Esq. M. P. exhibited to the Society, by the hands of Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary, several ancient Charters, the Title Deeds of certain property belonging to him in Wales; appendant to two of which were Impressions of the SEALS of EDWARD son of EDWARD the FOURTH, and ARTHUR son of HENRY the SEVENTH, as PRINCES of WALES, both of them hitherto inedited.

Both Impressions were in white wax. The Obverse of each bears the Arms of England, the three Lions, upon a Shield, surmounted by a Cap of maintenance; Prince Edward's Shield having a Lion on each side as supporters, holding single feathers labelled with the motto *ich dien*. On Prince Arthur's Seal the feathers are supported by Dragons. All that remains of inscription on the Obverse of Prince Edward's Seal are the words, *S^r. edward ll^r*. Upon

to hint at her intimacy with Hadrian. Dion Cassius says, that Plotina, on the death of Trajan, exerted her influence to place Hadrian on the throne, and that the part she took in his favour, on this occasion, arose in some measure from her attachment to him; the words of the historian are, ἐξ ἐρωτικῆς φιλίας.—Dion Cass. lib. lxi. 1.

Prince Arthur's Seal we read, *S. arthuri illustr. henr. vij. regis angl. & fra.*

On the Reverse of each Seal, the Prince is represented on horseback in armour, with vizor down; the right hand and arm extended holding a sword, the left bearing a shield in front, charged with the Arms of England. A Lion surmounts the helmet of each, and the horses of both have armour on the mane and face, with a single feather on the head of one, and a plume on that of the other; the body of each animal being clothed in drapery embroidered with the English Lions. The back-ground or area of each Reverse is diapered; Prince Edward's with roses and feathers, and Prince Arthur's chiefly with feathers.

The inscription of the Reverse of Prince Edward's Seal is gone. That on the Reverse of Prince Arthur's, too faint to be read with certainty.

The inner rim on both sides of each Seal, which projects, is adorned with Roses. See Plate xxix.

The following are copies of the Instruments to which these Seals are affixed.

I.

Edwardus primogenitus Edwardi quarti Regis Anglie & Franc. Princeps Wall. Dux Cornub. & Comes Cestr. omnib; balliuis & fidelibus suis ad quos p'sentes tre puen'int salm. Sciat' qd Nos p finem sex solidore & octo denariore nob p John ap Heylyn ap Jeu'n ap Gruff. libum teñ nrm ville de Bettus infra Coñotũ de Nancon in Coñ Caern' fcm perdonavim⁹ eidem John quasdam t'nsgrafsiones quas ipe idem John fecit in pquirend' sibi & hered. & assign. suis vnũ mesuagiũ vocat. Tethyñ Ybennarthe cum ptin. octo bouat' t're arabit sex acr. bosc. xiiij. bouat' t're montan' quatuor acr.

p^{at} cum suis ptin. vnaquā aqua vocat' llynryabank cum ptin' in viñ de Bettus p'dict' de dā ap Res ap Gruff libo ten' nro eiusdem ville. Necnon duas acr' t're arabit & vnam acram p^{at} cum suis ptin' in dca villa de Bettus de Jeuⁿ ap Gruff ap Jeuⁿ libo ten' nro dict' viñ quinq. acr' t're arabit & vnā acr' p^{at} cum suis ptin' in dict' viñ de Bettus de Jeuⁿ ap fñ ap Eden' libo teñ nro dict' viñ. Et vnam pcellam pastur' ac bosc' cum suis ptin' voc' Kay Mawre in dict' villa de Bettus de Hoell ap Gruff ap Hoel libo ten' nro dict' viñ de Bettus licentia dci pñs nri aut nra inde p'us non obtenta hend & tenend' omnia p'dca mes. t'r teñ p^{at} bosc' pastur' & aqua cum omib; suis pñi p'fat' John ap Heylyn hered. & assign. suis de capitib; dñis feodi illius p'suicia inde debit' & de iure consuet' imppm. Ita qd nec p'fat' John nec her' sui p Nos aut hered. nros Principes Waff. offic' seu ministros quoscumq. de cet'o non molestent' seu in aliquo grauent' in futur' occōne pquis p'dict'. In cuius rei testimoniū has lras nras fier' fecim⁹ patent'. T. me ipso apud Caern' duodecimo die Octobr' Anno regni dci Pñs nri vicesimo p'mo.

p billam Signet' Locū teñ
Justic' North Waff. Signat'.

II.

Arthurus illustrissimi Henrici Septimi Regis Anglie & franc. & dñi Hiñ primogenitus, Princeps Wallie, Dux Cornub. & Comes Cestr. omib; bañis & fidelibus suis ad quos p'sentes tre puen'int sañm. Sciat' qd nos p finem quiq. solid' nob p John ap Hilyn ap Jeuⁿ libum ten' nrm ville de Bettus in Coñmot de Nanconwey infra Com. Caern' fact' dedim⁹ & concessim⁹ eidm John pdonacōem nrām hend p quad'm t'nsgr' p eundm John fact' videñt in pquirendo sibi hered' & assign' suis vnū mes. vocat' Parke cum vna acr' tr' arablis in dict' villa de Bettus in Coñmot & Coñ p'dict' de Res ap Mad' ap Hoell ap Grono & Robt ap dā ap Mad. lib ten' nris eiusdm ville licenc' nra inde prius non obtent' hend & tenend' p'dcm mes' & vnū acr' t'r arablis cum omib; suis ptin'

p'fat' John her' & assign' suis de captibz dñis feodi illius
p' s'uic' inde debit' & de iur' consuet' imppm. Ita vero qđ
nec p'dict' John nec her' seu assign' sui de cet'o molestant'
grauent' seu aliquo inquietent' p' nos her' q' nřos nřosq'
Officiar' seu Ministr' quoscunq' radōe vel ocđōne pquis' p'dcē.
In cui⁹ rei testimoniū has lrās nřas fieri fecim⁹ patentēs. T.
meiřo apud Caern' decimo die Junij Anno regni dñi prīs nři
decimo.

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